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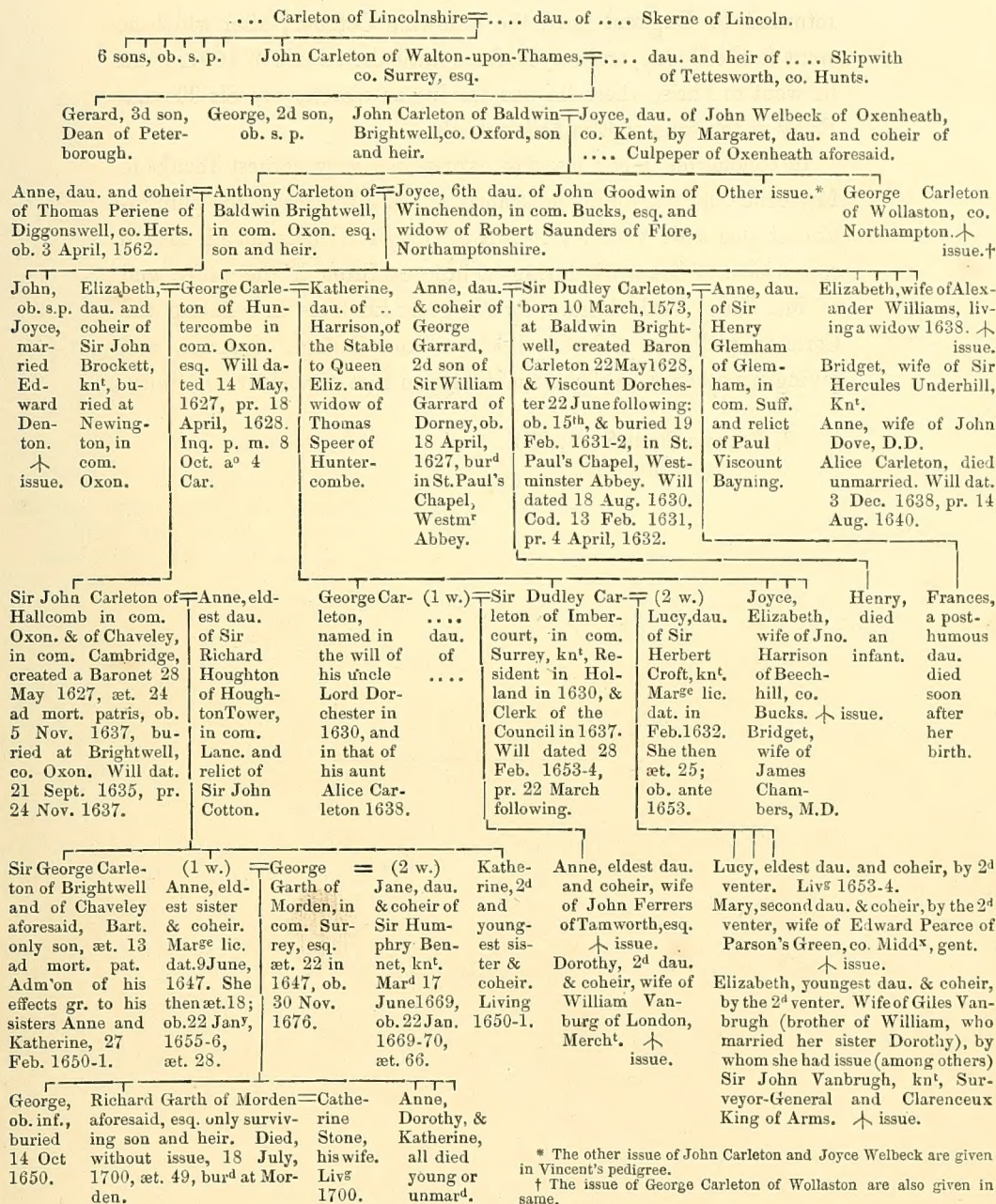
dr:  
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Carlton



[To follow page xii.]

PEDIGREE of Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, subsequently created Viscount Dorchester, originally drawn up by the late ROBERT LEMON, Esq. F.S.A.; with additions made from the books of the College of Arms, by THOMAS WILLIAM KING, Esq., York Herald, F.S.A.

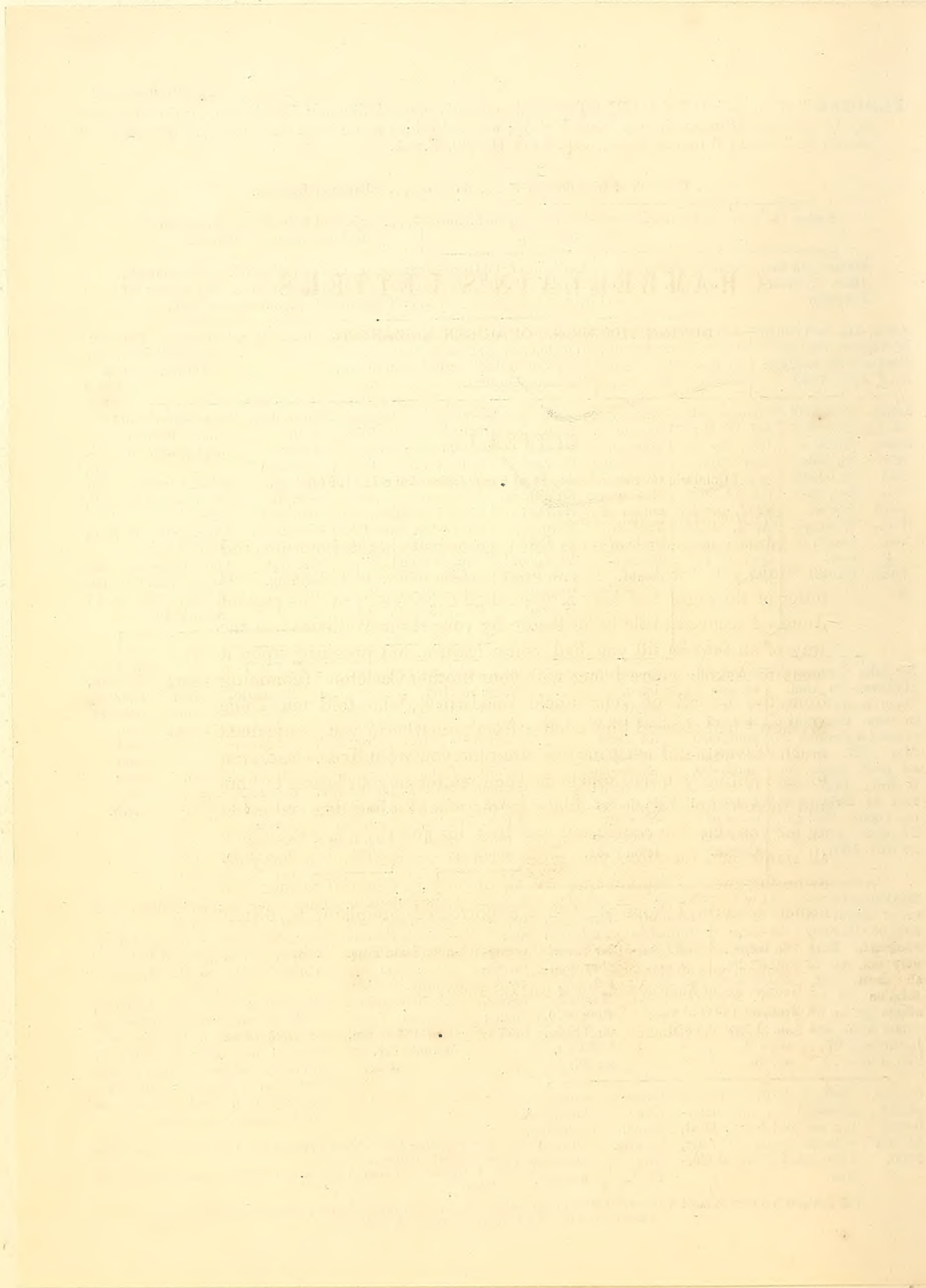


This Pedigree has been collated with several MSS. in the College of Arms, and appears to have been correctly drawn up.  
THOMAS W. KING, York Herald.—March 23, 1861.



dr:  
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Carlton





XXXII

Cottingham no notice in the forms or essence of business & more  
likely to impose on others than to be his dupe -

1594 Carleton (Sir D.) Letters to and from during his Embassy in  
Holland, BEST EDITION, portrait (only 50 copies printed), russia  
extra, leather joints, gilt marbled edges, by C. Hering 4to. 1780

Beckford & Hamilton crants

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• H. Kneller Pin. 17

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON Kn<sup>t</sup>.  
*afterwards Baron Carleton, of Ambercourt.*

VIRTVT ET FIDE



T H E  
L E T T E R S  
FROM AND TO  
Sir *DUDLEY CARLETON*, Knt.  
DURING HIS  
EMBASSY in HOLLAND,  
From *January* 16<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub>, to *December* 1620.  
THE THIRD EDITION.  
WITH  
AN HISTORICAL PREFACE.



LONDON, MDCCLXXX.







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## HISTORICAL PREFACE.

**T**HE relation of Domestic Transactions, and of such Foreign Events as are most nearly connected with them, takes up so large a share in our histories, that the less striking details of our Negotiations abroad are neglected, or misrepresented; and the characters of those who conducted them, buried in oblivion. Such has been the fortune (amongst others who might be mentioned) of Sir Dudley Carleton; a gentleman, who, from an inconsiderable beginning, raised himself, with the best pretensions, those of merit and long service, to the dignity of a Peerage, and the office of Secretary of State.

The most useful Introduction to the following Letters will be an historical account of the writer of them, as he was employed in a series of foreign Negotiations, many of which were of the greatest importance to the interests of this country: and the Editor flatters himself, that the perspicuity, exactness, and spirit, with which these dispatches are written, and the subject-matter of the transactions to which they relate, will sufficiently recommend them to every judicious and attentive reader.

The learned Dr. Birch, whose labours have greatly contributed towards illustrating some of the most remarkable periods of the English History, has given us a sketch of Sir Dudley's Life and Character, in his Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels; for which reason, such particulars as are already inserted in that instructive work, shall be touched with brevity here; and those only enlarged upon\*, which the Doctor had no occasion to mention, or was then unacquainted with.

Sir Dudley Carleton was the eldest surviving son of Anthony Carleton, Esq; of Baldwin Brightwell, near Watlington in Oxfordshire; and was

\* As the References are not constantly marked in this Preface, it is thought proper to observe, that no one Fact is mentioned in it, which is not taken from some printed author of good authority, or from original papers, most of them in the possession of the Author.

born at his father's seat on the 10th of March, 1573. His education was the best and most complete, which that age, or indeed any other, could have afforded; to qualify a gentleman for the world, and for business. He was sent from Westminster-school to Christ-church in Oxford; and, having finished his studies, and taken his degrees, at that university, he went abroad for his improvement; and, upon his return from his travels in 1600, was first received into the family of Sir Thomas Parry, ambassador in France, as his secretary, and three years after into the service of Henry earl of Northumberland, in the same capacity. He was not happy under the ambassador's roof, whose behaviour was reserved towards him, and his manners precise and formal, and who was much governed by a Hugonot secretary, one St. Sauveur. What share he enjoyed in the earl's confidence, or why he left his service, the Editor has not been able to discover, nor is it material to the subject. As that nobleman had no interest with Cecil, who had been engaged in a correspondence with King James before his accession, in opposition to Northumberland, it is probable that Carleton did not think a connection with him the road to preferment. That great peer bore a considerable part in the intrigues, which were carrying on at the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign, to secure the succession of King James; and had eminent qualities both of courage and learning, particularly in the Mathematics.

In the first parliament of king James, Mr. Carleton represented the borough of St. Mawes in Cornwall. In the beginning of April, 1605, he accompanied the Lord Norris into Spain; from whence he returned through France, and was detained at Paris some months, on account of that Lord's indisposition, till he was summoned to England, by a letter from the Lords of the Council, which gave him great apprehensions, upon hearing that his former patron, the Earl of Northumberland, had been committed on the discovery of the gun-powder plot; and Mr. Carleton himself, when he arrived in London, was put under confinement; but his innocence soon appearing, he was honourably discharged. The Earl himself was long confined in the Tower, and a heavy fine imposed on him in the Star-chamber, without any proof of his guilt, or any thing suspicious appearing against him, except his admitting his relation, the conspirator, to a place in the Band of Pensioners, without taking the oaths; but it is no wonder that Piercy was so distinguished, as Northumberland had employed him in his secret negotiations with James: and there are several instances in Queen Elizabeth's time, of papists serving, at least in the army.

After long expectation of preferment from court, and the favour of the Earl of Salisbury, to which he had early applied himself, Carleton was, in May 1610, appointed to succeed Sir Thomas Edmondes, his intimate friend, as ambassador to the Archduke, and began to make preparations for

that



that employment. An hour was even fixed for his taking leave of the King : but a reason of state intervened, and stopped his journey ; for as the Archduke Albert had recalled his ambassador here, it was thought proper, that he should send another in the same character, before his court was honoured with one from England.

Mr. Carleton, however, did not lose his destination to a foreign service ; but was immediately nominated to the embassy of Venice, and received the honour of knighthood from king James, before he set out, which he did in September 1610, and arrived at his place of residence in November following. His letters, written during the course of this embassy, are preserved in the Paper-office, together with a complete series of all his other dispatches ; of which, great use will be made in the remaining part of this narration. Several of his Venetian letters are printed in Winwood's Memorials ; and it is easy to observe from them, that Sir Dudley Carleton immediately applied himself to a diligent and able discharge of his ministerial functions ; and that he must very soon have convinced his superiors, that he was equal to any negotiation, however difficult or delicate, in which he might happen to be engaged. Whilst he resided in Italy, the war broke out between Charles duke of Savoy, a prince of great spirit and ambition, and Ferdinand duke of Mantua, on account of the former's pretensions, in right of his daughter, to Montferrat. The prudent republick of Venice was greatly alarmed at these differences ; being unwilling on the one hand, that the duke of Savoy should aggrandize himself, at the expence of a weak neighbour ; and apprehensive on the other, that the council of Spain, though at that time directed by an indolent and rapacious minister, the duke of Lerma, should build some scheme of farther acquisitions or influence in Italy, on the specious pretence of defending the rights of a distressed ally and vassal. For which reasons, the Venetians readily interposed their good offices, in conjunction with the courts of Rome, England, and France, to accommodate this quarrel. Sir Dudley Carleton was sent from Venice to Turin, with an offer of his master's mediation in June 1615. He found the duke of Savoy entrenched under the walls of Asti ; and the Spanish army encamped on the plain, and endeavouring to force his quarters. After some conferences and journeys between the two camps, an accommodation was concluded, which was called the treaty of Asti ; by which Charles Emanuel obliged himself to disarm, and to refer his pretensions to the judgement of the Emperor, with other conditions not necessary to be mentioned here. One of the instruments of this treaty \* was made out in the names of the Nuncio and the French ambassador, with a separate article of guaranty to the duke, signed by the Venetian minister ; and another was copied from

\* Vittorio Siri, Memor. Recond. vol. ii.

it *verbatim*, in which Sir Dudley's name was inserted, instead of the Nuncio's, and an engagement was annexed on the part of the king of Great Britain, to take the person and state of Charles, under his royal protection, in case the Spaniards should fail in the performance of their conditions. We find Carleton returned to Venice in August; from which place he gives the following account to Sir Thomas Edmondes, at Paris, of the Piedmontese negotiation.

\* “ It seems you are no better satisfied with our peace in Piedmont, than  
 “ they are in other parts, Italy and England only excepted. His Majesty  
 “ has approved the same, and ratified what was promised on his behalf;  
 “ and over all this country, there continues a general jubilee. Spain, they  
 “ say, takes exceptions against the form of the peace, as too much to the  
 “ honour and advantage of the duke of Savoy. Our friends in Germany  
 “ and the Low Countries condemn the substance as disadvantageous to their  
 “ affairs; and out of Switzerland, from the Protestant Cantons, I have  
 “ received letters of the same tenor, they marvelling much at the duke of  
 “ Savoy's consenting to peace, since they were resolved to give him succours  
 “ of men to a considerable number. But both yours in France, and theirs,  
 “ were but in project, when they should have been in action; and by that  
 “ time they could have appeared in Piedmont, all they could do, would  
 “ but have served to supply those which the war and sickness would have  
 “ consumed in the mean time; so as the right use, to which they were in-  
 “ tended, which was to enter by some other way into the state of Milan,  
 “ whereby to make a diversion, could not have been effected; and the seat  
 “ of the war would still have been in the duke's state. Money there was  
 “ none, to give these new supplies contentment, nor none to be expected  
 “ from any place; this state being close handed; and other Princes, who  
 “ wished well to the cause, empty handed. Those forces the duke had at  
 “ Asti were in this respect, for want of pay, hardly induced to do their  
 “ ordinary duties: and when they were in guard, there was no assurance  
 “ of them. Other necessities were great; but nothing, I must confess, in  
 “ comparison of the enemy, who suffered much more: but they had Ge-  
 “ noa near, which furnished them with money; and having all Italy to  
 “ friend, I see not how they could want men, besides the levies they might  
 “ still make amongst the Tudeschi and the Catholick Cantons. These,  
 “ with the continual danger of the duke's person, were the considerations  
 “ that persuaded the peace.”

The English Ambassador had soon after instructions from his court, to invite the Republic to accede to the league between the King of Great Britain and the Protestant Princes of the union in Germany; “ to which, says  
 “ Sir Dudley to Sir Thomas Edmondes, I had a civil and courteous answer,  
 “ importing rather the embracing of the thing, than the name; which is

\* Edmondes's MS. Papers.



“ subject to many jealousies and crosses. And indeed the present conjuncture was very improper for this motion, in regard of the breach of the treaty with the Grisons, whereby that passage over the mountains is stopt, and the remaining forces still on foot of the Spanish army in the Milanese, which keeps this state in much awe\*.”

Sir Dudley Carleton had for some time impatiently expected to be relieved in his Venetian employment by Sir Henry Wotton, who was appointed to succeed him, and who had been also his predecessor in it. He returned to England about the end of 1615, where he found things in a very different state from that in which he left them. The great Earl of Salisbury had been dead above three years: The power of Somerset, which had been for some time in its decline, was now entirely overset by the discovery of the infamous murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. A new court meteor was arisen, Sir George Villiers, who soon engrossed to himself all the dependance, which personal favour, ministerial power, and an accumulation of offices, could bestow. The two secretaries of state were Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Thomas Lake, both educated in the schools of Cecil and Walsingham. To the former's recommendation Carleton owed his appointment to one of the most important embassies in the disposal of the crown, that to the States General, which was then vacant. Winwood was at the bottom a worthy and sincere man; but, as his temper was harsh, and his behaviour rough, he did not, it seems, give entire satisfaction to his old friend in the manner of bestowing it. “ From a hand, *writes* Sir Dudley “ to his intimate correspondent, Edmondes, (*still residing at Paris*) where I “ promised myself much contentment, I had my share of mortification; “ which notwithstanding was well tempered betwixt four looks, curst “ words, and good deeds, so as I have the less cause to complain.” It does not however appear, that Carleton had the least reason to resent the usage, which he received from Sir Ralph during the course of their correspondence in his new employment; and the latter's death, which happened in † October 1617, was a real loss to the public.

In

\* The editor remembers to have seen a volume of his Turin correspondence in the catalogue of the first duke of Chandos' MSS; and is sorry that he did not purchase it at the time, not knowing since into what hands it has fallen.

† We may observe once for all, that the secretaries of state were often changed whilst Sir Dudley was in foreign services; but all of them were ministers of the second order, and only executed the directions of the King himself, or of his favorite Buckingham.

Sir Thomas Lake was deservedly disgraced, for being concerned in, or at least privy to, the scandalous practices of his wife and daughter the lady Roos, against the countess of Exeter, mother in law to the latter. Naunton and Calvert were men of no striking talents; one was disgraced for being thought too zealous in the Elector Palatine's cause; the other was well qualified for a subordinate minister, and took some share in parliamentary debates. He was dismissed in 1625, on suspicion of popery, and for being thought a favourer of the Spanish match, when Villiers was resolved to steer another course. Sir E. Conway, who

In this Dutch embassy, Sir Dudley spent the most active part of his life, from 1616 to 1628, with the interval of a year only. He was the last English minister, who had the honour of sitting in the council of state for the union, a privilege wisely gained by Queen Elizabeth, when she undertook the protection of the United Provinces, and which was annexed to our possession of the cautionary towns; but it was continued to Carleton, as matter of courtesy, during his residence at the Hague, after the towns themselves were given up. Upon his arrival, he was soon engaged in the disputes, then raging with great violence in Holland, between the Arminians and the Contra-remonstrants or Calvinists; of which religion was made the pretence, though the mutual jealousies of Prince Maurice and pensionary Barneveldt, and the contests for power between those great persons, were the real sources. As the French supported the latter in an open and strong manner, the English Ambassador was of course engaged in the opposite interest; and therefore his relations may be fairly supposed to be tinged with partiality. But if some allowances are made for party violence and prejudices, there are no where extant such clear, accurate, and interesting accounts of this remarkable period of Dutch history, as in his dispatches. There are likewise many points of great importance to the English commerce at that time discussed in the course of them; as the contests between the two nations about the exportation of dressed cloths; the Greenland fishery; that upon the coast of Scotland; and the East Indian territorial and commercial differences.

The Reader will find likewise, within the compass of this volume, the rise and progress of the famous Bohemian war, till after the loss of the battle of Prague; and must feel, with indignation, the generous efforts of the States General, to animate King James in the support of that great quarrel, in which both the religious and civil interests of this country were deeply concerned, repaid with neglect and silence; whilst the English Ambassador was pressing for instructions on this subject for months together, and could receive none. It is no wonder if the tame conduct of King James, during the whole course of this quarrel, and the close connection with Spain in which he was entangled by the negotiation for his son's marriage, produced, by degrees, a sensible coldness between that Prince and the Republick of Holland.

From what appears in the course of his dispatches, Sir Dudley was a zealous well-wisher to the Palatine cause, and the public liberty of Ger-

who held the seals longer than any secretary of state in this reign, was of a frank and open temper, and of a good family; but was remarkable for nothing but an implicit obedience to the favorite. His handwriting is scarce *legible*; and the letters which he drew himself are awkward, perplexed, and dark. King James is said to have been jocular on his notorious inability; and yet his name is to the most secret dispatches of the five last years of this inglorious administration.

many,



many, and inculcated those ideas at home as far as was consistent with his own safety; but our inactivity abroad, and our commercial disputes with the Dutch, rendered his situation at the Hague not the most agreeable from 1620 to 1623. In that year, the Duke of Buckingham, influenced by the disgusts which he received from the Count Olivarez, whilst he was in Spain with the Prince, and a certain turn for popularity, which seized him for the first and only time in his whole administration, broke through, at once, all that scheme of friendship which his master had been building up with the house of Austria. The first step naturally taken on this change of affairs, was the renewal of a good understanding with our neighbours, the Dutch; and in a long conversation between Sir Dudley and the Prince of Orange on that subject, the whole of which is well worth reading, as contained in a dispatch of the former of December 9, 1623, in the Cabala, the Prince used these remarkable words to him, "That when the King " would be to their Republic as Queen Elizabeth was, their Republic " would be to him as they were to Queen Elizabeth."

In consequence of these overtures, well improved by our Ambassador, an extraordinary embassy was dispatched the next spring to England, and a defensive alliance concluded with them in June 1624, by which an aid was granted to the States of 6000 foot, to be paid by Great Britain.

It was in the course of this summer, that the news came to Europe of the inhuman massacre at Amboyna; the consequence of which to this country was the total loss of our share in the spice trade, which great pains had been taken to regulate in 1620, by an amicable convention between the two companies. This unhappy affair had very near overturned our reviving friendship with Holland, at a juncture when it was equally necessary to both nations; which made it the most disagreeable incident that had ever attended Sir Dudley Carleton in his negotiations. His first memorial upon it to the States was presented in August 1624, and was followed with several others on his part, and with many replies and counter-propositions from their High Mightinesses, which would form a separate work of themselves. It is sufficient to say here, that the Ambassador conducted himself with great firmness and prudence through all the turns of this long controversy; he never gave up the just claim which his country had to justice and satisfaction on the authors of that shocking scene of barbarity; he enforced all our proofs with dignity and spirit; yet never managed the cause, however popular, with so much heat and violence, as to involve the two countries in an unseasonable rupture in Europe. In short, he acted up to his instructions; and neither went beyond, nor fell short of them.

Sir

Sir Dudley began now to think he had equitable pretensions to some reward for his services; and as nothing was to be done at Court without the interest of the Duke of Buckingham, he addressed himself to his Grace on that subject with a particular respect and earnestness, suited to the manners of that time. “ I think myself, says he, most unfortunate in a Court-  
 “ charity lent me of late; to your Grace, in a question of preferment,  
 “ which raised a jealousy, that for the effecting thereof I relied on other  
 “ men, and other means, and not simply and solely on your Grace’s  
 “ favour; wherein I suffer very much wrong. True it is, that I used  
 “ Mr. Secretary Conway, and, in my Lord of Kensington’s absence, one  
 “ nearest his Lordship of any I know in affection, your Grace’s faithful  
 “ servant, Sir George Goring, as instruments to your Grace, calling to  
 “ mind how you were pleased to name those two noble persons to me in a  
 “ Letter as friends, to whose love I had obligation; which, I must confess,  
 “ I took as an address to second hands for things not proper to come im-  
 “ mediately to your own; of which nature I esteemed this matter to be,  
 “ not knowing how your Grace would relish it. For, having the comfort  
 “ of your Grace’s favour in general, with promise to make it appear in  
 “ effect, to pitch upon an unlikely or unpracticable project in particular,  
 “ and thereby give your Grace molestation, and myself the discomfort of a  
 “ repulse, I thought it not fit; so as I am guilty in the whole carriage of  
 “ this business of nothing but of excess of respect; which I beseech your  
 “ Grace to impute only to modesty, without any imaginable mixture of  
 “ art or subtilty, as if I went other ways. For I am not so ignorant, as  
 “ not well to know, that there is no other; nor so disaffected, as to wish  
 “ so much as in heart there were any other; for I am more obliged to  
 “ your Grace, than to any man now living, your Grace having once pro-  
 “ cured me a grace of His Majesty at my wife’s suit, which was crossed  
 “ by others: And I will add this farther, that since the day I pre-  
 “ sented myself to your Grace in Theobald’s Garden (about seven years  
 “ since) when I was a suitor for that very place, to which the person was  
 “ soon after preferred, who now talked of resigning to me, and had your  
 “ Grace’s promise of favour in somewhat else, I have not so much as held a  
 “ candle to any other saint; neither am engaged or obliged to any, more  
 “ than for good will and good wishes; those to whom I owe my prefer-  
 “ ment to his Majesty’s favour, being long since with God; so as, such as  
 “ this long service, and the rest of the whole course of my life not idly  
 “ spent, hath made me, your Grace hath the absolute disposal of, without  
 “ danger of other dependance or ends; of which when I shall be so happy  
 “ as to be better known to your Grace (whose nature is too noble to  
 “ be umbrageous) I shall defy all the world for making me so much as  
 “ suspected.”



Reasons why Sir Dudley Carleton doth pretend to some extraordinary recompence for his services.

“ During these nine years space he hath been employed in the Low  
 “ Countries, where by reason of dearness of things (daily increased by  
 “ divers accidents, and now doubled to that it was a few years since)  
 “ and concourse of his Majesty’s subjects, more allowance is requisite  
 “ than in other his Majesty’s foreign employments. The provision of  
 “ diet (which was augmented in all other places five years since) was  
 “ held at the wonted stay of five marks, till within the space of a year,  
 “ that it was made equal to the embassage of Venice, £ 4. by the  
 “ day; which being a scant proportion, he hath sustained all the  
 “ former times expence, which exceeded his Majesty’s allowance, at his  
 “ own charge; this allowance being ever, till within the space of this  
 “ last half year, so scantily furnished, that the Exchequer was always  
 “ £ 2000. behind-hand, which with the interest he paid to Merchants to  
 “ be supplied, with loss of exchange, was much to his prejudice.

“ At his first coming over, and so for betwixt four and five years after,  
 “ the country being divided into faction, the Arminians were sustained by  
 “ the French King with the cost of two extraordinary embassages (la  
 “ Noüe, & Boissie) and divers particular gentlemen sent expressly to  
 “ countenance that party; all which he did counterbalance without any ex-  
 “ traordinary charge to his Majesty: But this cost him dear in divers en-  
 “ tertainments of such of the Hollanders as had recourse to his house,  
 “ which was not to be shut against them; and in conclusion, the party  
 “ well affected to his Majesty prevailed.

“ It is now three years and a half since the Prince Elector and her  
 “ Highness, with their children and court, had their refuge in the place  
 “ of his residence (an accident never yet happened in any foreign Minister  
 “ of our crown, that one of the King’s children should live so long where  
 “ an English Embassador resided): and though the doing service to her  
 “ Highness, and those near unto her, was, and is, chearfully undertaken,  
 “ and willingly performed by him; yet the charge thereof hath proved  
 “ heavy unto him, and hath engaged him in more debts, than he can  
 “ overcome without some extraordinary favour, which he doth most humbly  
 “ beg of his Majesty.”

The importance of our transactions with the States at that crisis, and perhaps the difficulty of providing for Sir Dudley in the manner which he seemed to expect, kept him fixed to his post for some months longer. In 1625 several remarkable events happened; a change of Governors both in  
 b England

England and Holland, by the deaths of King James and the Prince of Orange; the loss of Breda, after an obstinate and bloody defence; and a fruitless attempt made to relieve it by the new Stadtholder Prince Frederick Henry, in which the English troops under the command of Sir Horace Vere and the Earl of Oxford gained immortal honour.

Sir Dudley was usefully and laboriously employed at the Hague in supplying Count Mansfield's army, which, by unskilful management on the part of our Court, was reduced to the last extremity; and in settling with the States General the proportion of ships and landmen, with which they were to join the English fleet in any enterprize against the King of Spain. He was assisted in his conferences upon these points by Sir William St. Leger and Mr. Secretary Morton (nephew to Sir H. Wotton the Traveller and Scholar) sent expressly from England; and the issue of them was, that their High Mightinesses agreed to send an auxiliary squadron of twenty ships to the general rendezvous at Plymouth, and gave leave of absence to several officers, and some draughts from the old English corps in the States service. All these were afterwards employed in the unsuccessful expedition to Cadiz; in which though our commanders might deserve blame, yet the negotiations of our Ministers abroad must be allowed to have had their merit.

A treaty offensive and defensive having been signed with the States Embassadors at Southampton, in September the same year, the Duke of Buckingham and the Earl of Holland were sent over to the Hague in November, to improve the foundations laid by it into a grand alliance against the House of Austria, for the recovery of the Palatinate, and the restoring the German liberty. Sir Dudley was joined in commission with these two great noblemen, and seems to have worked himself into a large degree of confidence with the former of them, being the draughtsman of his \* speech to the States at his public audience, and having the honour to attend

\* The letter which proves this fact, is preserved as the only specimen which the Editor has met with of that Favourite's private correspondence with the Embassador. Another which related to the repulse at Rhé, and which was once in his possession, is mislaid.

“ My Noble Lord,

“ I did this morning myself begin to think it fit for me, at the delivery of His Majesty's letter, to offer some few words; those which you have set down, are so fit that I shall use no other. It rests that I give you thanks for this that you call a freedom, but I call an obligation. I beseech you continue the same care of him, that will think all occasions too few to express the value I have for you, and love I bear you

“ as your Lordship's humble Servant,

“ G. BUCKINGHAM.”

It



attend his Grace into England on the conclusion of their negotiation; the result of which was the framing of a league between the Kings of Great Britain and Denmark, and the States General, for the ends above-mentioned. The French Embassador, Monsieur D'Espeffes, had no powers to treat, that Crown declining to be openly engaged against the House of Austria, but promising the effect of a league in secret supplies to Count Mansfield, whose troops were then acting in Westphalia with those of Denmark. The King of Sweden was expected to have sent a Plenipotentiary to this congress, but was prevented by his wars in Poland. Much was not to be expected from a Confederacy, which, though right in its principles (as the system of Europe then stood), was unequal in strength to the works which it was intended to perform; and nothing contributed so much to the dissolution of it, as the constant misunderstanding between King Charles and his Parliaments, who, from dislike to the favourite minister, and his method of conducting the war, refused to contribute towards the support of a great foreign measure, in which they had unanimously advised the Crown to engage.

In December 1625, soon after Sir Dudley Carleton's return to England, he was made Vice Chamberlain of the Household, and had an opportunity of displaying his talents for negotiation in France. He was joined in this commission with the Earl of Holland, one of the most insinuating courtiers and finest gentlemen of the age, at that time the principal confident of the Duke of Buckingham, and thought to be particularly acceptable to the French court, where, in concert with the Earl of Carlisle, he had concluded the marriage of Queen Henrietta Maria with King Charles the First.

The points on which these two Embassadors extraordinary received their instructions, which bear date the last of December 1625, were, first, to press earnestly for the restitution of the ships, which had been lent to Lewis XIII. and were employed against the Rochellers. This transaction had raised a great clamour in England, and was made, in the next session of parliament, one of the articles of impeachment against the Duke. Secondly, to interpose the good offices of King Charles to obtain a peace for the French protestants agreeably to former edicts; and, thirdly, to support the instances of the ministers of the allies, viz. the States General, Duke of Savoy, and the King of Denmark, for obtaining the French accession to the treaty of

It may further be proper to observe in this place, that from the original letters of the Duke of Buckingham which have fallen under the Editor's eye, and which are of any length, it appears, that he was not well qualified for the dispatch of business; his style being very incorrect, and his manner of thinking indigested and hasty. It induces a suspicion, that those Speeches of his, which are entered in the Parliament Journals, and printed in the Parliamentary History, were not the genuine compositions of this great Minister and Favourite, though he might deliver them in public.

the Hague. Our Embassadors arrived at Paris about the middle of January 162<sup>5</sup>, and immediately entered upon their negotiation, in a long conference with the Cardinal de Richelieu, who had then, in concert with Mary of Medicis, Queen-mother, the principal share in the French councils. They chose to invert the order of their instructions, and “to begin with desiring  
 “to know, how far the French King would concur towards the restitution  
 “of the German liberties, of which some of his royal ancestors had declared  
 “themselves the protectors. Next, as a consequence of what they hoped  
 “would be the public-spirited resolution of his most Christian Majesty, they  
 “begged leave to recommend to him the peace of his own kingdom, by  
 “leaving those of the religion to the liberty of their consciences, and safety  
 “of their lives and goods, according to the edicts. And, thirdly, as a de-  
 “pendence on both the former points, they demanded the restitution of our  
 “ships, the better to enable the King their master to carry on the war by  
 “sea, which was the more necessary, as the Spanish navy was greater  
 “than it had been, and therefore none of ours could be spared to any other  
 “service.”

The plan of negotiation was judiciously laid, and discreetly and diligently pursued by the English Embassadors; but met with obstructions from different quarters. Blainville, the French Embassador here, was on very ill terms with our court, and aggravated every thing by his dispatches. Several French ships had been condemned in our Admiralty-courts, for having Spanish goods on board; and the French council of state, not admitting the captures to be just, made reprisals on the English vessels which came into their harbours. The result of many private and public conferences between our Embassadors and the French ministers was, that the French King absolutely refused to enter into any offensive measures against the House of Austria, but promised subsidies to the King of Denmark.

Richelieu was so far from thinking it a proper juncture to prosecute the war against Spain, that he actually concluded a private convention with that court about the Valteline, at the same time that the Prince of Piedmont and the Venetian Embassador at Paris were pressing for, and expecting a more vigorous support of, the war in Italy. With regard to a peace with the protestants, the French ministers consented, that our Embassadors should interpose, not a formal mediation, but their good offices with the deputies of the religion, to bring about an accommodation. This was attended with success; and an agreement was soon concluded, in opposition to the endeavours and offers of the Clergy, with the Cardinal Rochefoucault at their head, more advantageous to the protestants (as the Earl and Sir Dudley affirm) than the treaty of Montpellier; for which they received the particular thanks of the Queen-mother on one hand, and of all the protestant deputies



deputies on the other. They gave to the latter an act, in both their names, containing a more favourable interpretation of some general words in one of the articles relating to the town of Rochelle; which served as a proof at the same time, that they were authorized by the French ministers to interpose in this treaty.

The Embassadors, before they took their leave, had the good fortune to obtain a general release of all our merchants ships and goods, which had been embargoed in France; but on condition, as the edict expressed it, that restitution should be made in England, within a limited time, of such effects and merchandise, as should be proved to be French property. With regard to our ships, which had served against Rochelle, they were immediately sent home on the signing of the peace. One of them was the Vanguard belonging to the royal navy, and lent as an act of friendship from King to King. The rest were merchants vessels taken up here on contract.

The Earl of Holland and Sir Dudley Carleton had their audiences of leave on the tenth of March, and set out on their return homewards immediately after. They found the parliament sitting, inflamed to the highest degree at the mismanagement of public affairs; and (as it usually happens in popular assemblies) when they found many things wrong, allowing nothing to be right. Carleton was elected on a vacancy for the borough of Hastings, and took occasion in the height of the prosecution of the Duke of Buckingham, his patron, to endeavour to bring the Commons into a better temper. The topics, which he chiefly dwelt upon in the \* speech, which he made on the eleventh of May 1626, were not such, as the House was disposed to relish; nor in truth were some of them proper for a member of parliament, and a true patriot, to argue from at any time. “He fore-  
 “ warned them not to make too free with the King’s prerogative, lest they  
 “ put him out of love with parliaments: That other countries had had such  
 “ assemblies formerly, till monarchs, seeing their turbulent spirit, and find-  
 “ ing out their own strength, at last suppressed them.” He remarked from his own experience “ the condition of the subjects in foreign states, where  
 “ they looked like ghosts, not men, and could neither eat good meat, nor  
 “ wear good cloaths, without paying heavy taxes for it. Let us (said Sir  
 “ Dudley) preserve the King’s good opinion of parliaments, lest we lose the  
 “ repute of a free-born nation by turbulency in parliament.” He concluded

\* Since the first impression of this work, the Editor has found in the Museum, an explanatory speech of Sir Dudley’s, which is plainly meant to give the Patriot an opportunity of making his peace with the minister; together with an answer of Elliot’s, in which he defends himself with modesty and firmness. As the speeches are curious, and never have been printed, they are annexed to this relation, by way of supplement to our Parliamentary History.

with giving reasons for the King's commitment of Sir Dudley Digges, and Sir John Elliot, two of the managers against the Duke; the one for using these expressions, "that he forbore to speak farther of the giving the "plaster to King James on his death-bed, in regard to the King's honour;" the other for using indecent and violent expressions against the Duke's person, styling him *the man*, and comparing him to so detestable a character as Sejanus. A few days after, May 20th, Elliot, being enlarged, took his seat in the House, where he made a speech in answer to Carleton's, whom he appears however to have treated with respect. The Commons were so well satisfied with his apology, that they came to an unanimous resolution, that neither he nor Digges had, as managers, exceeded the commission, which they received from the House.

The Vice Chamberlain's conduct, though not pleasing to the House, met with a more gracious reception in another place, where he probably designed it should carry its reward along with it; for on May the twenty-second, two days after the vote before-mentioned, he was called up to the House of Peers, by the stile and title of Baron Carleton of Imbercourt in the county of Surry. The new Baron was not permitted to spend the rest of the summer inactive, but was employed in August and September in a very disagreeable commission to the French court; to excuse and justify the sending away of the \* Queen of England's French servants. But his residence there was but short, and his reception none of the most agreeable, as may be collected from the following passage in a letter of his to Sir Francis Nethersole, dated at Calais in his return the fourth of October, N. S. "Since I left "the Hague, my life hath been like a continual courier's, changing his "post-horse at every stage, sometime a hard one, otherwhile an easy "one; but still in motion. This last was the roughest of all, and I am "glad I am thus near quit of him, without falling into the mire; my "leave-taking here having been fair, after much threatening to shew re- "sentment against the master by affronting the minister; and my audiences "were from time to time much disputed, whether they should be denied "me or not. Mean while, I had a shrewd combat with a continual burn- "ing fever, which possessed most of my family; but God preserved us, " &c." His Lordship was recalled by the King his master, to shew his resentment at the refusal of the French ministers to admit Mr. Montagu to an audience, who carried letters of congratulation to the Duke of Orleans, on his marriage; and at the delays of that court in restoring the effects belonging to the English subjects.

\* The Editor, since the first publication of this work, has read over the Lord Carleton's dispatches from France, which are preserved in His Majesty's Paper office. He appears to have conducted himself with great prudence and good sense during this unpleasant negotiation, and to have had the skill to ward off any impertinent usage, from a court which was highly exasperated.



The Lord Carleton appears to have been much consulted during his stay in England on the executive parts of foreign \* business; and to have made several draughts of public papers; and had a large share of the Duke of Buckingham's confidence. But as several incidents had arisen during his absence from the Hague, which produced some coldness between the Dutch administration and ours, and the States began to be very uneasy at the prospect of a war between France and England, his Lordship was ordered, in March 162<sup>6</sup>/<sub>7</sub>, to resume his character of Ambassador in Holland. What delayed his setting out does not appear; but in fact he did not return to his post till the middle of June. Lord Carleton found our interest in Holland declining apace †; and all his experience in business and knowledge of the country were requisite, to preserve it on a tolerable footing. He had not the same admittance into their councils as he enjoyed before, having during his absence been deprived of his seat in the council of state, by a resolution of the States General, from which they would never recede; and indeed we had no other claim to it, than an article of the expired treaty of 1586. The Dutch ministers, and particularly the Prince of Orange, were much dissatisfied at our precipitate breach with France; and all the reasons alledged by the English Ambassador, in his several conferences, could never bring them to approve of so imprudent a measure. They were apprehensive of offending one or other of the two Kings, who were supporting them against the power of Spain, and to the service of whose troops in their armies they owed most of their successes in the field; and were therefore determined to observe a strict neutrality. The Prince of Orange was suspected to have rather a bias towards France, which was imputed to the influence, which Hautrive, one of the French Colonels, had gained over him. The States had taken up considerable sums of money for the payment of Count Mansfield's troops, at the request of Charles I; and his Ambassador brought over with him neither principal nor interest for discharge of the debt. Two of the points which he had to negotiate with them, after his first arrival, were not of a very acceptable nature; one of them, was to obtain the revocation of Coen, who was appointed Governor-general of their settlements in the East Indies. He was thought in Holland the most capable man they had in the affairs of that country; but our East India Directors had very strong objections to his being sent thither, on account of his former conduct. The other point was to prevail with the States, to grant a farther leave of absence to several English officers in their service, who were then preparing to attend the Duke of Buckingham in his expedition to the Isle of Rhé. The States had indulged

\* He was one of the commissioners appointed to treat with Monsieur Bassompierre, when he came over here as Extraordinary Ambassador on the quarrel which happened between the two courts, on our sending away, contrary to the marriage articles, the Queen's French servants.

† MS. Letters of the Lord Carleton.

them with that leave, when they were to be employed against Spain; but thought it unreasonable to be asked of them, when they were to serve against the Crown of France, their ally. There was another affair of more importance than either of these to the interests of this country, which gave the Lord Carleton a great deal of trouble. The French were then beginning, not only to purchase large quantities of naval and military stores, but to buy and build ships in the Dutch ports. Four of considerable strength were then almost ready in the Texel, and their agents had contracted for fourteen more. He remonstrated against this proceeding, as soon as he came over; but the States took his propositions *ad referendum*, and would not so much as debate them with him. He endeavoured to alarm their fears with an apprehension (for which there were sufficient grounds) that the Cardinal Richelieu and the Count d'Olivares were concerting a treaty for the junction of the French and Spanish fleets, the immediate object of which was to be the shutting up the port of Rochelle; but no one could foretell, how much farther this union might be carried against the Protestant powers. The States were at that time the less inclined to give way to these jealousies, because they were negotiating a new subsidy treaty with France; their former one, concluded at Compeigne, being just expired, and large arrears due upon it. Langerac, their Ambassador at Paris, was a creature of the Cardinal's, and wrote nothing to his masters but what was dictated to him by his Eminence.

Lord Carleton finding, after some weeks negotiation, that he made no progress in his business, determined on taking a journey to confer with the Prince of Orange, who was then employed in the siege of Groll, which surrendered on articles in the beginning of August, though the Spanish army under Count Henry Vander-Berg lay in sight of the Dutch leaguer. He was the rather inclined to this step, as the news was then arrived of the Duke of Buckingham's descent on Rhé; and he was informed, that the Prince of Orange, and the States Deputies with him, had expressed a great dislike of our having been the aggressors. The Prince received the English Ambassador with the honours due to his character, and heard with attention what he had to offer in justification of the conduct of his Court; but could not help thinking our rupture with France very impolitick and unseasonable. Neither did he pay any regard to the instances, which his Lordship made for the restoring our officers to their commissions, who had been broke, before he reached the camp, upon the first advice of the hostilities at Rhé. The Ambassador, on his return to the Hague, had an audience of the States; and insisted more strongly than he had done before, on their stopping the French naval equipments, as being inconsistent with the close connection between them and Great Britain. The States in return complained, that our ships in the Downs had stopped a large fleet of merchant-

men



men bound to France, and carried them into Dover harbour, contrary, as they affirmed, to a permission which had been granted to the instances of Joachimi, their Ambassador at London, of a free trade with France.

The Lord Carleton had better success in preventing the ratification of a new subsidy treaty, which Langerac had concluded at Paris without sufficient instructions from his superiors. There were some articles in it, which the States could not give a sanction to, as they would, if complied with, have obliged them to furnish the French with an auxiliary squadron, even against England itself. About this time likewise, viz. in September 1627, the States appointed an extraordinary commission, for the trial of the Amboyna Judges; and the Lord Carleton seemed to think, that they were fairly chosen. That business however was still kept in suspense by the seizure of three Dutch East-India ships at Portsmouth, and the demand made by the Commissioners in Holland, that the witnesses, who had been produced in the Admiralty Courts here, should be sent over to the Hague, in order to be re-examined there, and confronted with their antagonists. The States took a resolution in the same month of sending extraordinary Embassadors both to England and France, to offer the mediation of their High Mightinesses for the reconciliation of the differences between the two Crowns.

The Lord Carleton, finding that a categorical answer to his memorials was still delayed, under pretence of the Prince of Orange's absence, grew very uneasy at his stay in Holland, and pressed in a very earnest manner to be recalled, in his dispatch to the Lord Conway of the 19th of September: "I know your Lordship will think, that, considering my hard condition at home, I am much better in an employment abroad: but I am sensible of his Majesty's honor; and it is too great a scorn for a servant near his person, to remain here thus long, and so fruitlessly, with the quality of Extraordinary Ambassador, to which this state has never been used for more weeks than I have been here months."

In the beginning of October an incident happened, which made a great noise in Holland. Sir Sackville Trevor, with an English squadron, entered the Texel, and attacked the French ships, which lay there, ready to come out; and took one of the largest of them, called the St. Esprit, of 46 guns: the rest escaped him, by throwing their cannon overboard, and getting over the Flats into the Zuyder Zee. The States sent deputies immediately to the English Ambassador, to complain of this breach of the neutrality of their ports; and the French Ambassador, Monsieur d'Espeffes, talked in a very high style of the resentment, which his Master would shew on the occasion, if he had not complete satisfaction; and in the mean time he de-

tained in his hands a remittance of money from France, which was due upon the treaty of Compeigne. The Prince of Orange, who was then returned to the Hague after his campaign, behaved with particular moderation, and suggested an expedient, by which both the English and Dutch men of war, who lay in the Texel after Sir Sackville's attempt, might come off with honour: it was, that the former should immediately put to sea, and the latter make a feint of opposing them. This was carried into execution accordingly, and the punctilio of the two nations satisfied, at the expence of throwing away a few rounds of powder.

In the beginning of November, an alarm came to the Hague, that the Dunkirk squadron was got out, and were sailed down the Channel, to join the French ships in the ports of Brittany. Lord Carleton availed himself of this opportunity to press the States to send orders to Dorp, their Admiral in the Channel, to follow and attack the Spanish ships, wherever he met them, though joined with the French. He declared, that if this was refused to him, his master would consider the Treaty of Southampton as broken on the part of Holland. The States were very backward to take any step, which might embroil them with France; but they could not avoid sending orders to Dorp to join his Majesty's fleet, in opposition to any attempts from the Spaniards; and to do all in his power for the security of any part of the British dominions, which were then thought likely to be invaded. It appears, however, that Dorp had left the pursuit of the Dunkirkers, and returned to the Hague, before he received these last instructions; and the intelligence, that the latter were gone down the Channel, turned out to be groundless. A Spanish squadron from the ports of Biscay and the Groyne had indeed joined the French fleet before Rochelle; but, whatever was the reason of it, soon left them, without attempting any thing.

Towards the end of November, or beginning of the next month, there came accounts to the Hague, from all quarters, of the Duke of Buckingham's ill success at Rhé. The bad conduct of that expedition is in general sufficiently known from our histories; but by private accounts amongst the Lord Carleton's papers it does not appear, that our loss in men was near so great as is commonly represented; and the French, after the attack on our rear, were repulsed, our works regained, and the troops re-embarked without molestation.

The return of the Duke with disgrace, and the confusion in our domestic affairs, which obliged King Charles soon after to call a Parliament, kept the Lord Carleton for some weeks without any full or explicit instructions. However, he did at last receive such from the Lord Conway, dated the  
third



third of February 1627. In this dispatch was contained the strongest approbation of the Ambassador's conduct, in the following paragraph: "The passage from all foreign parts is so shut up, that the greatest and best informations, which his Majesty hath, come from you, and are acceptable to him; and so are your judicious and diligent negotiations and remonstrances with that state well vouchsafed and esteemed by his Majesty; and I am right glad I can with so much truth give you the knowledge and assurance of it."

The Lord Carleton, in pursuance of the orders which came to his hands by this express, presented a memorial to the States the third of March, N. S.; the principal points of which were, "That his Majesty finding by experience, that the subjects of the United Provinces did indifferently traffic with the French, as well with wares that are prohibited, as with those that are lawful, was obliged to suspend the permission, which he had formerly granted them, of a free trade; and this not from want of good affection towards them, but rather in consideration of the mutual good of his kingdom and those provinces. That his Majesty the King of Great Britain having engaged his royal word to the Protestants, for the observation of the last treaty between them and the French King, was obliged in honour to resent the violation of it, which had drawn him into acts of hostility against that crown; that the interruption of trade between France and Holland might bring the French King to a true knowledge of his condition, and to join, for the public defence, against the common enemy, Spain. Lastly, he required their High Mightinesses not to assist the French with any provisions of war or contraband goods; and gave them notice to prepare their quota of ships, which was a fourth, to join with sixty of the King's his master's against the common enemy."

Carleton had likewise directions to prevail with the States, to favour a levy of 1000 German horse, which were to be raised under the command of Colonel Dolbier and Sir William Balfour, and were intended to serve in England. But they absolutely refused to give it any countenance, pretending that it would interfere with the recruiting of their own cavalry. This levy was never completed; for the Parliament, when they met, condemned the project, as dangerous to liberty, and the commission was revoked by the King.

The States did not return a final answer to the English Ambassador's memorial, till the beginning of April 1628; and then it was such, as he could by no means recommend to his Court as satisfactory. The purport of it was, "That with regard to their trade with France, they had already

“ by a placart forbid the exportation of contraband goods under severe  
 “ penalties; and hoped the King of Great Britain would be contented  
 “ therewith, and not insist on disturbing their lawful trade with that of  
 “ any other nation; as their subsistence depended entirely on commerce,  
 “ and without it they should be unable to carry on their war with Spain.  
 “ That, as the Spanish squadron, which had joined the French, was with-  
 “ drawn, they hoped his Britannic Majesty would not press them to commit  
 “ any act, which should infringe their neutrality; and that he would still  
 “ leave it in their power, to employ their mediation in the good work of  
 “ peace, with success. That with regard to their quota of ships, they were  
 “ ready to comply with that article of the Treaty of Southampton, pro-  
 “ vided they were not deprived of the means of doing it, by the inter-  
 “ ruption of their trade, and were previously informed of the design which  
 “ was intended against the common enemy.”

These were the last public offices, which passed between the Lord Carleton and the States. He had several private conferences with the Prince of Orange, and the Deputies for foreign affairs; but could obtain nothing further at their hands. He had received his letters of revocation in February; but as the time of making use of them was referred entirely to his discretion, he resolved to continue at the Hague, so long as he thought his residence there was of any moment to his Master's business. That being now over, he took his leave of the States, and presented his re-credentials on the 12th of April, 1628. It appears, however, that he was waiting for a passage at the Brill on the 17th of May, when he sent an account of the surrender of Stade, after a long siege, to Count Tilly, the Emperor's General.

The English garrison, which had defended it with great gallantry, under Sir Charles Morgan, was, by their capitulation, to return into the United Provinces: and the last public service which the Lord Carleton performed in Holland, was the taking proper measures for the reception of his countrymen, and the payment of their arrears, when they should come back to their old quarters. At his departure, he left the King's affairs at the Hague, in the hands of his nephew, Mr. Dudley Carleton, who had discharged that trust before, during his absence, with diligence and capacity.

During his long residence in Holland, the Lord Carleton had been constantly informed of domestic transactions, by his old friend Mr. John Chamberlain, of the Court of Wards. There are several bundles of that Gentleman's letters in the Paper office, which contain many entertaining anecdotes of that time. The late industrious and learned Doctor Birch (whose memory will ever be dear to all who knew him) had prepared a continued series



series of extracts from these and other letters of King James and King Charles's reigns, from 1600 to 1640; which, had Providence prolonged a life so useful to the learned world, would long before this have been in the possession of the public. The doctor's MS. Collections from these letters are now in the British Museum, and, on proper application, there is no doubt, but the Trustees would permit the publication of them. It is certainly an agreeable, and often a useful, circumstance, to ministers abroad, not to be left strangers to what is passing at home; yet it is no unfrequent case, if their correspondents happen not to be mixed in the world themselves, or to be connected with those who are.

The Lord Carleton had the satisfaction, before his return to England, to be assured by the earl of Carlisle, his old acquaintance, who took the Hague in his way to Italy, whither he was sent Extraordinary Ambassador to the Duke of Savoy and the Republic of Venice, that King Charles intended to make him Secretary of State. Soon after his coming over, as an earnest of the more important promotion which was designed for him, he was created Viscount Dorchester. He continued to attend the court in his office of Vice-Chamberlain; and was employed in foreign business of the most secret nature, as an assistant to the Duke of Buckingham. That minister, after the Parliament had been prorogued on account of a severe remonstrance, which the House of Commons presented by name against him, set out for Portsmouth, to take the command of the fleet and army, which was preparing for the relief of Rochelle. The Lord Dorchester accompanied him; and was intrusted by Contarini, the Venetian ambassador here, to manage the first overtures of an accommodation with France\*.

The idea was suggested by the Venetian minister there, not without the privity of the Cardinal Richelieu; and it was thought the most honourable method, for the two Kings to make peace by an interview between their respective first ministers, at the head of the fleets and armies of both nations. One part of the project was, that a letter should be written by a deputy of the Rochellers in London to his town, signifying, that, if they could have a peace with safety, King Charles would have no objections to it. The draught was actually made, and a passport signed by the ambassador's secretary; but Buckingham grew suspicious, that some ill use might be made of the letter by the Cardinal's accustomed artifice, and therefore suspended the sending of it away, till the affair could be more thoroughly considered. When the first hurry of military deliberations was over at Portsmouth, the Venetian minister resumed the negotiation, and brought it to that forward-

\* MS. letter of Lord Dorchester to the earl of Carlisle, dated Sept. 2, 1628.

ness in two conferences, one with the King, the other with the Duke, that the latter agreed to conclude the whole, before he failed. The Lord Dorchester was sent to him from the court, on the very morning, the 23d of August, 1628, that the Duke was stabbed by Felton, as he was getting ready to take horse, and to finish the business in his master's closet at Southwick. This unexpected blow put a stop to the treaty at that time. The earl of Lindsey was appointed to command the fleet; and the King did not think he could entrust such a weighty charge with one who was a mere soldier, so properly as with the person who had the chief place about him, both in council and the command of his armies\*. The fleet, which set sail immediately after, was one of the greatest and best appointed that ever sailed out of England; but the success by no means answered the expectations that were raised of it; for, after some ineffectual attempts to force the works by which the port of Rochelle was shut up, in which several of our captains behaved themselves most infamously, it returned, without throwing in the least supply.

The domestic state of affairs received this alteration by the duke of Buckingham's death, that King Charles declared he would, for the future, be his own first minister, and leave the executive part of the administration to every man within the compass of his province.

The first question of importance, which came before the Council, was, whether the Parliament should sit on the day appointed, which was the 20th of October. Some were of opinion, that it would be the most probable method of restoring a happy union between the King and his people; but the King cut the matter short at the council-table, by declaring his pleasure for a further prorogation till the 20th of January, 1628<sup>8</sup>. “Laudatur ab his, culpatur ab illis, (says the Lord Dorchester to his correspondent the earl of Carlisle) “but surely it is the wisest course; for that founness, “which was on men's minds, requires time to take it away: and I will “give your Lordship the comfort, that the medicine of a constant and “settled form of government (which is indeed the only remedy for the distemper of our affairs, both at home and abroad) is like to be applied †.”

The King now resolved to execute the design, which he had for some time formed, of giving the seals of Secretary of State to the Lord Dorchester; and as the measure was taken, though not yet divulged, of making peace as soon as possible both with France and Spain, he judged it of the utmost

\* Manuscript letter abovementioned.

† Manuscript letter of Lord Dorchester.



consequence to have one in that office, whose judgement and skill in negotiation had been exercised in a long course of foreign employments. The Lord Conway had for several years discharged that great trust, (to use the words of the Lord Clarendon) with *notable insufficiency*: he was put in solely at the duke of Buckingham's recommendation, and kept in for no other reason, but because he was wholly subservient to the other. He was now grown old and sickly; and the court and nation must, with great satisfaction, have seen him succeeded by so able a minister as the Lord Dorchester, who was sworn Secretary of State on the 18th of December, 1628. His colleague in that station was Sir John Coke, whose character needs not be mentioned here, as it has been already drawn by so great a master in Historical Portraits as the earl of Clarendon. If what that noble Historian says of these two ministers is just, that the one was only conversant in foreign affairs, and the other in domestic, it confirms an idea which has more than once occurred to persons of reflection, *viz.* That the best division of those important offices would be, not into the Southern and Northern Provinces, but into Domestic and Foreign. The business of each might then be kept entire and unconnected; and men might be sought out to fill them, who had the talents and the experience suited to their respective departments, which are certainly of a distinct nature.

The Lord Dorchester, soon after his promotion, wrote the following dispatch to Sir Isaac Wake, ambassador at Venice, and Mr. Carleton, the resident in Holland; which shall be inserted at length, as it gives a full account of the negotiation with France, and is a specimen of the manner in which he discharged the duty of his office.

“ My very good Lord,

“ Since it pleased his Majesty to commit unto me the charge of his foreign affairs, in place of my Lord Conway (whom he hath advanced to a higher degree\*) I have forborn to make entry into that correspondency, our duties oblige us to hold together, till I might do it by some matter of moment. And that, which now by his Majesty's commandment I am to communicate to you by this express messenger, is as great as any which can concern this time.”

“ To Mr. Carleton.

“ It is a treaty of reconciliation betwixt his Majesty and the French King; which hath been recommended (as you know) and negotiated earnestly,

\* He was made Lord President of the Council.

“ for a long space by all the common friends of the two crowns, and ever en-  
 “ tertained with a profession of good-will on both sides : but now it is car-  
 “ ried forward, and pressed with particularities, and accorded unto in that  
 “ sort by his Majesty, that either we shall see a peace, so much desired,  
 “ or be discharged of the blame of this unhappy rupture, which hath been  
 “ injuriously cast upon this country. The articles, as they now stand, after  
 “ some alterations, you will see by the copy which goeth herewith. And  
 “ to the end, you may as well be acquainted with the circumstance, as the  
 “ substance of the business, you shall understand, that, since the return of  
 “ the French King from Rochelle, such general offices, as were passed  
 “ before by public ministers betwixt the two crowns, were reduced to par-  
 “ ticulars, first, by the States ambassador, who sent over a verbal capitula-  
 “ tion, as they took it from the mouth of certain deputies, such as formerly  
 “ treated with them, joined with the Cardinal de Richelieu ; after, by the  
 “ Venetian, through whose hands a concert of a capitulation was conveyed  
 “ thither from the Cardinal, after the form you will here see, and little dif-  
 “ fering in substance, save only, that in the second article, touching the  
 “ laying aside restitution as a point of difficulty, the ship taken in the  
 “ Texel was excepted, which his Majesty could not in honour admit ; and,  
 “ in the third, concerning the Queen’s house, it was remitted to what  
 “ should be found fit by the two Queens, mother and daughter : which  
 “ point his Majesty resolving in, and so declaring to the ambassadors, not  
 “ to suffer any change in his court, but such as shall seem good to himself,  
 “ chose rather to take it upon himself and the French King (which will  
 “ keep the matter always in his own power), than to be exposed to the  
 “ necessity of refusing, or so much as excusing, any thing which should  
 “ be demanded by the two Queens, being very apprehensive whatever the  
 “ resolutions now are, not to press any change (of which much assurance is  
 “ given) ; yet that court importunity in France, and filial obedience here,  
 “ might produce in time much trouble, to the disquiet of that happiness  
 “ their Majesties enjoy in their family.

“ With the same articles, *verbatim*, a secret messenger was dispatched  
 “ hither, at the same time, by the Cardinal, addressed to a person of trust  
 “ in this court : and as well he, as the ambassadors, declaring, that peace  
 “ or war rested upon this point of honour, to have the contract of mar-  
 “ riage confirmed, with mention of the Queen’s house, as not neglected  
 “ by the French King ; but withal assuring, that nothing should be so  
 “ much as endeavoured by the French for change in the present estate of  
 “ the Queen’s house, but that all should depend wholly on his Majesty’s  
 “ will ; his Majesty hath yielded this particular point in form, as it now  
 “ stands, to the public necessity : and if it be admitted, as it goeth accom-  
 “ panied with his Majesty’s protest, the greatest difficulty is overcome.



“ One thing more there is of special moment, though not mentioned in  
 “ the capitulation, which is peace and security of those of the Religion in  
 “ France; wherewith all these treaters, as well public ministers as the pri-  
 “ vate agent, began, declaring it, to be so truly and really intended by the  
 “ French King, that the edict to this purpose, in conformity to the peace  
 “ of Montpellier, (save what accidents of war have since changed) was mi-  
 “ nuted, and ready for the press. But this being a business to pass betwixt  
 “ that King and his subjects, they professing the nature of it could not ad-  
 “ mit the interposition of another Prince; his Majesty, howsoever he might  
 “ justly pretend thereunto, by the violation of the last accord, whereof  
 “ he was made the respondent or surety, at the desire of the French King;  
 “ yet to shew how much he doth prefer the public cause before all private  
 “ respects, he doth willingly comply herein with the French King’s mind;  
 “ but upon this condition, that these two Pacifications should go hand in  
 “ hand one with the other; his Majesty holding himself disengaged from  
 “ signing these articles, unless, according to promise, the French King do  
 “ cease his war upon those of the Religion at home; without which, all  
 “ pretended actions abroad are but vanities, and useless to the public: the  
 “ only respect whereof doth move his Majesty to accommodate himself to  
 “ all which in effect is desired of him, even at a time when other great  
 “ advantages are presented unto him by such as are naturally no friends to  
 “ the French.

“ An objection hath been made, that haply Mons. de Rohan, with his  
 “ army, being fomented from abroad, and paid, as the French give out,  
 “ with Spanish money, will not pacify upon any reasonable conditions; in  
 “ which case his Majesty doth offer, the difficulty rising upon that side, to  
 “ employ that power he hath with Mons. de Rohan, if it be desired by the  
 “ French King, with the same reality and sincerity, whereof he gave good  
 “ testimony in the last pacification. And in this state, the business now  
 “ rests; the Venetian Ambassador dispatching back, and the private agent  
 “ returning at the same time into France; from whence we are now to  
 “ expect a final answer.” So far to Mr. Carleton. “ Mean while, the  
 “ strict correspondency, which hath ever passed, and his Majesty doth stu-  
 “ diously cultivate, betwixt this Crown and that Prince (the Duke of Sa-  
 “ voy, with whom, I presume, these will find you) not permitting a  
 “ matter of this moment should be concealed without a confident com-  
 “ munication thereof, as well to his Highness, as to the Prince Major, you  
 “ have charge from his Majesty to acquaint them, not only with the sub-  
 “ stance, but the whole carriage of the business, but without giving copy  
 “ of any thing, because all things are not yet perfect; and in such cases no-  
 “ thing is done, whilst any thing remains undone.”

This farther to Mr. Carleton :

“ I must let you farther understand, that the secret messenger bringing  
 “ a discourse with him, as taken out of the mouth of the Cardinal de Ri-  
 “ chelieu, in answer of somewhat, which had formerly past in that argu-  
 “ ment between him and the person in this Court, to whom he was for-  
 “ merly employed ; and the whole discourse containing a justification of  
 “ the French proceedings, with condemnation of ours, and some touches  
 “ by the way not to be past over in silence, lest they should be taken as  
 “ granted, a reply is put into his hands, a copy whereof, by his Majesty’s  
 “ order, I send unto you for your better information of the whole course  
 “ of his Majesty’s proceedings.

“ In like manner I send you a copy of a letter, his Majesty doth write  
 “ at this present, to the Duke of Rohan, wherewith an express messenger  
 “ is dispatched : And with letters to the purpose of these and such like  
 “ copies I now send you, my cousin Dacres is employed to Turin, by the  
 “ way of Flanders and Lorrain, and may haply return by you through  
 “ Holland ; for so I have directed him, unless peace be made with France,  
 “ and passage freed that way. In what forwardness this peace is, you will  
 “ see ; and though I believe the Venetian Ambassador will make no secret  
 “ of it, yet is his Majesty careful not to have it divulged by any of his  
 “ Ministers. Wherefore, you are only to acquaint the Queen of Bohemia  
 “ therewith ; and for others, his Majesty cannot so soon forget, how ill  
 “ the confidence he used with them was handled. Thus I commit you to  
 “ God’s protection. Court, this twelfth of January, 162<sup>a</sup>/<sub>9</sub>.”

To Sir Isaac Wake :

Added after the words, *Messenger is dispatched.*

“ And because he is like to run many hazards in his journey, his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s pleasure is, for more surety, when these shall come to your hands,  
 “ you convey a copy of this letter, by the best means you may, to Monsieur  
 “ de Rohan ; and as well these before-mentioned copies, as the others of  
 “ your letters of credence to the Duke of Savoy and Prince of Piedmont,  
 “ (both of which are written with his Majesty’s own hand) you shall re-  
 “ ceive by the bearer Mr. Edward Dacres, who being one near unto me,  
 “ a kinsman to my dear wife, now with God, and one in whom I have  
 “ much confidence, I have committed somewhat unto his report, which  
 “ concerns your own particular : And so, with wonted love and good  
 “ wishes, I rest, &c.”

Contrary



Contrary to the general expectations of the ministers, the parliament, which met on the day appointed, the 20th of January 162<sup>9</sup>, agreed no better with the Court, than they had done in the preceding session. The Lord Treasurer Weston, and Dr. Laud, Bishop of London, were become as much the objects of unpopularity, as the Duke of Buckingham had ever been; and the points which gave occasion to the angry dissolution of the parliament on the 10th of March, were the warm remonstrances of the House of Commons against the illegal exacting of tonnage and poundage, and the increase of Popish and Arminian doctrines. By the one, they shewed their dislike of Weston's authority in the state; by the other, of Laud's power in the church. As Charles for the future had resolved to carry on his government without the aid of parliament, he lost no time in bringing his treaty with France to a conclusion. The articles referred to in the preceding letter, which are printed at large in Rushworth\*, being signed at Suze in Piedmont, April 24, 1629, were published at Privas in Languedoc, in the French King's camp before that town, on the 1<sup>0</sup><sup>th</sup> of May, and on the same day were notified by proclamation in London.

By the sixth of these articles, it was agreed, that extraordinary Embassadors should be reciprocally appointed to receive the oaths of the respective Sovereigns, for the ratification of the peace. Sir Thomas Edmondes, then Treasurer of the Household, who, as he says himself in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia, "had long lain by the walls at home," was named in that character by King Charles; and the Marquis of Chateauneuf, by Lewis XIII. The former arrived at Paris the second of July; the latter about the same time had his first audience at Greenwich. The dispatches which passed between the Lord Dorchester, and his old friend Edmondes, are preserved in the Paper-office. The new Secretary of State, who was of a grateful and sincere disposition, took occasion, in the beginning of their correspondence, "to acknowledge his many ancient obligations to this experienced Ambassador," and "some in that very place where he was then residing." The ceremony of taking the oath, on the part of the French King, was put off till the sixteenth of September, on account of the Cardinal Richelieu's absence in the South of France, and then was performed at Fontainebleau with great splendor. Sir Thomas Edmondes's Embassy was continued by several immaterial incidents till the end of February 16<sup>29</sup>, N. S. when he took his leave of the French Court. During his short stay there, he had made himself fully master of the state of that kingdom; and traces out in his letters,

with his usual sagacity, the main outlines of the subsequent politics of Cardinal Richelieu; his schemes for humbling the grandees and nobility, for checking the growth of the House of Austria, and raising the French power both by land and sea to a greater height than it had ever aspired to before.

Sir Isaac Wake was ordered to remove from Turin to Paris, as ordinary Ambassador; but did not arrive there till the end of April 1631.

Before we conclude on the head of French affairs, it may not be improper to observe, that as it was understood on both sides, to be the sense of the articles of Suze, that all things should be replaced on the same footing between the two crowns, as they had been before the rupture, the French did not fail to insist on the restitution of Canada and Acadia, taken from them in 1628, by the two brothers, David and Lewis Kirk; which was the only advantage, that our nation had gained in the course of this ill-managed quarrel. However, this was not a juncture, in which acquisitions could be maintained; and those infant settlements were accordingly given up to the crown of France, by the treaty of St. Germain, signed in March 1631, whilst Sir Isaac Wake resided at Paris.

The Lord Dorchester had the direction of the negotiation for a peace with the court of Madrid; the first overtures of which had been carried on, between Reubens the painter, by a private commission from the Infanta at Brussels, and Baltazar Gerbier, Master of the Horse to the Duke of Buckingham, before the assassination of the latter. The Abbé de Scaglia, an intriguing Piedmontese itinerant Minister, had likewise some share in promoting the accommodation; and it was brought to that forwardness by the end of 1629, that Don Carlos Colonna was appointed to repair hither on the part of Spain, and Sir Francis Cottington, Chancellor of the Exchequer, was named Ambassador to Madrid. He had been many years resident there in the reign of King James I. and was always a friend to that interest; for which reason he was disgraced, when the Duke of Buckingham was most violent in carrying on the war against Spain. The King was indeed engaged to check the ambitious views of that monarchy, by his treaty with the States, and to recover the Palatinate for his sister the Queen of Bohemia and her children. But his domestic necessities over-ruled all foreign considerations; and he thought it prudent to have peace with the most powerful of his neighbours, whilst he was fixing his government on a prerogative basis at home. The intentions of Spain were likewise pacific with regard to England; their designs of acquisition were turned towards Italy and France; and the great object of the politics of Olivarez was the destruction of his rival Richelieu.



It is therefore not difficult to account for the honourable welcome, which Cottington met with at Madrid; where he arrived the first of January 1629, N. S. He was received with open arms by the Count Olivarez, admitted in appearance into the strictest confidences, and assured by him, “ that the King of Great Britain should be the arbiter of their peace with  
 “ Holland; that his master would obtain the restitution of the Palatinate  
 “ from the Emperor and Elector of Bavaria; and that Commissioners from  
 “ Germany were already on their way to Madrid, with full powers to de-  
 “ termine that intricate affair.”

The King of Spain, who was set out to attend his sister the Queen of Hungary to the place of her embarkation, was immediately sent for back, and, when he returned, gave a private audience without any ceremony to the English Ambassador; in which he confirmed the assurances of his first Minister, and appointed Commissioners to treat with him for a final conclusion of the differences between the two crowns. It was soon discerned by the Ministers in England, that if the restitution of the Palatinate was made the *sine qua non* of the treaty, it would never be concluded. The Court of Spain had it neither in their power, nor indeed in their intention, to procure the re-establishment of the Palatine-house. The arrival of German Commissioners at Madrid (which was the bait thrown out to bring on a treaty) was immediately changed into the meeting of an Electoral Diet at Ratisbon, where the King of Spain engaged to use his utmost endeavours, that the Imperial Ban should be revoked, and to set the example, by giving up that part of the Palatinate which was in his possession. But it was urged by Sir Francis Cottington, “ that none of the German Princes would  
 “ believe that their master was in earnest, whilst he pleaded for his ene-  
 “ mies; but if peace was once concluded with England, his instances would  
 “ be made with a much better grace, and be more likely to take effect.” The English Ambassador having made an exact representation of the arguments used by the Count Olivarez, and the other Spanish Commissioners, and Don Carlos Colonna having seconded it by a memorial at London, King Charles in a letter to Cottington, on the seventh of April, 1630, expressed himself in the following manner: “ The greatest matter of doubt  
 “ and difficulty at this present is, both We and that King meeting in a  
 “ good intention to establish a peace of firmness and continuance between  
 “ the two Crowns, (which necessarily implies the restitution of the Pa-  
 “ latinate,) which should have precedence, the peace, or the restitution;  
 “ the peace being pressed by that King, and the restitution required by Us.  
 “ In the one, We see what has been said by the Count de Olivarez to you,  
 “ and by Don Carlos to Ourselves; in the other, you will have understood,  
 “ what We have to alledge, by a dispatch from our Secretary, of the twenty-  
 “ first

“ first of the last month ; and we cannot deny, that the reasons alledged  
 “ for the precedence of the peace are very considerable ; but a distinction in  
 “ such cases is always to be made betwixt conveniency and necessity. And  
 “ though We cannot but confess the course proposed on that side to stand  
 “ with conveniency ; We must however be sensible, how necessarily We  
 “ are obliged to a due regard of our honour in this proceeding ; and this,  
 “ weighed with the like indifferency, cannot but be yielded unto Us.  
 “ Wherefore, without entering into repetition of arguments on either side,  
 “ the two impediments to a pacification between the two Crowns being the  
 “ loss of the Palatinate to our next in blood, and the league with the United  
 “ Provinces, in consequence of that quarrel ; since in both these points  
 “ some way is opened to Us by Don Carlos, in his proposition to come out  
 “ of these engagements, We do not intend to break off the business by your  
 “ present revocation, but to continue you there, till We may understand  
 “ the King of Spain’s meaning in these two points, and to this (in like  
 “ manner as We now write to You) We have desired Don Carlos to pro-  
 “ cure a direct answer : First, touching a declaration, now things are re-  
 “ mitted to the Imperial Diet, what that King doth intend to do in that  
 “ Diet ; which We desire to have in writing, to the end, that since it is on  
 “ that side proposed, the peace should precede the restitution, We should be  
 “ well assured, what that King means to do, to effect that restitution ;  
 “ whereby We may judge, whether what is promised by that King, be of  
 “ sufficient weight and value to justify our making peace. And secondly,  
 “ that the business of the Low Country truce may be put into our hands by  
 “ a formal act, according as it is intimated by Don Carlos, to be the King  
 “ his master’s intention : And how our purpose is to handle it, you will  
 “ have sufficiently understood by our former letters ; for either the truce  
 “ will be by that means effected, according to that King’s desire ; or the  
 “ presentation thereof in terms of the late truce will disengage Us from Our  
 “ league contracted with those provinces, upon these two occasions, the  
 “ restitution of the Palatinate, and the defence of their liberty.”

The Ambassador being thus empowered to continue the negotiation,  
 proceeded to settle the terms of a treaty with the Spanish Commissioners ;  
 and a draught of one being agreed to, he dispatched it to England, by his  
 Secretary Mr. Arthur Hopton, with letters of the twenty-fourth of August,  
 1630. The plan of it in general was a renewal of the former peace with  
 King James ; but several variations from it having been inserted in the  
 project, as it came from Madrid, the particular consideration of them took  
 up some time here, and at last it was determined to reject them all, and a  
 dispatch dated the twenty-seventh of September was prepared by the Lord  
 Dorchester, in which the reasons for adhering to the treaty of 1604, are  
 enforced with great clearness. The letter is still extant, but as the points  
 themselves



themselves are not of the most interesting kind, the inserting it in this place would not afford any material information. Some farther delay was created by the debates, which our refusal to admit of any alteration in the former articles, occasioned between Sir Francis Cottington and the Spanish Commissioners; but at last, when both sides had given sufficient proofs of their ability in the polemical part of negotiation, these immaterial differences were settled to mutual satisfaction, and the treaty was signed at Madrid, on the fifth of November, O. S. and proclaimed at London on the fifth of December, 1630 \*. Some private transaction there was between the two Kings with regard to the Palatinate; and the concluding paragraph in a letter from Sir Francis Cottington of November the twelfth relates to it; but we may presume it was rather calculated to serve the honour of King Charles, than really intended to be performed: “When I tell them all  
 “ here, that this peace cannot hold, unless satisfaction be given in the  
 “ business of the Palatinate, putting them in mind, that the treaty is  
 “ grounded on the *promise* made in that behalf; they confess that they do  
 “ all so understand it. But of that I have written so much in my letter to  
 “ his Majesty, as I shall not here need to repeat it.”

The secret of this business has since come to light, from Secretary Windbanke's papers, which make a part of that noble collection of State Letters formed by the first Earl of Clarendon. The King of Spain (Philip the Fourth) wrote a private letter in his own hand to Charles the First, at the time of signing the treaty; in which he absolutely engaged for the restitution of such parts of the Palatinate as were in his possession, and admitted that the good understanding between Great Britain and Spain, should depend on the accomplishment of this condition; but together with the public treaty, a secret one was concerted by Sir Francis Cottington and the Duke de Olivarez, in which the former most shamefully agreed to a partition of the Seven Provinces with the Crown of Spain, and engaged his master to join his arms to those of his Catholic Majesty, against the ancient Protestant ally of this nation, the Republic of Holland. From what motives Cottington ventured to bring along with him to England this extraordinary convention, does not appear; but it is certain that King Charles the First never ratified it. The court of Spain never fulfilled the condition, for which its King had pledged his honour; and probably considered the non-ratification of the secret treaty, as a sort of defeasance on the part of Charles the First. It entangled him ever afterwards in his negotiations with the court of Spain, and reminds one too strongly of similar transactions with France, in the reign of his son and successor; of which that elegant and interesting historian Mr. Hume has given the first authentic account, from King James's me-

\* It is printed in Rushworth, Vol. III.

moirs, and which have been more fully laid open, in the later discoveries of Sir John Dalrymple and Mr. Macpherson,

The cause of Popery was undoubtedly at the bottom of both; the Dutch were to have been the sacrifice; and the faith of treaties, and the national honour, were alike violated in them. But Charles the First had luckily in his councils a virtuous minister, who advised him to shun the snare. The convention in Spanish is published in the first volume of the Clarendon papers, and the translation of it in the second, together with an extract (communicated by the editor) of a remarkable dispatch from the Lord Dorchester to Sir Robert Anstruther. For the further illustration of this dark transaction, it is thought proper to print at length, two very material letters relative to it. It appears from them, that the Spaniards discovered this secret treaty to the Austrian ministry; and that Charles the First absolutely denied having any knowledge of the negotiation at Madrid, and would not even cast his eye on the draught of it, when produced by Cottington at his return. It is however very singular, and not easy to be explained, why Charles did not disavow more strongly the presumption of his Ambassador, in giving any countenance to so extraordinary a project, and suffering his name to be used in the preamble, and to be signed at the bottom of the instrument. Cottington was no novice in the forms or essence of business, and more likely to impose on Olivarez, than to be his dupe. He was all along, a notorious partizan of the Spanish cause, in his politicks; and with regard to his religion, his noble friend, Lord Clarendon, owns that he changed it, during his first residence at Madrid; then, with a scandalous duplicity, he conformed again to the Protestant, and finally was reconciled to the church of Rome, in order to secure a retreat and a pension from Spain. When he came home from his embassy in 1631, he says, in a private letter, \* that he brought the *shoeing-horn* of the whole business with him; by which is plainly intended this secret treaty; the court of Spain never lost sight of it during their intercourse with that of England, till the troubles broke out, and always considered it as an instrument regularly agreed upon, and signed by Olivarez and Cottington, and not, as the letter from Lord Dorchester treats it, a project (*sine auctore*) given in by one of the parties, without the sanction of the other; and consequently they availed themselves of the non-ratification, as an excuse for not fulfilling the engagement in the King of Spain's private letter †.

The Foreign correspondence during the Lord Dorchester's life-time was entirely under his management, though afterwards it was divided between

\* Vide Vol. I. of Clarendon Papers.

† Vide Appendix to Vol. II. of Clarendon Papers.



the two Secretaries of State. In the course of the years 1629 and 1630, besides the negotiations with France and Spain, he directed those of Sir Henry Vane in Holland, and of Sir Thomas Rowe in Poland and the maritime parts of Germany. The former was sent to the Hague, to explain to the States the motives of our treaty with Spain, and to sound their dispositions about joining in it, under King Charles's arbitration. The latter was employed as mediator between the Kings of Sweden and Poland; and when their differences had been composed by a truce for a certain term of years, he resided for some months at Dantzick, from whence he was very instrumental by letters, in working up the heroic Gustavus Adolphus to undertake his German expedition. In 1631, a more active scene was opened, by the rapid progress of that Prince in the Empire; and King Charles seemed determined to engage with spirit in his support, and for the recovery of the Palatinate. With this view, he granted a commission to the Marquis of Hamilton, to raise and command an auxiliary corps of 6000 men, which, in August, was landed in Pomerania; and in September following, Sir Henry Vane, Comptroller of the household, was appointed Ambassador extraordinary to the King of Sweden; and his instructions empowered him to settle the terms of restoring the Elector Palatine to his estates and dignities, and to offer his Swedish Majesty a monthly subsidy from Great Britain, till the work was accomplished. It was unfortunate for the success of this affair, that Sir Thomas Rowe was not the instrument made use of to conduct it\*. He was well known to Gustavus and his Chancellor Oxenstiern, who had a particular confidence in him; and he had a zeal for the Protestant cause, and a happy talent in finding out expedients, which must have made him very acceptable to so gallant a Prince, and so wise a minister. Vane joined the King of Sweden, at Frankfort, in January 1631, N. S. but, whether it was for want of address on his part, or the defect of his instructions which tied him up too precisely in the manner of negotiating, he was not able to bring things to any conclusion. The Lord Dorchester appears to have kept up a private correspondence with the Queen of Bohemia, whose vigour of mind, and vivacity of spirit, rose superior to her misfortunes; he used the best offices in his power to prevent misunderstandings between her and the King her brother, and when called upon, gave his advice with the freedom and sincerity of an old friend and servant to her and her family.

\* Sir Thomas in a letter to the Queen of Bohemia, from London, November 20, 1631, extant among the large and valuable collection of his unpublished papers, complains of being supplanted by Sir Henry Vane in the embassy to Sweden, "who, says he, is a bold undertaker, though I know he cannot build on my foundations. This blow came from Vienna upon new pretences, that the prosperity of the King of Sweden would make our treaty easy, if a man were employed that would advance peace, to which I was an enemy."

The letters in the Appendix will be thought no uninteresting proofs of this assertion. But this worthy and well-intentioned minister did not live to see the fruitless end of these perplexed negotiations, the weak efforts of a distracted reign; for having long struggled with the disorders occasioned by frequent returns of the stone and gravel, he died on the 15th of February 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ , in the 59th year of his age, and was interred in Westminster Abbey, where a handsome monument is erected to his memory. He was twice married: his first wife was Anne, daughter and co-heir to George Gerrard, Esq; by whom he had one son, who died an infant. His second wife was daughter of Sir Henry Glenham, and widow of the Lord Viscount Banning, who was left with child by him of a daughter, who lived but a few months.

From all the political remains of this noble person, he must be allowed the character of a judicious, faithful, and diligent minister, and better qualified for his department, than any who were his immediate predecessors, or successors in it. King Charles himself, who was a good judge of his servants abilities, used to say, as Sir P. Warwick relates in his memoirs \*, “ that he had two Secretaries of State, the Lords Dorchester and Falkland; “ one of whom was a dull man † in comparison of the other, and yet pleased “ him the best; for he always brought him his own thoughts in his own “ words; the latter cloathed them in so fine a dress, that he did not always “ know them again.” The great talents and exemplary worth of the Lord Falkland are indeed beyond dispute; but whether he was so well fitted for the place, which he held in those difficult times, may perhaps be doubted, when we reflect on two very unhappy scruples, which he could never get over, the one against employing of spies and intelligencers; the other, against intercepting of letters. Neither can it be denied that a plain unaffected style is the fittest for subjects of business; and a stronger instance of this cannot be given than the practice of so great a master of eloquence as Cicero, whose letters from his government of Cilicia, addressed to the senate and people, are drawn in a manner totally different from his Orations and

\* P. 70.

† The Editor has since attentively perused and considered several very curious dispatches of Secretary Windebank, amongst the Clarendon Papers, and the Paper-office collections; and notwithstanding this judgment of King Charles the First, who certainly well understood the abilities of his servants, cannot help thinking that Windebank, for a perspicuity and correctness of style, and a judicious exact manner of stating facts, and giving instructions, is superior to both the noble Lords above mentioned. But the Editor does not mean to insinuate from this, that he was near so valuable a minister as either of them; for he had not the judgement and integrity of the former, nor the eloquence, talents, and virtue, of the latter. He was a useful tool of a court, an artful complier with its humours, and an able draughtsman. The most curious of his letters, are those to Charles the First, with the apostyles of that prince on the margin, in his own hand: His dispatches to Sir Arthur Hopton in Spain are likewise very important.



more adorned pieces; and nothing aimed at in them, but an elegant perspicuity and simplicity of composition. It is in this light, that the Lord Dorchester's \* dispatches appear to the Editor; allowing, however, for some defects of stiffness and circumlocution, which are common to all the writings of that time.

Domestic concerns were no part of his province, but entirely managed by the Lord Treasurer Weston and Archbishop Laud, whose political principles and characters are too well known to be discussed here. He held the pen singly in Foreign affairs; and was regretted by those, who were used to receive the directions of government from a Secretary of State, who, they knew, made a just report of their services, and was incapable of misleading or misrepresenting the ministers, with whom he corresponded. It appears by a MS. letter of Sir T. Roe's to a friend in Holland, that he died much lamented by the public in general, with the reputation of an honest and well-deserving minister.

We shall conclude with observing, that the materials, from which this preface has been drawn, are entirely new; and if they contain any thing of importance with regard to our connections with foreign powers, and the conduct of our ministers abroad, they will tend to shew, how little the common accounts of such transactions are to be relied on or esteemed; what use may be made of the many untouched manuscript collections within this kingdom, which, through ignorance or inattention, are condemned by their owners to dust and obscurity; and how ill-founded the judgement is of some superficial readers, who treat these genuine authorities with contempt, because they have not the industry to look into them, or the skill to separate the ore which is in them, from the dross which accompanies it.

The Editor cannot finally dismiss this subject, without acknowledging the polite mention which Mr. Walpole has made of him in his elegant account † of noble authors; but he may be allowed to say, that had the negotiations of Sir Dudley during this period turned chiefly on the Synod of Dort, the publick would never have been troubled with them. Whoever looks into these letters with any sort of attention, must agree, that a very small part of them relates to that venerable council; the political contests which gave rise to it, are as remarkable as any in the annals of the United

\* The complete Series of his negotiations in Holland, and great numbers of draughts to the foreign ministers, whilst he was secretary of state, either prepared or corrected by himself, are preserved in His Majesty's Paper-office; and the Editor is happy in this opportunity, of acknowledging his obligations to the Gentlemen who have the care of that valuable State Repository; and who spare no labour, in making it of use to the publick.

† Vol. I. p. 195.

Provinces; Maurice and Barnevelt were amongst the first statesmen and politicians of the time, and Bogerman and Utenbogardt are very subordinate figures in the piece. The rise and progress of the thirty years war in Germany forms no inconsiderable *part* of Sir Dudley's correspondence: and though his master *negotiated*, when he should have drawn *the sword*, yet still it is not in the disputes between Vorstius or Episcopus, that the Ambassador or the Monarch take up the pen; and the Editor professes that he has not the least ambition to be a compiler, or a writer, in the quinque-articular controversy. He therefore claims a right to rank this correspondence amongst the materials for no uninteresting period of Civil History.



## A P P E N D I X.

## No. I.

HARLEIAN Lib. 160.

Sir Dudley Carleton's Explanation of his Speech, delivered the 12th of May, 1626, in the Commons House of Parliament; with Sir John Eliott his Answer thereunto, the 20th of May, 1626.

Sir D. Carleton:

“**M**AY it please you, Mr. Speaker, I perceive something is expected to be said, touching the clearing or condemning this worthy Gentleman; that which I shall say, shall be to minister an occasion to him of clearing himself; and I think he will take that for an obligation, and I will do it as a Member of this House. What I conceive he did by the order of the House, I approve it; but what he spoke more, I cannot allow of. That, which comes within the judgment of this House, was what passed at this conference with the Lords; I must go to the beginning of it. When you commanded me to ask this conference, it was in these terms; That I should demand it concerning the impeachment of a great peer of this realm; that was the stile you gave him. Now, I must confess the speech that was delivered at first, as the entrance, gave more distaste abroad, than to the hearers present; yet that, by his Majesty's benignity, is turned into sweetness. The six, who delivered the other charges, they all deserve commendation, instead of condemnation; and every respectful word used by them, was a wound to the person; every disrespectful word was a wound to the cause; so that the offence of many men there, and mine, amongst the rest, was particularly for the manner, but chiefly for the matter, of his Speech; but, before I go any farther, let not any thing that I speak be thought to be an imputation on the House.

That which I condemn him for in the manner of his Speech is, his strength and vigor; but that is not so great, if the matter may be excused.

For the matter, I must look into the commission given by this House, which was, That every man there to speak, might amplify and aggravate his part; very large, I confess; but it being his commission, he is to be justified in every thing.

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His.

His part was, to have a conclusion of the long bill read; and it being so, he was to contain himself within that compass; but I allow him, he might recollect the charges, to represent them to their Lordships memories; but if something were delivered by him which was not in his charge, this was too much, and not his part.

In this, I shall touch some particulars; and I will begin with that which founded very ill in the beginning, to many there present.

He began to represent a character of the Duke of Buckingham's mind. I do not find such a thing in the whole charge; for God only is *scrutator cordium*. His character was compared to a strange beast, which I did not hear of before, but is called *Stellionatus*, of such a strange colour, that no man could tell what to make of it. Other things were mentioned.

One thing a doubt that was cast of a thing clear enough, in the returning of those ships which were lent to a foreign nation; it was as certain as might be; unless we would look out of these windows, and see them on the Thames. His words were, "They say they are come, but I know it not." Pardon me, Mr. Speaker, if I take this for a thing that might reflect upon the House; for that Gentleman said, whatsoever he said, was in obedience to this House.

I will not go through many particulars, for then you might take it to be a charge against him.

In the stile he gave the Duke of Buckingham, the words he used were generally, "that man, that man;" which is a word of the greatest baseness and indignity, in other parts, that can be; when he said he was commanded by the House of Commons, he called him still the Duke of Buckingham; but when he expressed his own sense, then he went another way.

The offence that founded very ill abroad was, those certain comparisons which he did use, that were historical, and afterwards he carried on with his own application. The comparisons were two, the one of Sejanus, the other of the Bishop of Ely.

Touching Sejanus, the words he used were, that he was *audax, sui obtegens; in alios criminator, adulator, et superbus*; which I confess are good words, but I find them not in the charge: In Sejanus, he said, he would  
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not speak of his veneries and venefices; but I must let you know it was thought to be, to give the Lords a hint to do it.

The point of the greatest sharpness of all was, that having gone through the charges, and coming to the last repeating of them; to all those injuries and wrongs he said, "He had some other matter, and that he could not speak it, and he did doubt to think it was the last charge;" and he did cut that off with some words of Cicero, as if Cicero, an eloquent orator, had not words enough how to express it.

This was taken the worse, because this Gentleman did deliver, that yet something touching that matter might be covered, that was not yet discovered.

I did not say that he did speak those words, *aliquid latet quod non patet*; but I say he used expressions as if there were something hid.

I have delivered all, and I desire your pardons; for I should as willingly have spent my breath in clearing of him, as I have done, not in his accusation, but in giving him occasion to clear himself."

Sir John Eliott.

"Mr. Speaker,

I shall neither use art nor apology for myself; only I shall desire you to take this excuse of my late coming now, and not before. It was not any omission of my duty to this House, but my ignorance of that favour which hath been since bestowed upon me. I heard there was an exception of me yesterday in this place; but it was eleven of the clock before I heard of the warrant for my freedom. I was since, with no friends of mine; but with God, in my prayers for my Sovereign, and this House, and your proceedings.

This Gentleman, in that he hath been pleased to stile that which he hath delivered an obligation, (and I confess it) being not to charge me, but to give me occasion to clear myself; in those true merits, I shall never be wanting to him or any other: but because the particulars delivered are many, and may concern me nearly; nearly, I say, for it cannot be more if it concern my life, being, whether I am worthy to be a servant to this House, and sit within these walls or not.

It contains many particulars, and those perchance, if I should enter a general discourse of them, though I might come near them, yet perhaps I should.

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should not give that satisfaction that I desire; and therefore I desire you to single them into particulars, and so, particularly to receive my answer."

Then, upon Mr. Wandsford's motion, it was agreed that Mr. Speaker should particularly propound these charges to him; which he did thus:

Mr. Speaker propounds:

" Sir John Eliott,

The first objection is, your application of the *Stellionatus* to the Duke of Buckingham."

Sir John Eliott answers:

" Mr. Speaker,

I did desire a particular charge, that I might give you a more particular and clear answer. For the general part, of exceeding my commission; because it must be justified upon the particulars, therefore I desire they may be laid by, till I have gone over the particulars.

I desire first, that I may state my method; for the coherence of my words will best shew it, what they are, and how they came in. After a short mention of the first stating of the business upon the evils and causes, and the application of those causes, I went to the particulars, to the charges. And in those, as carefully as I could, I observed the duty of the place I had, not to exceed it, as I hope it shall appear.

It is true, that, to avoid tautology, which would not have been pleasant to the Lords, in repeating of those crimes and misdemeanors, I changed the names, but not the substance of them; as, for the getting his great offices, I expressed by the word Ambition of honour and offices. When I came to the other particulars, my word I used was, Collusion; the Latins call it *Dolus malum*; but I thought none of these were fit or proper to express them; but I consulted with my memory, how such things had formerly been expressed by the ancients; and I found crimes of that nature, crimes of deceit and fraud that were so uncertain, they thought they could not by any one word be sufficiently expressed; and therefore they called them by the name of *Stellionatus*, from a beast discoloured, uncertain, and so doubtful, that they knew not by what name to call it, or by what colour to describe it; and therefore it was I used that word. But the better to unfold that passage, the particulars of that were three; for, to avoid length, I drew as many of the



the particulars as I could to one head; in them, the first was, the art he used to persuade the merchants to go to Dieppe, and let their ships to the French against Rochelle, there to entrap them. Secondly, that, to the King, he did with shews and pretences, colour the designs which he had plotted to serve against those of the religion. A third was (for all these were instances of that general charge)—a third, I say, was, the abuse of the Parliament; for, after the ships were delivered up, it was in motion in the Parliament; and at Oxford, he disguises that purpose, and there he coloured it, as if they were not to go hither. These particulars being so various, and of such a nature, I called them by the name of *Stellionatus*; and I called it a character of the mind, because these lie in the heart, and were deceits to abuse the King and Parliament; these were in his intentions, these I called the character of his mind, and if in these I have offended, I crave your pardon."

Mr. Speaker propounds:

"The next thing is, that in the conference, coming to speak of the ships sent unto foreign states, you should say: "They say the ships are come, but I know it not:" A declaration having been made in the King's house of it; and you spake this as it were from the House of Commons."

Sir John Eliott answers:

"Mr. Speaker,

In the professing my obedience to the House, I shall ever give that testimony, that I shall never go short or exceed; but, that that obedience should refer to every particular word, as to "and" and "if," &c. I took it not within that charge; so I tied myself to the matter; for the words themselves, it is most true I used them, "that I did not know, though I did hear, the ships were come home." It is true that I believe it was here spoken in the House, and I said so then, I did not know it; and I hope you will pardon me, if I do not believe all that I hear; nay, there be many things said I do not credit; but for this, that I did say I did not know that these ships were come home; it is true, I did; and 'tis as true, and I must say so still, I do not know it."

Mr. Speaker propounds:

"Another objection made against your Speech, is, that in that phrase of speech which was your own, you used not such fit words, as otherwise you did when you spoke as from the House."

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Sir

Sir John Eliott answers :

“ Mr Speaker,

“ I must confesse, I am not so fortunate as many others, that I can speak by book, but on the sudden ; and that I do with as much caution as I may, not to err. I know not what interpretation may be made of precedents ; but in this, what I intended is well known to my heart, I did affect to study how to serve this House, and to avoid all repetitions. And I will be bold to say, I did not omit the stile and title of that Duke ; but I confesse, in every particular, I did not use them ; and Sir, that in any language to say, *that man*, or *this man*, should be an offence, I do not believe it ; you know the Latin word is *ille*, as when they writ of *Cæsar*, they used to say *ille*, *ille Cæsar* ; and that I should think it an offence to call any man, *a man*, I cannot do it ; nay, I must say, I do not think yet, that he is a God ; and therefore, Sir, I did use this title, but not every time that I had cause to name him ; and sometimes I think it is sufficient, to say *this man*.”

Mr. Speaker propounds :

“ The next Exception is, that you used Historical Comparisons, which were carried farther than your application did carry you to ; as in that of Sejanus, you had something that had relation unto him, and not the person whom you accused ; which might give the Lords cause to enquire into, as his Veneries and Venefices.”

Sir John Eliott answers :

“ Mr. Speaker,

“ It is true, I used such comparisons. Of that of the Bishop of Ely, I need not speak, for I hear nothing of it more than the mention of the name ; yet because that noble gentleman stiles this, as an occasion (for which I thank him) to clear myself, I will tell you of it. There was a particular censure of him, in 4 R. I. and it came on three points ; there are more in the original, and many more, but I mentioned them not, but only those which were within the compass of this charge : and 1st, the exhausting, or luxuriously misemploying, the King's Revenue. 2d, The preferring to Honours, and Places of Command and Trust, uncertain persons, obscure men ; the original is, he gave them *obscuris & ignotis personis*. 3d, Another, of his boldness, his *confidence*, and that I think may parallel with our charge, when the warrant of the King and State were contradicted ;  
and,



and, in conclusion, it was thus in the original, *per totam insulam publicè proclamatur, Periat qui perdere alios festinat, opprimatur ne omnes opprimat*. For the other, of Sejanus, that had more particulars, as that he was *audax, sui, obtegens*, shadowing his purposes, which is within our charge, and within that which I call *Stellionatus*. And after these, there was another, That he did *clientes suos honoribus exaltare*; then there was another, and that a note of his pride and ambition, being stiled *laborum imperatoris socius*; now, between these, I used the words *veneries* and *venefices*, upon this occasion, for so it falls in this story, that of between preferring his friends and clients; and the other comes in, that of his *veneries* with Livia, and poisoning Drusus; but, I remember, I excluded them, and no way applied them to the person of this man, except he so apply them; it is one thing for me to mention it one way, and they take it another; it was far from my intention: for these things, they are apparent enough in the stories; and more of them have been brought within these few days, than before hath been this twelve-month."

Mr. Speaker propounds:

" Sir John Elliott,

" The last point you are to give satisfaction in, is, that some thing in the last charge you did cut off with some saying of Cicero, as if you wanted words to express the heinousness of that fact."

Sir John Elliott answers:

" Mr. Speaker,

" Though I did tie myself particularly to answer that which came from you; yet, in my preambles, I should have made it my apology to the following point, that for these things of Sejanus and the Bishop of Ely, as I meant not to strain the story beyond the natural sense, so in the application thereof, I gave no words to carry it to admit an interpretation to other men, that it should any way the least reflect upon his Majesty. There is no man, whose honours or offices do most oblige him to his Majesty, is more his servant than myself\*, nor shall more sacrifice himself for his service than I will do; and therefore, if I should go with my friend a mile, I should be loth he should compel me to go two; and if I should use this comparison upon the Duke of Buckingham, that I should carry it farther than him, I had no purpose; and I think all there will say, there were no words that gave that sense. For the last part of the charge, touching the Physic of the King, I shall give you the words I used, as near as I can; the

\* He had some employment in the Dutchy of Cornwall.

syllables, if I can remember them, for I have spent some hours in recollecting of myself.

Having in the former part of the Charges set down the particulars of his Ambition, Extortion, Corruption; then, by way of wonder, which I confess the House gave me not to use, though, for connection, I hope I might do it, to give passage to the rest; I made it a wonder, that this man being such, how he could stand or subsist of himself; being a man, as doth appear in those particulars, dangerous in the state, disproportionable, by reason of his greatness; I found that could not be without art. Then I said, this was by conferring honour upon his poor kindred, which was an art to support himself. And having made this relation, then I expressed that of the revenue, to set upon that; when that was past, and he had so far prevailed in the revenue, and in all things else, then I expressed this; and I used the simile of a Flame of Fire, which sets on fire any thing that is combustible; and thus I did it: "And not contented with the injury of injustice, the wrong of honour, the prejudice of state, nor that of the revenue; but his attempts go higher, even to the person of the King, making on that his practice in such a manner, to such an effect, that, I said, I did fear to speak; nay, I did doubt to think;" in which regard, I leave it, as Cicero did another thing, *Ne gravioribus uti verbis quam natura fert, nec lenioribus quam causa postulat*: and therefore, I said, I would leave it to their Lordships, before whom it would appear in its colours.

Two things, I conceive, are yet not satisfied; first, The Manner of my speech; secondly, The Matter. That in the Manner I used too much vigour, too much strength, as if my expressions were too violent or misbecoming.

Sir, in that I shall say but the truth; what my nature is, what I have received from God or Nature, in that particular, truly I am not master of; and, I think, it will not be thought my fault. If the tone or sound of a man's voice shall be interpreted to the prejudice of what he speaks, I may be faulty in this time of speaking; yet I will be bold to say, I do not know, that ever I spake in passion; howsoever, in my expression, I did not want to put the greatest power I had to it, to give life to my charge; if it were a fault, I hope, it was of Nature, not of me.

For the Matter; my Commission being to amplify and aggravate, I did it; and that, in this particular, I was to read the conclusion of that long bill, to contain myself in that, which, I conceive, is thought to be the duty of my part, and that I was not to go further; though that honourable person said, he liked something more, in collecting things together, &c. As I had

referred



referred this, till I had answered the particulars, so I must leave it upon your judgements upon those particulars; and I know no Word or Syllable, (but those which were exclusive) that I used, but was a transition to the Matter. And for the Comparisons, I did not receive them from hence; but as they tended to the purpose, I had them intentionally delivered to me."

Resolved, upon the Question, That Sir John Elliott hath not exceeded his Commission, in any thing that passed from him, at that Conference with the Lords.

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No. 2.

1631. September  $\frac{14}{24}$ .

Sir R. Anstruther to Lord Dorchester. By an Express.

THE ampleness of my former advices, which I have weekly presented, hath exhausted all matter, save the enclosed papers, and the discourses and observations I have gotten into my hands with them. And I hope this my large deduction will not administer offence; especially when his Majesty and your Lordship shall perceive, that by this drawing of the curtain, the condition of our business as it is here, will lie open, without *fard*.

My last told you, that I was desired to keep this Messenger ten days, by the Spanish Ministers; who were to use this time in consulting what declaration to give or procure me, to the demands, which, with daily renovations of messages and memorials, I insisted upon. For the better going on, a letter was sent to the Queen of Hungary's Confessor, he being out of town at Court; praying him to lend us his hand in the expedition; since by him the rest move. To which he answered, with respect, according to the enclosed copy. Some few days after, he came to this town. The day following, I went to him unto the Convent, taking only Mr. Rustorf with me; where I pressed him, not forgetting how much we suffered by loss of time; which when I had mixed with other reasons, I strengthened my allegations withal; he told me freely, that the pretended loss of time was to be attributed to us, and not to them; for that both he and the Spanish Ministers expected that my propositions would have been built on other foundations; and, that I should have come hither with other instructions, than

than by any of my proceedings hitherto they could perceive I was furnished withal; and that, if I had brought directions from my master on the Count Palatine's behalf, to have notified a thankful acceptation and embracing of those three of the four articles of less difficulty, and have left that other, touching the dignity and total restitution (which hath caused the delay, the Emperor being herein obliged to send to and attend the Electors), to a more propitious time; it would have been nothing prejudicial to our pretensions, and would have taken away all ground of delay from the Emperor, and have brought an accommodation faster on: for my demanding all at the Emperor's hands, who had nothing to give, but the grace of annulling the Ban, considering the interest of Spain in the lands, and that of Bavaria in the lands and dignity jointly, had wrought the matter into this cloud of difficulties, which cannot be dissipated but by the Electors' resolution, at their own leisure; whereas, by the other way, the three others might, by this time, have been near a point; since the Electors could have no cause of exception against the Emperor, if he had vouchsafed grace to the Prince Palatine, upon satisfaction in the other three, so, that the fourth had been laid by, or for a while suspended. This was a pretty shift in seeming, but far from the mark; that, they forgetting the co-operations, their own promises (so often reiterated) had tied them to, in the way we had already gone together, would now fill up the last time with instructions to me, how to have governed me in my negotiation. I only told him, that this novation was not material, as he himself, and all on that side, must needs acknowledge, if they would but look back to their own carriage hitherto, wherein it had not any sign of being mixed or mentioned; that my propositions and the course of solicitation I yet continue in, were maturely and properly digested, according to my Master's commands (upon the assurances given him from their side), and so accepted in all times, both by the Emperor's Ministers, yea, and themselves. If explication were desired of any point, I had long since offered, and am yet ready for it, but could never draw them to any such communication. To have dismembered the business by any imperfect proposition, or descended into particulars, before I could discern (on the Emperor's side or theirs) any meeting in the general, was a device I had neither order or reason to practise, and therefore much less to accept of this for a satisfactory excuse of the delay, if their sincerity were suitable to their talk; and so intreated him to leave those digressions, and add his assistance, and that of the other Ministers of the King of Spain, to the intercession of my Master, to procure the accommodation of the Prince Palatine, according to our suit; and thereby oblige him, who might after be a useful instrument to the Emperor, to work a general pacification in the Empire. Where he spoke of leaving the article of difficulty, and proceeding to the rest; I told him, it would have had the better favour, if the grace of annulling the Ban had, by their procurement, been granted at  
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the beginning; but, that, neither having been done or offered by them, but kept up to be first talked of, and last put in execution; I was to persist in my own way, which if they had ought to object against, or that there lay any true or material rub in the path, prayed they would shew it me, to the end I might employ my power, by removing it, to give the business free passage. This drew from him a confession (insisting no more on the former points), that they do all solicit for us, but can obtain no other answer, than (what we get) protraction or silence. I told him, I was sorry to see their Master's interposition of so small validity with the Emperor, as that he could not procure his readiness to accomplish a business no less just, than available to the interest and repose of Christendom, chiefly to their own House.

He said, if their credit was not so great in this Court as we thought, or as it had been formerly, it was the less strange, because the Emperor must be wary of offending the Electors, especially Bavaria, whose present power and former merit challenged a great respect. To this I answered, the Emperor might easier shew grace without that, than judge or condemn without them; but since I could not take all this for the true cause of our stop (for indeed I had light of some other which follow), I desired him earnestly, according to the sincerity I had just reason to promise myself from a person of his coat and quality, he would ingenuously declare the true causes and obstacles; promising no less ingenuity in labouring to take them away; or, if they were above my present power, to advertise them home with all care and expedition. Whereupon, he said, I have lately shewed you, by the Spanish paper (whereof I have also sent you an extract), what hath passed in Spain; and therefore, both I and the rest did verily believe, that your commissions were ordered with reference thereunto; because it is above eight months since, that this paper was, by order of our King, given to Sir Francis Cottington in Madrid, and sent hither to the Duke of Turfis, to be the rule of his carriage, concerning our business. This latter I knew to be so; because Mr. Taylor had not long before told me, that the said Duke had given him the perusal thereof, but his memory served him not to give me every particular.

I replied, that my Master's commands to me were of no other tenour, or of more reference to any such paper, than I had formerly told him; and that I was (according as I mentioned in mine to your Lordship of 24 *ultimi*) to treat with the Emperor for the restitution of the Prince Palatine, by the assistance of Spain, and as my Paper and Propositions will shew, whereof I have given them free communication; and that I expected this their assistance to have been the more valid and effectual, in respect of the late Peace between both Crowns; wherein I presumed, that all agreements  
tending

tending to this affair were so adjusted, as that my Master should not need to send to this Court, to begin a new treaty with the Spanish ministers; and, for the Paper, it might well have been shewed to Sir Francis Cottington, as a memorial of things required by their King, before they were digested; but that, being afterwards reconciled, and voided before the consummation of that treaty, was not now to be mustered, or brought upon the stage again, to hinder our progress with Cæsar. To this he said, that their Master's intent is, and was, that the restitution of his part of the Palatinate, and his intercession for the rest, is no otherways to be understood, than as an effect of the satisfaction he shall receive from us, on the points contained in the Paper: that it was given to Sir Francis Cottington, not as a Memorial, but as an express Declaration, whereof they knew not whether their Master be yet satisfied; and since I can say nothing to it (it being the basis of all their Instructions), nor have any power to treat upon it, they know not whether my Master will reject or embrace it, and so are not to enlarge themselves farther thereon. If, therefore, I would write home to my Master and our State about it, they would do the like on their side; and that, if thereupon mutual power and instructions were sent hither, we might come to treat farther on the matter. For the matter itself, he told me, that from the Emperor, the grace of annulling the Ban is all we can expect. For their part of the Palatinate, as it was their own, so they intended to make the best use of it. If England would *aid them against their Rebels\**, and join and concur with them in the other points of the paper for procuring a general Peace†; then we shall find them real to their contract; if not, they are not to be blamed for sequestering the pieces (if they must leave them) into the Emperor's hands, or those of some other Catholic Prince, their Ally, who would roundly comply with them in their designs.

On those terms, it hath been offered to Bavaria; but, by reason of the addition of that and some other conditional clauses, refused; as I have formerly written.

When, to this unexpected demand of aid against their rebels, according to the paper, he perceived I made no sudden reply; he entered upon qualification, telling me, it was not their intent to draw us to a direct rupture with any of our friends; but that, upon considerations of conveniency, as they were deduced in the paper, and might be wrought with time and treaty, we might jump with them without disadvantage; but told me not how, with any more particularity. And therefore, I leave the State to judge of it.

\* The Dutch.

† These Conditions were called the *Convenances* of Spain.



For the Peace betwixt the two Crowns, it was, he said, an act of equal and reciprocal benefit to both, and no article therein touching the Palatinate, and was therefore assured, that business would never be able to work a rupture of that so profitable and necessary alliance; but said, that if all were agreed fully betwixt the two Crowns, according to the contents of that Paper, that then the King of Spain would be thereby obliged to labour to procure of the Emperor, an abolition of the Ban; without which, the Count Palatine is not capable of their or any other part. All this, he said, was spoken to witness his ingenuity; promising that the rest of the Spanish ministers (he being not directly one here, although a Counsellor of State in Spain) should give information of it; which, in effect, followed at my last visit of the Embassador (the 30th *ultimi*) to whom I shewed the extract, and repeated this our promised conference; which he in like manner confirmed, saying, the Confessor had told me the plain truth.

When, in my conference with Chiroga, I perceived him set so high a rate upon his Master's intercession for annulling the Ban (other things being supposed to be done), I told him, I apprehended not so great a difficulty in that, considering the Emperor's ordinary clemency, with some letters of his signature to my late Master, of ever-glorious memory, in favour of the interest and children of the Prince Palatine, whereof I had an authentic copy. To which he replied, that all promises or obligations on their side to us, are cancelled, by our taking arms against them; and that now we must treat anew.

Thus high they talk, now their affairs are in the balance; what we may look for, if the scale fall to their side, I cannot judge. They have one eye upon their own arms in the Low-Countries, lately increased in force, bent upon a great design, whereof they long to hear the success; and the other, upon those of the Emperor and his party here in Germany; whilst they labour to gain time here, by broaching new overtures of distinguishing and dividing our treaty betwixt the Emperor and them; which I find neither reason or power in myself to close with them in, without order.

They tell me, that they are writing to Spain their opinions of this affair, under the joint signature of the Embassador, the Queen of Hungary's Confessor, the Dukes of Guastalla, Schomberg, and Bruneau; and that they will declare, how that I have remonstrated unto them, their desire of my coming to Vienna, where I should find the Emperor more absolute; the King of Spain's promise (urged by me) of restoring his part, and effectual co-operation touching the abolition of the Ban, and restitution of the rest; instance, the Emperor's willingness to have his grace accompanied with effects worthy of it, according to his sayings of the ministers. By which

doings, I foresee (at best) a long and tedious treaty; and of equal certainty with the success of their arms, which are *Journaliers*; for I do find, by good informations (besides the fore-alleged circumstances), they have no particular order to treat on terms of Restitution; but to contain all within a general air of assistance and co-operation; which, how that is limited, your Lordship may see by the oft-mentioned Paper, and the rest of the premises.

This being the true anatomy of our business, I do not see why I should detain the courier longer, in expectation of new overtures. I will therefore give your Lordship an account how we are with the Emperor, for there I must keep the formal part on foot. I refer your Lordship to mine of the 24th *ultimi* by the ordinary, for the advice of their falling off from their motion of the intended treaty with Sweden; and so come to tell you, that being informed, that the Emperor desired to have full knowledge of all that passed before, either the Spanish ministers or I should make any dispatch.

I went 1<sup>o</sup> *hujus* to court, to the Prince of Eggenberg; where, after having moved him (according to my method) to procure some reply upon my Papers, I gave him cursorily an account how things were betwixt me and the Spanish ministers; which, albeit he confessed to concern his Master, yet he had not full knowledge of it before, but was hourly in expectation to hear from them. He promised to acquaint his Majesty with it, and with my request; which I enlarged, praying him to put to his helping hand, to bring the Emperor and Spain to agreement about our business; without which, I plainly saw my negotiation was in vain; but that done, we might the easier afterwards come to accord with Bavaria; that I doubted not but the Emperor, of his gracious and Christian respect to the public peace (which depended upon the accommodation of England, the House of Austria, Prince Palatine, and Bavaria), would approve, and join promptly with my gracious Master in his peaceable intentions; whose opinion and expectation is, that this treaty shall be followed with a final blotting out, and decision of all controversies. And that, if his Imperial Majesty would go fairly on, according to the grounds we now were upon on our side, he would not only obtain the honour of corroborating the friendship betwixt England and his house, but might also have the like, in advancing, by the power of his mediation, a good agreement with Bavaria; and, by thus obliging us to his firm friendship, add much force to himself, and authority in the Empire, and with the Electors.

This, I think, he heard the more willingly, in respect of the touch concerning the Electors and Bavaria; and promised to think maturely on it.

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As for the Spaniards, he told me, I had gained fairly of them, in getting them to open themselves so far; which, had it come sooner, had been better; adding, that the mere grace, which they pretended to be in the Emperor's gift, could not be barely afforded without grating upon his Master's honour; and therefore wished, that the two Kings were so accorded, as might induce him to grant his grace *effective*, with satisfaction to us, and reputation to him. This being but what I had before, and a repetition of mine own words (but delivered in very respective manner); so I told him as formerly, that, albeit my treaty was only with the Emperor, and not with Spain, in this place and occasion, yet I was content to hear their pretences; and so prayed him to contribute that we might go on to some effect.

Shortly after, by a message to Stralendorf, I desired a conference with the Committee; who excused himself by reason of his indisposition, and very freely sent me word, they were not yet furnished with such answer to my demands as I desired; the resolutions of the Electors, and other their near friends, being not yet come to them.

The facility or appearance of accommodation, by the treaty we are in, may be partly guessed at, by what before is delivered. How to get into a nearer way, is not for my weakness to prescribe; yet I will present submissively mine observations and notes upon it, as plainly as I am able, to the better judgement of his Majesty and the Lords, by whose wisdom the remedy is to be thought on.

That the House of Austria and the Duke of Bavaria are jealous of each other, needs no great discourse, it being sufficiently evident in public acts; and this jealousy is chiefly grounded upon the matter of our suit. How to draw any benefit thence, is to be foreseen; and as we now are, from which side the way is less difficult.

Spain pretends a right to what they possess, as taken by force, and, in obedience to the Emperor's command, kept with great charge ever since (though some think the revenues of those lands, and the charge the Emperor has been at in the war of Italy and elsewhere for them, will haply answer that, if it were in question); and herein hath all the House of Austria to countenance it.

The Duke of Bavaria alledges no less powerful reasons, for the dignity, and what he hath in possession, confirmed to him and his house by the Emperor, countenanced by the Catholic party in Germany, and mainly underpropped by the Pope and France, as the particulars will appear in the papers.

Spain envies it ; but whether this be a time to resent it, is the quære : for the power of the Duke of Bavaria, and his party, having equalled, if not overgrown, that of the House of Austria in Germany ; they not only dare not jarr, but are glad to use it as a buckler against Sweden, and yet have all enough to do at that door.

From the Spanish side, there is some shadow of possibility of getting the dignity in time to come, if, as before is noted, we let it lie by at present, and proceed to the other. And this is couched only in improbabilities, and general hopes *de futuris contingentibus*, without any thing obligatory, from the Emperor or Spain, to assist us towards it ; and is besides not to be done to the dislike of Bavaria, *rebus sic stantibus*.

On Bavaria's side hath appeared, by the discourses of the Elector of Cologne to me at Ratisbon, as also in his transactions with France, a shew of desire that the affairs of the Elector Palatine, were reduced to some honourable composition ; but then (no less than by the treaty with Spain, if not more) the dignity suffers, though there be a possibility of more land than from the other party ; yet none of this to be done before the Elector Palatine be enabled by nullifying the Ban, which the Emperor only can do.

Then, for matter of Religion, I conceive it to be equally difficult with either, and brings with it the same considerations touching the dignity ; except the Prince Palatine, or some of his children, become Roman Catholicks.

On these considerations is to be weighed, where and how our treaty (if on any side) will best hit ; to rely upon the one, we incense the other ; to deal with both at once, they being in affections and interests so different, I cannot judge what may ensue ; and to reject both, upon hopes that their private emulations will turn to our advantage, in case of other counsels, I cannot propound.

I know the Spaniards suspect there is somewhat treating secretly with Bavaria. I am content that they be so deceived ; and so seems the Prince of Eggenberg also ; thinking that it will ripen their resolution.

To treat without including the Dignity, which is a jewel too precious to be lost, if it can be kept, changeth the state of the business, and begets another question, which is, on which side most is to be advanced that way ; and which of the parties can easiest and safest work the Emperor to their ends, in case of inevitable choice ; for the Emperor to distaste Bavaria, were



to give him cause to resent it in the highest measure ; to offend Spain, were of high and main consequence to them both ; but easier to be pieced by the necessity and reason of state.

These being only my private and weak observations and collections, I most humbly offer them to be better and more perfectly digested by his Majesty and the State.

On the 4th of this, Mr. Taylor brought me a message from Chiroga ; that they had now received advice from England, that all business were there in good intelligence : that Nicolaldi had presented the paper, which was well accepted, and is since translated into English. And on the 5th, told me, that the Embassador had confirmed the same. The 6th, the Embassador himself came, and amongst other things told me, that by the last Ordinary he was advertised from their Resident in England, that the Declaration given to Sir Francis Cottington in Spain, concerning the affairs of the Prince Palatine, was now translated into English by his Majesty's command ; for which advertisement I gave him thanks.

He told me, he was very busy upon the dispatch they intended for Spain about our business, and were putting it into Latin, that the Emperor and his Council might have it to think and resolve on. And here made an overture, that it would be of much avail, that some able man, who might have full knowledge of the intents of the Emperor and Spain, and not wholly a stranger in England, might be sent thither, to lay them open to our considerations at home ; and that, if I liked the proposition, I would nominate the man.

I answered, I had power over none but my domesticks, to whom I could not expect they would give more secret or full information than to myself ; and that what I had or should receive of them, should be amply advertised ; yet I would not withhold mine assent from any that they should hold fit or employ to that end. He told me then, he would send to the Prince of Eggenberg, and move him to send one. I replied, their intentions therein should not be crossed by me.

The 8th of this, Chiroga came and told me, they were resolved Pater Alexander Alle's should go ; against whom I excepting nothing, he fell into a recitation of most of our former discoveries ; and bad me be of a good courage in this business, for that all was going well in England ; and that by what Pater Alexander should know, and have in charge, their ingenuity here should appear. But for hitherto, he said (about the end of his discourse),

course), *the said Paper is the rule*, from which none of them must swerve, without new order.

Thus I have taken much pains, to give your Lordship more. All my former letters, and this, will both have kept you duly advertised, and shew you, without either increase or diminution of any circumstance, how I have plied the work here according to my orders. And although much time hath been spent in getting this light; and that as often as I have been like to send home, they have set on foot some new thing or other, to gain days, I have chosen rather to make the best of it, and strain me to the longest expectation, than to be in the least a Minister of imperfect advertisements, or do ill offices to the business by precipitation; for I hope the time they gain will not be wholly lost to our gracious Master; who (seeing clearly what is expected) will doubtless apply it fitly to his own occasions. I am sorry only, that so great and ingrate a business as this hitherto hath proved is fallen into the hands of so weak an agent as I am, having the concurrence of so strong a party in the place.

For conclusion, my Lord, if the Emperor cannot give us answer without the Electors, God knows when we shall have our doom; for that Collegial Body is now divided both in affection and action. And if the remedy must depend on the declaration from the Spanish side, it is easier to be judged of by your Lordship than by me.

The cloud, which hath been so long gathering, is now broken. Tilly, with the joint forces of the Emperor and Catholic League, hath invaded the Elector of Saxe, burnt, pillaged, and possessed himself of divers places. That Elector, with the other of Brandenburg, (is said) to have taken the King of Sweden by the hand, as (next to God) their nearest helper. The question is now, for lands, liberties, honour, religion, in a word *pro aris et focis*; what will be the success, or whose turn will be next; God knows; one party being now publicly set upon the extirpation of the other.

Just at the sealing of this, comes Mr. Taylor to me from the Spanish Ministers (whose request made me keep the courier since Saturday last), with advertisement that they urge not his longer stay; and that they are jointly labouring with all diligence, by the means and assistance of the Prince of Eggenberg, to get notice from the Emperor, what he will do at most; and how far he is content to express his intention touching this business; without which resolution (besides other difficulties), they say, they cannot close with us, and whereof they hope within a few days to get his Majesty's declaration; which done, they will proceed accordingly to the  
sending



sending of one for England, in conformity to the overture before mentioned to have been made by the Embassador on that subject. Thus, &c.

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## N°. III.

1631. October 16.

Lord Dorchester to Sir Robert Anstruther. From Whitehall.

My very good Lord,

**I**N consequence of divers important letters, which came in the right turns, by the ordinary, since your drawing near to the secret discovery of the very knot of the business, which hath held you all this while fast, without proceeding to the issue your diligences did long since merit; your extraordinary arrived at Hampton Court, the 29th of the last, with your packet, containing several letters of the 14th, and divers writings comprehending the whole mystery of that intrigue; whereunto if an answer hath been no sooner returned unto you, do not marvel, no more than I must pray you to do, that I have written nothing to you upon receipt of your former letters; for there goeth much consultation to affairs of this nature; which are so tender, that, without express order, I never take upon me to write. Now, I have charge from his Majesty, to make a dispatch expressly to your Lordship, wherewith I send your steward, who came over with your Lady, both for satisfaction of her desire, as likewise for carriage of somewhat that is proper to his charge, for your provisions, in which you have especial obligation to my Lord Treasurer's favour. And before I enter into the business, I must let you know how happy you are in his Majesty's gracious acceptance of all your endeavours, and so full an approbation of them by all my Lords to whom his Majesty doth entrust his Foreign Affairs, that, out of the true affection I bear you, I cannot but express the sense I have of so fair an interpretation as is made of the part you bear in a business, which otherwise gives so little contentment as you may easily judge it doth; since a certain Paper, whereof the Friar Chiroga gave you an abstract, and the long writing translated into French, by another of his order (which, having been new prepared with the said paper, is found to be the self-same thing in substance) should be made the rule of your negotiation.

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The Paper came thus into the world: my Lord Cottington having shut up his treaty at Madrid, after all things were concluded and signed, and being upon his return, the Conde d'Olivarez (who abounds in his own sense), having conceived a discourse written all with his own hand, which is that Paper whereof in effect the French writing given you by the Friar was the translation, shewed the same to my Lord Cottington, requiring his opinion thereupon: who, unwilling to censure it, yet pressed by the Conde to answer, said, it had in it *de todo*; which he understood as was meant, some good, and some bad; and with some anger (as he is prompt) would have it cast into the fire: which my Lord Cottington being unwilling to do, as an ill recompense for so much labour, the Conde pressed him earnestly to take a copy thereof with his own hand, and to shew it his Majesty, with promise, if his Majesty should dislike the same, he should then make a sacrifice thereof, as he meant to have done himself.

My Lord Cottington being returned, when he had given an account to his Majesty of his principal negotiation, offered to acquaint him likewise with this accessory; which his Majesty did so little heed or regard, that he did not so much as give it a reading. Since, the Conde hath, by particular letters to my Lord Cottington, enquired after the discourse *sine authore*, which he himself so stiled. And therefore his Majesty doth much the more wonder it should be sent and divulged in Germany, as an authentical piece, and a direction to oblige those who have in their hands the treaty and manage of these affairs there; whereas, on the other side, his Majesty hath been so careful to keep an even and direct course with the King of Spain and his ministers, as though a letter from that King were a piece of the treaty, and came delivered solemnly into his Majesty's hand by Don Carlos, having then the quality of a Public Minister; yet he hath reserved the same by him, without communication thereof to any, until, upon this occasion, he gave me now charge to send you a copy of it, and of another writing, wherewith it came accompanied; with direction that you should impart them to the Spanish ministers, and to them alone, not communicating the said pieces to any other, nor permitting copies to be taken by them; but with them, you must make the best use of them you can, to stir them up to the performance of as great an obligation as can pass in writing betwixt man and man. And I conceive private letters of this nature, between Princes, to be more sacred and binding, than particular promise or contract between inferior persons.

Out of these writings (besides others of like nature) may be easily comprehended, that the contentment which was given his Majesty in the very point of the Palatinate, was the cause of the peace, as the invasion and retention of that



that patrimonial estate of his sister and nephews, was the cause of the war, which continued till promise of restitution was made. And this may serve your Lordship for satisfaction in that point, which you do very judiciously recommend.

His Majesty had occasion to say and press the same things to Nicolaldi the Spanish resident, at an audience he gave him, since the receipt of such letters as came from Vienna to his hand, by your express; when he endeavoured to make his Majesty believe, that there were better intentions in the Emperor, in the King of Spain, and in his ministers in Germany, touching the giving and procuring satisfaction to his Majesty for his brother-in-law. He shewed his Majesty letters from the Marquis of Cadereit\*, and some other papers which he conceived might induce that belief; and upon the whole business, hath made a dispatch to Madrid; being (as it then appeared) very sensible of what his Majesty did remonstrate to him, as well concerning the story. I have given you of the paper above-mentioned, as also those essential pieces of the treaty, wherein his Majesty made it evident, that the King of Spain is directly obliged to procure the taking off the Ban, to make no scruple in delivering his own part, and really to endeavour the procuring of an entire satisfaction to his Majesty, on whose behalf there can be found no condition, but what his brother-in-law was to perform; which (by his Majesty's endeavours) he hath consented unto, and your Lordship made so much known in his behalf. Your Lordship hath therefore both the example and commandment of his Majesty, to insist upon the performance of that treaty to the Spanish ministers with whom you negotiate; with such enforcements thereof, as your own knowledge of this affair, and the particular documents I now send your Lordship, besides your former instructions, will afford.

At the same audience, Signior Nicolaldi propounded to his Majesty, what your letters advertised, concerning an intention they had of sending hither Pedro Paulo†; but his Majesty sufficiently expressed his dislike thereof, upon good reason, as well regarding the full instructions you have of all that can be said from hence; as of the means your residence at Vienna affordeth, of advertising any thing they would make known from thence, hither. And if they hope on that side, by this man's personal persuasions, to gain any change in the former resolution, his Majesty hath prevented that endeavour, by telling Nicolaldi himself, it would be lost labour, as you may also intimate upon occasion.

\* Spanish Ambassador at Vienna.

† A Friar.

I have no more to add in the business itself, but for your satisfaction, in the jealousy you may have of letters which come from other hands, with different advertisements (it may be sometimes) from yours, that none of this kind have full credit with his Majesty but yours, and what is conformable thereunto. I must further let your Lordship know, his Majesty doth well approve the caution you used, of sending your last dispatch by no other hand than an express; because all that is intercepted in Germany goeth strait unto the press, be it of never so great secrecy; which his Majesty is so careful to preserve, where it is requisite, as that the letters to Turis \* are not communicated to any but to himself; so as the person, by whose means you made that discovery, may be secure, as well of fear as danger, that way. And for the safer communication in this affair betwixt your Lordship and his Majesty's other ministers abroad, I have already put into the hands of Sir Isaac Wake, a copy of your cypher, as I will likewise do in my Nephew's, Sir Dudley Carleton, when he shall return into Holland, he being here now with his Majesty's licence, for a month or five weeks, about his private affairs.

His Majesty accepts in very good part the professions Padre Chiroga † makes, of affection to his person and service; calling to mind the addresses he made to him in Spain, and judging no otherwise of these actions of his about the paper, than that all he doth is with a good intention, though it be very wide from the business, and doth rather confound than facilitate the dispatch thereof. And for Pedro Paulo, the stop of his coming hither upon that occasion, proceeds not from any dislike of his person, but rather out of care, to save him a long, dangerous, unnecessary, and fruitless journey.

Even now, I receive your letters of the 21st and 26th of the last, by the way of Brussels, wherein you take knowledge of the defeat of Tilly, and the failing of the enterprize upon the States of the Low Countries; which you judge may hasten or ruin the resolutions of those you deal with, if ever they intend to do any thing for love or respect unto their friends; for furtherance whereof, howsoever it may well be conceived this change of affairs to be a good advantage to be laid hold on (which, I must tell your Lordship truly, is proposed and pressed to his Majesty, divers ways, with no small earnestness); yet such is his Majesty's constancy, as he desisteth not from the way of negotiating, wherein your Lordship doth tread; which merits to be so much the more valued, it falling out just at the instant of this great stumbling block cast in the way of your treaty; and thereof you may take notice to the Spanish ministers as occasion shall be offered.

\* Spanish Ambassador at Madrid.

† King of Hungary's Confessor.



All your letters come with that safety, that you need not be sparing in sending hither the occurrences of that court, with the affairs of Germany, as they have aspect that way; for his Majesty likes well to view the face of affairs in all colours, whereby to make judgement of the right. And this I say to you, knowing that advertisements in this kind, joined to your other diligences in the business you have in hand, his Majesty will take as an acceptable service. And thus I commit your Lordship unto God's protection.

Mr. Comptroller is already so far advanced on his Embassy, that I have received letters from him by the return of the ship which conveyed him into the Elbe. His Son's letter, which came in your packet, I will convey with the first unto him.

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N<sup>o</sup>. IV.

1631. 7<sup>th</sup> October.

The Queen of Bohemia to King Charles.

My only dear Brother,

**T**HIS worthy Lord Wharton gives me means to write these lines to you, and humbly beseech you now, to shew your favour to your brother and me. You shall understand by his letters to the Lord of Dorchester, more particularly all things; only beseech you to give me leave to say freely to you, that if this opportunity be neglected, we may be in despair of ever recovering any thing; for by treaty it will never be done; as you may easily see by the delays they have already made; and let not yourself be deceived, that it may be some will persuade you, that now the treaty will be easier than ever; for assure yourself, if they give you good words now, it will be only to gain time, and keep you from assisting, so that the King of Sweden may be disheartened to do any thing for us, and make his own peace, so as we shall never have any thing, but live to be a burden to you, and a grief and affliction to ourselves and posterity. Therefore I most humbly beseech you, my dear brother, now shew the effects of the love you are pleased to bear me and mine, and let none persuade you

from it; for your own honour is as much interested in it, as our good; for if you now do nothing but treat, I beseech you give me leave to say that the world will wonder at it. I have need to ask you many pardons for this free and plain writing to you; which I protest proceeds as much out of my love to you and your honour, as for the King and myself, whose good is now to be procured or never; and therefore I beseech you to pardon this freedom of mine, which necessity doth force me to, and ever to love me, that am, what fortune soever come to me,

My only dear Brother,

Your most affectionate Sister and humble Servant,

ELIZABETH.

N°. V.

1631. 10th November.

Lord Dorchester to the Queen of Bohemia.

May it please your Majesty,

**T**HE letters delivered me from both your Majesties by my Lord Wharton, were royal and real testimonies of both your confidences, which I shall never deceive. Those, from your Majesties to the King your dear brother, being first delivered to his hands, before I saw my Lord Wharton, I was immediately sent for by his Majesty out of my sick man's chamber (where I am laid up of a quartan ague, which took me at Windsor, and will be my companion I doubt a great while); and his Majesty's demanding of me the King of Bohemia's letters, I could as then give him no account of them; but that night I sent them to his Majesty; which he read immediately and attentively, and hath since well advised and consulted upon them; but one day's sickness, and other day's physick, hath kept me from attending him, ever since that time, so as I have not been able to play the negotiating part of your Majesty's Embassador, which you command



command so expressly upon this occasion ; but I will acquit myself of the duty of a true and faithful advertiser, as far as my weakness will suffer me, in letting your Majesty know how sensible your dear brother's love and affection made him of the whole subject of your letter ; which he commanded me to read over again unto him, with many interpositions, how he observed your Majesty to have mistaken the whole course of his proceedings ; and with some expression of unkindness at these words (*if you now do nothing but treat*), seeing your Majesty cannot be ignorant (as your enemies are not, who have expostulated the matter often with him) that he treats with his pen in the one hand, and his sword in the other ; having the Marquis of Hamilton at the head of a considerable number of his subjects, raised and maintained at great cost, in present action against your majesty's enemies ; whilst he hath Sir R. Anstruther at Vienna, to put the treaty to an issue, whereunto his Majesty was both invited and incited by the King of Bohemia himself ; and Sir Henry Vane is now gone to the King of Sweden, not to cry *peace, peace* (as vain discourfers will have it) but with strong commission and round instructions so to govern himself in all events, that if matters be not shut up with Sir R. Anstruther, according to those instructions, wherewith the King and your Majesty are both acquainted (such as passed with your consents), he is then so to connect and conjoin your affairs with the King of Sweden, and such Princes as are fallen to him, that he is to frame a body of strength and subsistence ; in which your interests are to be comprised by stipulation, as they will be supported and sustained by action ; as now they are in good measure, by the employment of the Marquis ; but according to greater necessity of the occasion (the knowledge whereof we must expect from Sir R. Anstruther and Sir H. Vane) the point now prest, of the King of Bohemia's putting himself personally into action, will be more seasonably thought of than now, that his acts of submission, and motions and intercessions for grace, with promise of restitution, are in agitation. Whether his Majesty hath gone thus far in his letters which go herewith, or only hath acquainted you with the Queen's happy delivery of a daughter (which was celebrated with much joy through this city, the 4th of this present, and that still continues, by reason of the health and well-being both of mother and child ; though at first the weakness of the child caused a hasty and private christening), I do not know ; but your Majesties will have his Majesty's sense very amply upon this occasion, by the return of my nephew, within few days ; yet not so soon, but that happily in the mean time, we may hear from Sir Henry Vane (of whose departure from Hamburg towards the King of Sweden your Majesty will have understood) : and your Majesties, by what you shall then know, will the better see into the state of your affairs ; which as they are brotherly, friendly, nay, I will say ardently and zealously embraced by his Majesty, so I will beseech you to believe, that such as have charge of his

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his Majesty's foreign affairs, make jointly in body, and every one in his way, your restitution the main scope of their counsels; only the care is, not to fall upon the rock of rash and inconsiderate counsels and resolutions, upon which it cannot be denied that this state hath suffered shipwreck in reputation more than once in this quarrel; and the valourous Duke of Brunswick and enterprising Count Mansfelt do merit more to be praised for their forwardness, than imitated by example.

Give me leave to add, that amongst many things which are to be settled by Sir Henry Vane, before the King of Bohemia's personal entrance into an avowed action, one is, a good agreement is to be made with the Elector of Saxe; who already is attempted by treaty to reconcile with the Emperor; and unless a good understanding be made betwixt him and the King of Bohemia, considering what hath formerly past betwixt them, no sooner shall the King of Bohemia enter into play, but that Duke (who is capricious enough) may happily, upon by considerations, be ready to fly out. Thus far hath my humble and zealous affection, &c.

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Nº. VI.

1631. November. From Whitehall.

Lord Dorchester to the Queen of Bohemia.

May it please your Majesty,

**I**T is the misfortune of passage, not want of dispatch from hence, that your Majesty had not answer to such propositions as Sir Fr. Nethersole brought first over, and were since doubly seconded by letters from both your Majesties, before the last of the 10th of this present were sent by this bearer Sir R. Honeywood; for two expresse messengers have been sent with letters from the King your dear brother, under his own hand, besides others I wrote at great length to your Majesty of the very day's date of your last; which if they could have arrived before his coming from the Hague (but that could not be), his journey might have been spared; however, he hath both faithfully and discreetly acquitted himself of what he had in charge. But the same answer in effect having been delivered long before to Sir Fr. Nethersole, and he written by several passages to both your Majesties, the misfortune of not delivery of those letters,



letters, is to be complained of. Howsoever, it is but a journey lost; the state of affairs, without change or alteration, and of the King your dear brother's resolutions, being the self-same then as now, and now as then; so as the best service I can do your Majesty, in conformity to your commands by these your said letters, is, to procure Sir R. Honeywood's speedy return; by whom your Majesty will understand how the King your dear brother (in pursuit of his constant and well-adviced counsels,) as on the one side he hath his men in arms and in action now in the field for your Majesty's service; so on the other, he dispatcheth expressly to his Ministers at Vienna and Madrid, to drive his treaty, without longer excuse or delay, to conclusion; and to Mr. Comptroller, to govern himself accordingly with the King of Sweden; of whose round and resolute commission and instructions, my letters beforementioned will sufficiently have advertised your Majesty. In all your Letters, you stir up the King your dear brother, by persuasion grounded upon the point of honour, as if he were therein deeply engaged to follow what your Majesties press him at this instant unto with so much earnestness; and if your Majesty, with your wonted wisdom, will consider how much a great Prince's honour is interested in a fair and faithful proceeding with others of his rank, with whom he treats, your Majesty will, in place of blame, justify your dear brother's comportment in your cause, to all the world; especially considering his brotherly offices in the King your father's time: the bountiful hand he hath held to you and yours, ever since his coming to the crown; the cost he is now at in the Marquis of Hamilton's expedition; the gates of his kingdoms, which are continually open for the King of Sweden's supplies, singly and solely in your contemplation; the charge of several embassages, with instructions to encounter (as far as is possible) all occasions, and special commission not to lose time; yet time must go to so great affairs; finally, his constant and industrious care of all which concerns your Majesties; which, as it takes up a great part of his thoughts and counsels at home, so, I will assure your Majesty (as I did in my former letters), it is the chief object of his operations and negotiations abroad, and those nearest about him (I boldly say without exception of any one) think themselves happiest, and to please his Majesty best, when they contribute most that way. These considerations I represent to your Majesty, in answer of those long and serious letters, wherewith both your Majesties have been pleased to honour me; concluding with this humble advice, that, as you have hitherto most prudently done, you will continue to keep pace with the King your dear brother's proceedings: whereunto as the King of Bohemia is formerly obliged by word and promise, so were he free, I protest upon that faith (which I am confident your Majesty never was, nor can be, ill persuaded of, howsoever my sense doth at the present differ from your desires) I know not how to give him better, nor more fruitful

fruitful council. Which submitting to your wonted gracious consideration, in all humility I take leave.

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## N°. VII.

1631. 6 December.

Queen of Bohemia to Lord Dorchester.

My Lord,

SOME few days ago, I received yours by this bearer, with the good news of the Queen's safe delivery, of which I am very glad. I heard of it before by Netherfole, and have sent letters congratulatory after Robin Honeywood, which will find him in England, though I hoped they should have found him in Zealand, but he was gone before they came. The King hath so thoroughly answered your letters, as I can add little or nothing to it; only, I assure you, that he is very sensible of the wrong he seeth is done him to the King, my dear brother, in that he hath been informed, that he should make any secret treaty, or do any such thing, without my dear brother's knowledge, which was never in his thoughts. I think, that them which reported, that he had 15,000 men, did speak it, because they thought it was fit he should have it, and so fear he had them, than any thing else; none being ignorant, that of himself he is not able to raise them. I wish that he had means to do it, with my brother's good liking; for, I assure you, that my cousin and Count Mansfelt's examples would not much fear him. I am sorry my dear brother take exception at what I wrote to him, how I wished him hereafter, he should do otherwise than only to treat; for I assure you, my intention was not to displease him, but only to exhort him to do otherwise for us hereafter than by treaty, it being more than I knew, or do yet know, that he doth maintain the Marquis of Hamilton's troops, but only, that he did pay the levies, and sending them over, as he himself writ to me he did only; so as that being but for once, and hearing of no more succour, neither knowing upon what terms concerning us the Marquis of Hamilton went, nor what Sir Harry Vane's commission was, it made me take that boldness to write so to my dear brother; which I pray let him understand: who now, I hope, doth clearly see, by what Hurst doth bring him, the scornful delays of the Emperor and King of Spain. As for the Elector of Saxe, I hope, he will have a better affection to us than heretofore, since he is now unfooled, almost to his cost, out of his siding with the House of Austria;



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Austria; and now or never is the time for the King, my dear brother, to regain that loss he hath heretofore sustained by such shipwrecks, so you term it; which he will better do by action in this good conjuncture, than he can do by these tedious treaties, which may hold as long as the world lasts as they do now, and be as far advanced as the first day, as you may clearly see. I have so much trust of your affection, as, if my dear brother should take any more exceptions to my free writing to him, you will help to excuse it; since God knoweth it proceeds out of my love to him, and necessity of our affairs, to let him know all the truth that I know; for if you did but hear what is here spoken, and what I know will be said if he give us no assistance at this time, it would make you half mad; for the States say, if we speak to them for to do any thing for us, *C'est au Roy de la Grande Bretagne à commencer, et lors nous ferons nostre mieux*. I pray God, put into my dear brother's heart, to do that which will be most for his honour, and our good; which, I think, cannot be separated; and that he may quickly send Robin Honeywood back, with a good answer. I pray you, still to continue your affection to us in this; and believe me ever, my worthy Ambassador,

Your most affectionate,

constant Friend,

ELIZABETH.

The Hague, this 6th of December, St. N.

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## N<sup>o</sup>. VIII.

Lord Dorchester to the Queen of Bohemia.

May it please your Majesty,

$\frac{2}{12}$  December, 1631.

**H**AVING received your letters yesterday morning of the 6th of this present (which came with more than ordinary expedition), I lost no time in the delivering of your Majesty's to the King, your dear brother, whom I found at St. James's, in the midst of his antique rarities; no less seriously employed than I know your Majesties are in like businesses when

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you

you take them in hand, in placing and removing his Emperors heads, and putting them in right order; which work being ended, I besought him, that, now he had done disposing his Emperors, he would think of supporting of Kings (the King of Bohemia and the King of Sweden), whose interests began to be joined with each other, and both with his Majesty's. Hereupon, I delivered him your Majesty's letter, which he read presently, and attentively; as likewise that wherewith your Majesty hath honoured me, which he read through in like manner; and called immediately for Sir Robert Honeywood, to express his sense upon both; which your Majesty will have by Sir Robert: and there rests no more for me to say, but that all is fully rectified betwixt you; and his Majesty is so far from excepting against your freedom of writing, that I know no pen from which he doth more willingly and gladly understand the state of affairs, than your Majesty's own. It drawing towards dinner-time, and the Queen coming out (which is her first looking-abroad since her lying-in), his Majesty took the King's letter to me (with the note sent Sir Robert Honeywood, containing the particularities of exception against the proceeding of the treaty at Vienna) to his own custody, to peruse at better leisure, and advise well upon it; as I told him it merited; and truly I cannot but think so, it being written with so much judgement. Farther account I cannot as yet render your Majesties of it, not having since waited on his Majesty, no more than I shall be able to do this day and tomorrow, when I shall be thrown into my bed by my wicked ague; but no change of affairs being happened in this small time, since his Majesty's answer to your former letters, wherewith Sir Robert Honeywood is charged, there can as yet be no change of counsels and resolutions. But give me leave to tell your Majesty, that we do very well apprehend here, what you know on that side, that they ripen apace; for on the one side, there is great subject of distrust and diffidence (I will not yet say, despair, that is of treaty, which word I have known your Majesty long out of love with); on the other side, there are strong and fair invitations, by representing the apt and proper opportunity of action; but it is not enough to say, *C'est au Roy de la Grande Bretagne au commencer, et lors.* for things of this weight and importance must be concerted and settled betwixt Princes and States. And as your Majesties will find the King, your dear brother, doth expect better and more particularly to understand the States intention touching the Palatinate, by what Sir Robert Honeywood hath in commission to say to your Majesties; so when the King of Bohemia shall receive a return of his sending to the King of Sweden, it will be most necessary the King, your dear brother, be made acquainted with the answer, which, with Mr. Comptroller's dispatches from that King (which we expect here with great devotion), will give a rise to such resolutions as will content both your Majesties, as agreeable



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to your present instances, in case you be not satisfied, in the mean time, with good effects proceeding by other means; of which it were a hard matter to persuade a belief in either of your Majesties, and truly it is no article of any of our creeds here; but the coming of our next couriers out of Spain, will rectify our errors, and make us all of one faith. I beseech your Majesty, let this long and tedious epistle serve the King for this time, till I may render him a better account, than yet I am able, of his weighty and important letter.





T H E  
L E T T E R S

FROM AND TO

Sir *DUDLEY CARLETON*, Knt.

DURING HIS

EMBASSY in HOLLAND,

From *January* 16<sup>15</sup>/<sub>16</sub>, to *December* 1620.



*Instructions for our right trusty and well beloved,  
Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, Knt. our Embassador  
resident with the States of the United Provinces.*

JAMES R.

**B**EING resolved to send you to the states of the United Provinces, who are our ancient allies and dearest friends, to reside with them in quality of our embassador ordinary; for which employment, both for the trust which we repose in your loyalty and dutiful affection to our service, and for the experience we have had of your ability and sufficiency in other charges recommended to your care, we have made particular choice of your person: for your better carriage and more assured conduct in the whole course of your negotiation, we have thought good to prescribe unto you these directions following:

First, you are to understand, that, in that place where you are to serve, you are to bear a double personage; the one, as our embassador resident with the states general of those provinces: the other, as our counsellor in the council of estates; which latter quality you do hold by virtue of an antient treaty contracted between our crowns and those provinces in the year 1585.

At your arrival at the Hague in Holland, which is the ordinary place of residence of the states general, you shall, the first opportunity, demand audience of the president of the states for the time being, and in their public assembly declare unto him your letters of credence: Which being read, as the manner there is, in public, you may speak unto them to this purpose: that they best know and best understand the sureness of amity, that long hath been between our crowns and their provinces; which how advantageous it hath been to the maintenance and subsistence of their state, and how fortunate to the advancement of their prosperity, as they with gratefulness do acknowledge, so we with comfort do record unto them. That this friendship and alliance perpetually may be maintained, and daily increased, not only to the particular good, but to the public benefit of Christendom in general, we have made choice of you as the fittest and most proper instrument to reside with them, as our ordinary embassador, and as our counsellor in their council of estates. You may let them know how highly we do prize and value their amity and alliance, and the charge you have received from us, for the performance of all good offices, by your care and industry to continue, conserve, and confirm the same.

And as on our part nothing shall be found defective, which either may weaken or interrupt the amity, contracted between us and them; so do we expect to receive from them a reciprocal interchange of all offices of kindness and courtesy, which may have regard either to the honour of our person, or to the benefit and contentment of our subjects. And though we have, as likewise they have, many other friends and allies, whom in reason of state both we and they do cherish and embrace: yet



the uniformity of religion, which we and they unanimously do profess, is a bond of that strictness and assurance, as we both, without jealousy or distrust, confidently may repose ourselves in the love and amity the one of the other.

Lastly, you may not forget to insinuate yourself into their favour and good opinion, by declaring how ready and willing you will be to do them the best offices, which shall depend on your power; and to give them assurance, that all your endeavours and designs shall aim at no other end, but to maintain that good correspondence and understanding, which for many years together hath been between our kingdom and their provinces.

You likewise shall have letters to our cousin the count MAURICE. Him you may assure of our love and favour, and of the continuance of our affection to the welfare of those provinces, in whose conservation and prosperity he doth hold so great an interest. Whereof as upon all occasions we heretofore have been ready to give an ample and large testimony; so whensoever that state shall have cause to make use either of our favour, or the service of our subjects, we will make it appear to the view of the world, how much we respect their amity, and how much we tender their happiness and felicity.

After you are to demand an audience of the council of state, after you have delivered your letters of credence, you may say unto them, that that place, which we hold in that assembly, having been long vacant, you are sent to supply it. You may pray them to receive you into their college, and to hold you as a member of that society: which favour your painful and faithful endeavours for the advancement of the honour of their service, and the establishment of the welfare of their affairs, shall study to deserve. Before they receive you, and give you *seance* in their council, the states general will present you an oath, which, all your predecessors having taken, you are not to refuse.

Hitherto you are directed how to carry yourself in the point of ceremony. For matters of greater substance, which may concern our service, though from time to time you shall receive by order from us directions *ex re nata*; yet by way of provision, these may serve for a ground-work, upon which you may found your judgement in the whole conduct of your negotiation. You are not such a stranger to the affairs of those parts (though you have lived in a more remote place) but that you will understand, that the states of the United Provinces, almost two years since, did surprize the castle and town of Juliers; under which pretext the archduke sent the marquis SPINOLA with a powerful army to invade those countries; who, finding no enemy able to resist him, possessed himself of the principal places both in Cleves and Juliers.

We in our judgement foreseeing, that if these differents were not speedily accommodated, the war again might break forth between the archdukes and the states, to the disturbance of the peace of Christendom, were pleased to send an extraordinary embassador to the states general, to move them to hearken unto reason, and to mediate between them and the archdukes, that the places in the countries of Cleves and Juliers,

Juliers, reciprocally possessed by their men of war, might be re-delivered into the hands of the two princes of Brandenburg and Newburg. Hereupon at the town of Zanten in Cleveland an assembly was appointed of all parties interested in this cause; and at length a treaty concluded, the execution whereof hitherto had been made frustrate by unnecessary disputes, sometimes of the one, sometimes of the other party. What pains and travails we ourselves have been pleased to take in our own person, we refer you to those overtures, articles, and propositions, which we ourselves with our own pen have set down, which in uprightness of judgement being drawn with that indifferency of reason and equity, without partiality to either party, ought to have carried with them so much weight and credit, as to have induced all parties to have embraced a peace, and made restitution of those places they still usurp. Yet at length we prevailed thus far with the archdukes, that they were content to make restitution of the places they held, so that the formulary prescribed by them might be indefinite; and the name of us, and of the French king, which in the former were inserted, might be omitted. We out of the zeal we have to establish a perfect peace in these parts of the world, presuming of the interest we hold in the friendship of the states, having first advised with their ambassador, sir NOEL CARON, who resideth with us, did undertake, that the states should accept the formulary, which the archdukes had conceived; and the rather to persuade them thereunto, did offer ourselves to be a warrant and pledge, that the treaty of Zanten should be duly observed. Though we cannot say, that the states do peremptorily refuse to accept the archdukes formulary, and the offer we do tender them; yet, on the other side, we know not out of what scrupulosity they do not accept it; whereby the treaty of Zanten is not put in execution, to the utter ruin and desolation of the poor country of Cleves and Juliers.

Therefore our pleasure is, that as soon as you are settled at the Hague, having first founded the affections of count MAURICE, mons. BARNEVELT, and the principal of your college in the council of state, you demand audience in the assembly of the states general; and after having remonstrated unto them the care we have of the peace of Europe; the affection we bear to the advancement of their affairs, and the tenderness we have of their honour, which, you may plainly tell them, doth suffer much in the opinion of the world, in that they detain those places, which they know of right appertain to other princes; you shall exhort them in our name to make an end of these troubles and differences, to accept of the formulary presented by the archdukes, and of the offer, which we have made them for the assured performance of the treaty at Zanten: which if they shall refuse to do, you may declare unto them in mild and modest terms, that if the peace they now enjoy shall come to be troubled, they only are to blame their own wilfulness; which is to be feared may draw upon them those troubles and confusions, from which the countenance of their friends shall not have power to relieve them. You may likewise *en passant* touch the late expedition of count HENRY in the country of Ravensbergh; and shew unto them how much ill blood their courses of violence doth engender, to possess themselves of those neutral places; though, as they pretend, under the advow of the Elector of Brandenburg; whereby the humours of their adversaries are exasperated, which never will be mollified untill they be satiated with revenge.

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What answer they shall make, you shall receive in writing; and accordingly, as our service shall require, you shall receive such further directions. In this cause you shall confer with the French embassador, who resideth there, with whom our pleasure is, as with all other ministers of our friends and allies, you hold good intelligence. You shall found him how the king his master does stand affected, that these differences for the restitution of all places on all sides may be determined, whether he hath not charge, that the king his master's name may be omitted in the formulary; and whether his master will be content jointly with us to engage himself, that the treaty of Zanten may be duly and sincerely observed.

Besides the common interest we hold with the states, of alliance and mutual friendship, we have this particular, that we entertain two garrisons in their principal provinces; the one in Flushing in Zealand, the other in the Brill in Holland. As occasion shall be presented, either by your own vigilancy, or by the advertisements of our governors of those towns, you shall press the states general and council of state, where causes of that nature are ordinarily handled, that our cautionary towns may be repaired in their fortifications, and the captains and soldiers well treated; and our treaties concerning those towns in all points duly and justly observed. And because we have of our subjects, in the service of the states, upon the point of 200 companies, we cannot but be sensible of their good, and therefore recommend them to your care and protection, to assist them with your countenance in all their lawful causes and pursuits; and by your power to defend them from injurious and wrongful oppressions. And whereas the states are bound by treaty and special obligation, to pay to us, during the time of truce, the sum of forty thousand pounds yearly at the feasts of the Annunciation and Michaelmas; in which payments we have hitherto found them slow and backward, though *tempus interpellat pro homine*; yet you shall civilly and gently admonish them, more carefully to observe the days of payment, for *qui tardius solvit, minus solvit*.

In Holland there lately have been violent and sharp contestations among the towns in cause of religion, which we fear are rather for the time allayed than quenched and extinguished. If therefore they should be unhappily revived during your time, you shall not forget, that you are the minister of that master, whom God hath made the sole protector of his religion; and therefore, besides your assistance, which we would have you give to the true professors of the gospel in your discourse and conferences, you may let fall, how hateful the maintenance of these erroneous opinions is to the majesty of God, how displeasing unto us their dearest friends, and how disgraceful to the honour and government of that state.

Some two years since there did arise between the company of our Muscovy merchants and the merchants of Amsterdam a great difference concerning the navigation of Greenland, and the fishing of the whales in those parts. Our desire is, that all good correspondence may be maintained, as between our crowns and their provinces, so between our and their subjects. Therefore whensoever this subject shall fall into discourse, either in public or in private, you may confidently relate, when this question was debated before the lords of the council, between sir NOEL CARON, their embassador, and the governor of our Muscovian company; it was evidently proved,



proved, and in a manner without contradiction, that our subjects were first discoverers of that navigation and that trade of fishing: that privately they were possessed of that island, and there had planted and erected our standard, thereby to signify and notify to the world the property, which we challenge; which our subjects by their industries having appropriated to themselves, did not hold it reasonable they should be forced to communicate to others the fruits of their labours. You may say, that we ever did shew ourselves ready, by the course of the carriage of our actions, to conserve the mutual correspondence, which is between our crowns and their provinces; but without wrong to our honour, which we will ever be found careful to preserve, we may not neglect the welfare and prosperity of our loyal and loving subjects.

Some differences there have been between our brother the king of Denmark and the states, which, though they be appeased, yet there remain some relics of bitterness in the stomachs of them both; which, as occasion shall serve, yet rather *aliud agendo* than *deditâ operâ*, we would have you to sweeten, and, if it be possible, to settle a good correspondence between them.

The princes of the religion in Germany, namely our dear son the elector Palatine, as director of that union, shall have often cause to treat with the states, and to send their ambassadors thither; whom we do require you with courtesy to entertain, as the ministers of our good friends, and assist them with your council and good advice, for the more speedy and happy dispatch of their business.

The last year our son the elector Palatine, in the name of the princes in Germany, as director of the union, did make a league offensive with the states of the United Provinces, which was contracted for the space of fifteen years; which league the princes of the union, unwilling to be embarked in a war, make difficulty to avow, because it is of longer continuance by seven years than the truce, which the states have made with the king of Spain and the archdukes. Hereupon the elector hath made offer, the better to justify his own honour, to enter into league apart with the states, and therein hath intreated by letters we have received from him, the favour of our mediation. If therefore, during your abode with the states, any of the ministers of our said son shall negotiate this affair with them; we require you to give them your best assistance, and to use our name to the states to advance this business, which, you may tell them, will be both honourable for their provinces, and very acceptable to us, and will at the end draw the rest of the princes of the union to undertake the defence of the cause.

Heretofore we have been engaged in the defence of our cousin the count of Friesland, whom our protection hath preserved in his state against the attempts and practices of the town of Embden: and therefore we do require you, if any of his ministers shall address themselves unto you, to afford them in their just causes your lawful favour. The like you shall perform in the affairs of the duke of Savoy and the count of Oldenburgh, as you shall be requested by them or their ministers. We understand, that our nephew the duke of Brunswick and the town itself have made presentation to some of our ministers, to submit to the arbitrement of us, and  
of

of our brother the king of Denmark, the decision of all the differents, which long have been in suspense between them. Therefore we are pleased for the effecting of so good a work, that if from the king of Denmark you shall be required, or called by the duke our nephew, you transport yourself into that country, and employ your best endeavours, by the mediation of our name, to settle a solid and sure peace between the said duke and town.

Lastly, you shall hold with all our ministers abroad, namely, with our agents residing with the princes possidents of Cleves and Juliers, and they with you, good correspondence for the better understanding of this suite of affairs, which will direct your judgement in the carriage of all businesses, and give you better assurance of your negotiations, either public or private.

Dated at Whitehall the sixth of Jan. 1615.

RALPH WINWOOD.

*Jan.* 4. The king's credentials for sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the states general.

4. The king's letter to the council of state to receive sir DUDLEY CARLETON into their assembly.

6. The king's letter to prince MAURICE, signifying, that sir DUDLEY CARLETON is sent ambassador to the states general.

*March* 11. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

S I R,

By the report of this gentleman you will understand the cause of this sudden journey, which is, if I mistake not, to make known to the states the state of their difference with the Uscocchi; and that it is fomented by the house of Austria. His majesty doth require you to do that, which out of your own judgement you would otherwise do; that is, to give this gentleman all countenance and assistance: and so I leave this matter. Sir H. FANSHAW at the assizes \* sitting at dinner with the judges is fallen into an apoplexy; of which unhappiness no man is sorer than myself. There will be a peace in France, whither my lord HAYES doth go ambassador extraordinary. Remember my service to your lady, and believe, that I am

your assured friend,

St. Bartholomew the 11th of March, 1615.

RALPH WINWOOD.

*March* 29, 1616. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD, from the Hague.

R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Though I used all possible diligence in my coming hither, and after my arrival here, in obtaining my first audience, it is long before I could give his majesty an account, that I am here settled in his service; the contrary wind holding me long in my passage, and the absence of most of the states general about their yearly contributions, and the sickness of M. BARNEVELT, causing, as it were, a dead calm in this court. Now

\* March 10 at Hertford assizes. CAMDEN, Annales R. JACOBI, p. 17.

the one are daily expected out of their severall provinces; and the other, having overcome the fury of a sharp fever, which endangered his life, will come abroad as soon as he hath recovered strength; so as they being assembled, I shall then more seasonably propound such things as I have in my instructions from his majesty, than now that, he being absent, and their number so few, I may say they have neither soul nor body. Mean time I have dispatched the ceremonial part of my charge, having presented myself to those few of the states general, which represent the rest, the 20th of this present; and yesterday I was admitted of their council of state with the accustomed form; in each of which places I used those speeches whereof I send herewith the copies, and received answer to both much to the same effect; which was, very ample acknowledgement of his Majesty's great and continual favour to their state; with profession of their due and faithful service to his majesty, their allowing the choice it hath pleased his majesty to make of me his minister, and desiring me to perform all good offices, both with his majesty and otherwise, for the good of their state. I have been defrayed by the state ever since the 14th of this month, that I came to this place; which was the same day I arrived at Rotterdam. Upon my entry into the council of state, I intreated them to cease their trouble and charge in that kind. I was visited by count MAURICE the next day after my arrival, and the same day of my first audience delivered him his majesty's letters, using such speech unto him as I had order in my instructions; which he accepted very thankfully, with much profession of his devoted service to his majesty. Monf. BARNEVELT being returned the 17th of this month from a journey he had made to the marriage of the young count VAN BREDERODE (wherein by some disorder he got his sickness) came to visit me the day following, and was very ample in acknowledging the antient obligations of this state to his majesty, ascribing their subsistence unto him next under God, and despairing of continuance, if his princely favour should fail them. I gave those assurances, which were fit for this purpose, and received from him very large offers of his readiness in any thing, which might concern his majesty's service. By others, both of the states general and council of state, which are here present, I have been likewise visited, as deputies for the rest, and particularly by those to whom I had your honour's private letters: only secretary HUYGENS excepted, who is *inchiato* with the gout.

The Venetian secretary, by whom I received your honour's letters of the 10th of this present, arrived here the 21st. Yesterday he had audience of the states general, to whom he explained the state of the business betwixt his masters and the Uscocchi; and how it hath drawn, in consequence, a quarrel with the house of Austria; which he shewed how far it had been carried both in treaty and hostility; making his whole discourse harratory only, without instance or demand. The answer, which was given him, he took to be very cold, it being both brief, and in general terms; yet his message requiring no answer, I see not what he could expect more. But the same day two of the states general, one of Guelders, the other of Zealand, inviting themselves to him to dinner at his inn, where he is defrayed, did by way of private discourse enlarge themselves farther, shewing much likelihood this state would be ready to embrace a league or confederation with the state of Venice, in case it were proposed: wherein he answered, he had no commission, but promised to write to Venice. With count MAURICE he hath passed the like office, and hath had the best assistance I could give him.

C

Yesterday



Yesterday I received a letter from your honour of the 22d of this present, in favour of mr. THOMAS BOOTHBY, merchant of London, whose solicitor I have advised to suspend the delivery of his majesty's letters, until monf. BARNEVELT come abroad, he being best acquainted with the business, and most able to procure satisfaction. Mean time, if there be need, I will endeavour to make stay of MOY LAMBERT at Rotterdam, who provides for a new voyage, and will give the parties interested the best help I may.

They are here much startled with sudden advertisements from count ERNEST of Nassau of the 5th of April, dated at Arnheim, which accuse other letters of the 4th from Meurs and other places there adjoining, that the archduke's troops are passed the Rhine, to the number of 7000 foot and 1500 horse: that they have drawn out of Wesel ten pieces of artillery, with all sorts of munition; whereof five are of that greatness, that they are drawn each of them with 25 horse, all under the conduct of the count HENRY VANDENBERG, but with expectation of the coming from Brussels of the marquis SPINOLA. The common voice of those parts is, that they go to possess themselves of Zoest, Lipstadt, and Dourmond, and other towns and places remaining neutral in the dutchy of Bergh, and county of Marche; but they are not thought of sufficient importance for so great preparation; in which regard it is rather judged they have design either upon Embden (which the Spaniards both before and during the whole time of the wars ever aimed at) or upon Bremen, to second the pretensions of the bishop of Colen. This state is far from apprehension of any danger to themselves; yet in all event they have reinforced their garrisons of Emerick and Rhees, causing all sort of powder and munition to be transported thither, with order to all their troops, both horse and foot, to be ready upon the first command. Whatever the other side intends, it is thought the taking of Burdo (whereof your honour hath heard) and the journey to Brunswick hath stirred them to do somewhat likewise for reputation, though in an unseasonable time, either for marching or forage.

In the absence of the prince of Brandenburg (who about a month since went with a convoy of the states horse towards the elector his father, and doth make account to return by the prince elector palatine's court within the space of six weeks) his council hath written hither from Cleve upon occasion of the stirring of the archduke's troops, desiring this state to be vigilant upon the protection of their masters.

The day before my arrival at this place there was found casually in the court, covered in the ordinary dust-heap, the body of a man murdered, with two wounds through his heart; his clothes, hat, and cloke being on, and a ring on his finger of good value. He was presently known to be a jeweller of Amsterdam, by name VAN WEELEN, who was sent for hither by the states, partly upon occasion of the marriage of the count VAN BREDERODE, and partly for that of count HENRY, for which they make provision; whereby he became furnished with jewels to the value of 10,000*l.* sterl. of all which he was robbed, and nothing as yet discovered, either of the persons, which committed the fact, or the jewels. Three days before the time he was found dead, he was early in the morning with monf. BARNEVELT, to whom he was appointed to return by five in the afternoon, whereof he failed, and was for that time forward

missing at his lodging, so as by conjecture he was then murdered, and kept two days above ground. The suspicion lights most upon the notaries houses adjoining to the place, where the body was found; and the friends of the party, that was murdered, rest very ill satisfied of the slender inquiry, which is made amongst them, or in the rest of the court; though abroad, by proclamations, searches, and inquiries, no diligence is omitted for discovery.

The particularities of this accident, though they concern a private person, I write your honour, in regard on the archduke's side it is drawn into a matter of public scandal, wherewith they fill both the pulpit and the piazza. And now I know not whether I should ask pardon more for my long silence, or my long letter; but I beseech your honour to continue your wonted favour in excusing all errors to his majesty, in hope that, upon better practice of the language wherein I treat, though long difused, and the knowledge of their affairs upon more experience, I may in some sort answer the recommendation your honour hath used in my behalf, whereof I both tasted the fruits in England, and find those good impressions your honour left in this place; for which I must acknowledge my due obligation, with profession ever to rest, as I am bound,

Your honour's most faithfully devoted to your service,

Hague, the 29th of March,  
1616, filo vet.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's speech in French to the states general upon his first audience.

Speech in French to the states general to be admitted to, and take place in, their council.

*April 1<sup>st</sup>.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD, sent by captain VERE's antient.

R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup>,

By reason that monf. BARNEVELT doth not yet come abroad since his late sickness, and that count MAURICE hath likewise for this week past kept his house, being in a course of diet, I have for matter of negotiation gone no farther than I advertised your honour by my first dispatch from this place of the 29th of the last. For the occurrences of these parts, they are here since that time thus advertised. STUCKENBURGH the governor of Grave (who is serjeant major general of the horse for this state) being in his return from conducting the prince of Brandenburg towards Germany, hearing of the marching of the archduke's troops, sent eight of his horse with his lieutenant to Zoest, to take possession of the place in the name of the states. They being received by the inhabitants, count HENRY VANDENBERG came before the place with cannon the 8th of this present N. S. which answered the first shot with five or six from the walls, but rendered the same night, and took in a garrison of 200 Spaniards. The condition, or what became of STUCKENBURGH's men, is not advertised from thence. Count HENRY marched towards Lipstadt, where STUCKENBURGH is in person; but the place not defensible: it is like before this time it hath run the same

fortune as the other. Before Zoest count HENRY and STUCKENBURGH had long speech together, where the count demanded of him by what commission he possessed himself of those places; to which he could make no answer. Whereupon the count shewed him one, and told (which because he cannot read, he took on the count's word) that it gave him authority to possess himself of those places, notwithstanding that the states men had been formerly entered with their commission. The day after the place was reduced, a commission arrived there from count MAURICE, which was dispatched from hence in diligence upon the first news of the enemies marching. The like is sent to Lipstadt, but it is doubted it will come too late, or howsoever that it will not be regarded. All advertisements concur, that from thence the enemy will march to Hildestun, an episcopal see in possession of the duke of Brunswick, but claimed by the elector of Colen, who, armed with the emperor's authority, is said to be in person with the archduke's troops. There is nothing in all that jurisdiction of strength to make resistance.

As any thing shall further occur, I will take the liberty, by private letters, as there is commodity of messages, to advertise your honour; and for the present I humbly take leave. From the Hague, this  $\frac{4}{14}$  of April 1616.

*April  $\frac{6}{16}$ .* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD, sent by lieutenant TURNER.

R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup>,

By my last of the  $\frac{4}{14}$  of this present, I advertised your honour of the taking of Zoest by count HENRY VANDENBERG. Since there is news of the like success at Lipstadt; though, before it rendered, it endured more shot of cannon than the other. The inhabitants of Zoest, immediately after the departure of count HENRY towards Lipstadt, disarmed the 200 Spaniards, which he left there in garrison; but at his return he caused their arms to be restored; and with other nations increased their number to 700. In Lipstadt he hath left 500, and is now said to be returned with the rest of his troops towards the Rhine. They do here much complain of the attempt, in regard that those two places had each of them several acts of neutrality both from count MAURICE and the marquis SPINOLA; as likewise from the two princes Brandenburg and Newburgh; and they are now entering into consultation of going into the field to prevent further attempts: upon which occasion the council of state both yesterday and to-day were called before the states general; but the resolution is deferred until the coming to this place of the count ERNEST from Arnheim and Hackenburgh, who was upon the place at the approaching of the archduke's troops; that upon their relation a better judgement may be grounded. Count MAURICE and monf. BARNEVELT were both of them this day in council, which is the first coming abroad since the physic of the one, and sickness of the other; so as I shall now no longer defer to put in execution what I have in commandment from his majesty. Thus for the present I humbly take leave.

*April*



April  $\frac{11}{21}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup>,

My first dispatch from this place was by HERMAN, the post, of the 29th of the last: since which time I wrote to your honour the 4th of this present by an antient to capt. VERE, and the 6th by the lieutenant TURNER.

Yesterday was my first opportunity to speak in full assembly of the states general; those of Holland having been till that time absent, by reason of their particular affairs. Where I used such speech (as near as my memory and ability would serve) as might best concur with his majesty's verbal instructions; and those I received in writing from your honour: the copy whereof I send your honour, to the end you may be pleased therewith to acquaint his majesty.

Two days before I spoke in private with monf. BARNEVELT to the like effect, both concerning VORSTIUS and the archduke's formulary; to the former of which he made small answer, save only that he took notice of having understood from sir NOEL CARON of his majesty's dislike of a book written by VORSTIUS, in answer of SLADE, and desired to have a note of such exceptions as were taken against the book, which I sent him the next day, in conformity to one I received from England by his majesty's order from my lord bishop of Bath.

In the other argument touching the formulary, he discoursed long, repeating *usque ab ovo* the whole discourses of the negotiation; laying the fault on the king of Spain's ministers, that the treaty of Zanten was not put in execution.

Touching the formulary last proposed by the archdukes, in regard it hath neither reference to the treaty of Zanten, nor doth yet make mention of his majesty, or the French king; he said, this state made such scruple to admit thereof, doubting lest, immediately after their leaving what they now possess in Cleves and Juliers, the whole country would be seized upon under title of the emperor; and then he thought his majesty would be the first, that would blame them, who, by the experience they have, more than other princes and states, of the fraudulent dealing of the Spaniard, should use more caution than others in preventing of danger; adding further, that the country being once possessed by the Spaniard under title of the emperor, he doubted whether his majesty would engage himself in a war for the recovery thereof; as likewise, whether this state would enter into a new charge and expence to recover that hardly again, in the right, and to the use, of a third person, which now by accepting this formulary would be so easily rendered. In this regard, he said, the states had suspended their answer to his majesty, being unwilling to give a refusal to a prince, to whom they owe so much respect: and now he thought, by reason the enemy had, against a solemn act of neutrality given under hand and seal of the generals on both sides, possessed themselves of two towns (wherein the states had men formerly, but withdrew them upon the contract) the proposition would be more unreasonable. In which regard he wished me first to write unto his majesty before I would speak in public of this subject, and expect his majesty's further order. I told him, that as these accidents did multiply in consequence one of another, for the disturbance of the common quiet, I thought

thought it the more necessary to make the overture the sooner, to prevent further inconveniencies. Withal that my order from his majesty was exprefs, and that his majesty had now long expected their answer, which I perswaded by the best arguments I could, grounded both upon the public good, and their own particular, might be framed in that sort, that without further delay this different might be ended.

He wished me to speak with count MAURICE, which (according to his majesty's order) I did the next day, and found him no less averse in accepting the treaty of Zanten. His conceit is, that the Spaniards have taken a determinate resolution, either by force or practice, to possess the countries of Cleves and Juliers, whereby to separate these provinces from their intercourse with Germany.

The like jealousy I find hath taken seat in all others, with whom I have had conference, both of the states general and council of state; the opinion being, that the emperor will presently make sequestration of these countries, which they interpret to be no better in effect, than an incorporation of them to the Spanish dominions.

The French ambassador here resident, with whom I have likewise treated, doth suffer himself to be led away with the same consent, and takes the desire of the archdukes to have both the mention of the treaty of Zanten, and the names of his master and his majesty omitted in the formulary, either to be a fraud or an indignity to their honours, or both; in which regard having no exprefs order to move publicly in their assembly to have the formulary accepted, he hath forborn the same, as likewise because he discovereth an impossibility to have it admitted by this state: though otherwise he professes the king his master's desire is to have the difference for restitution of places on all sides determined, both in regard of the present inconveniencies to the princes, pretendants; as likewise of the farther consequence to other princes, which are interested, whereof he appears to have that sense which is requisite.

I can expect no satisfactory answer to my proposition, finding so general adverseness in this state, and the more upon these new attempts by the count HENRY VANDENBERG upon Zoest and Lipstadt, and seizing himself of those places which were neutral. Yet will this overture serve to reduce the matter into negotiation again, or into speech at least, which it appears on this side they can be content to avoid, and to have the business sleep, and so each party rest with what they have purchased to themselves, by the unhappy difference of their neighbours.

The questions and contestations about religion have been of late so hotly revived, that here in their town of their assemblies the Arminian faction doth *dominare in concionibus*, and one Rosseus, a preacher in this town for many years past, and a chief opposite of Arminians, put to silence by sentence of the states of Holland. Whereupon those who followed his sermons refuse to communicate or repair to the churches of any of the other party; so as every Sunday there are six or seven hundred people of this town, which go to Ryswick, and so have done for the space of these three months, to hear service and sermons, after the same manner as the protestants in France  
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go out of the popish towns to the reformed churches; so great is the animosity to which they are now grown.

In this regard, upon occasion of VORSTIUS, I conceived his majesty would not mislike of my enlarging of myself in the point of the peace of the church in general; and the rather at this time, in regard the states of Holland are here now assembled in treaty (besides other matters of consequence) touching those questions among their churchmen. It cannot be denied (for that I have understood) but that ROSSEUS deserved his censure of silencing, for his personal glancing at some chief men in this state, and naming of others with reproach; though otherwise he have the reputation of integrity of life, and a singular gift in preaching. But their censures must be indifferent; and if ROSSEUS be not thought fit for a pulpit, I see not how they can excuse the holding VORSTIUS longer in their state.

The answer, which was delivered me by the president, was only in general terms, referring me to further consultation. What I shall receive hereafter, I shall with diligence advertise his majesty.

COUNT ERNEST arrived here on Sunday last, but brought no other news of the enemy than was formerly advertised. Since we have further confirmation of their being returned towards the Rhine, but not yet repassed.

They are here, and have been long, in consultation of taking Calcar by RHEES, and another small place adjoining, which stand upon the same terms of neutrality as did Zoest and Lipstadt; but as yet no resolution is taken.

This dispatch I send by a servant of mine own expressly, wanting at this present all other fit commodity. Also I commit your honour to God's holy protection, &c.

The Venetian secretary, upon new order from BARBARIGO, hath had a second audience with the states general in conformity to the former, and received an answer, with which he is parted this morning towards England better satisfied, though it be only in general terms.

April 10. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's speech in French to the states general concerning the peace of the church, and that of their provinces. *A Jove principium*: begins with religion, inveighs against the Arminians: that ARMINIUS had begun the innovations in religion in that country, and was followed by VORSTIUS, who verifies the observation, that *l'imitation du mal surmonte toujours l'exemple*. Complains that VORSTIUS had in 1615 printed at Tergow a book full of heretical opinions against the eternal power of God, and of ironies and mockeries against the honour of his majesty the king of England, and no less scandalous to the justice of the Dutch government: he affirming, that there is no sentence of death, nor corporal punishment there against heretics, which is an encouragement of such persons to resort thither.

Desiring them to send away *ce serpent au nid la, ou il a esté né et nourri*.

That



That his majesty desires and endeavours to maintain the truce between them and Spain, which was now in danger of being broken.

Entreats them to accept of the formulary.

*April 10.* Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall.

My lord,

I am glad to understand by your letters, which yesterday I received, of your safe arrival at the Hague, and of the courteous entertainment, which you received from the states and the count MAURICE; which I take for an happy augure of your prosperous proceedings in the future course of your employment, and that in all good success the end will be answerable to the beginning.

The greatest matter of importance, that I have to recommend unto you at this time, is, that you use all careful diligence, both with the states in public, and in private discourse with your colleagues the council of state, to accommodate the differences between them and the archdukes, for the countries of Cleves and Juliers, whereof they know they are *possessores malæ fidei*; and that the places they hold reciprocally may be re-delivered and rendered in the hands of the true proprietaries, who by force and violence have been dispossessed of them. Of this matter you shall do well to confer with the French ambassador, by whom you shall understand, whether the king his master be now resolved to join with his majesty in caution or warrantife, that the treaty of Zanten shall be performed; which if he will do, either the states in honour are bound to render the towns, or else they must profess at first they did possess themselves of them with purpose ever to hold them. His majesty hath reason to be earnest in this cause, because the states did ever bear him in hand, that they did desire nothing more than to render those towns, and re-establish the princes into peaceable possession. And now when by the industry and endeavours all obstacles and exceptions by the adverse party are removed, if by the states new difficulties, never thought on before, shall be raised, what can his majesty think, but that he is deluded by his nearest friends, in whose sincerity he did repose most assured confidence? I confess this is a business of a delicate nature, which tenderly is to be handled; yet such, I doubt not, will be your discretion, that you will be both careful to acquit yourself of your charge, and respectful not to give them any shadow of offence.

The secretary of Venice is *Domini similis*, for in the self-same manner the ambassador here doth treat and negotiate; so coldly and so courtly, that rather we must conjecture what he is afraid to say, than by his discourse we can perceive what his true purpose and meaning is. Of FOSCARINI, who, howsoever he was not the wisest man, yet in his negotiations he did approve himself to be an able ambassador.

If we may believe the count SCARNAFFIS, the war in Piedmont will be renewed, who is so forward, that he hath summoned the king to the performance of his promise, because the treaty of Asti is not observed. In case the differences between the state of Venice and the house of Austria be not determined, whereof there is  
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some hope, because the siege is retired from Gradisca, and that don PEDRO DE TOLEDO, the governor of Milan, shall with violence assail the state of the duke of Savoy; you cannot do a better service to the public good, than to put spirits into those men, not to suffer the pride of the house of Austria with insolency to domineer over free and absolute princes.

The bearer of these is mons. BURLAMACHI, who is dispatched over, as I understand, by sir NOEL CARON. The lords have delivered their resolution, that, sith the cautionary towns are held but *precario*, that at the end of 15 years they are to be rendered; that of the 40,000l. which his majesty doth receive during the truce, 26,000l. is employed for the payment of the garrisons; that the 14,000l. which comes to his majesty's purse in 15 years, doth come but to 210,000l. it is more for his majesty's service, upon honourable conditions, to render up the towns, than still to retain them. His majesty hath taken some few days to advise of it. What his pleasure is, doth remain yet lodged in his own breast, which when he shall discover, I will not fail to advertise you, with all the circumstances thereof depending. And so I rest, &c.

*April 20.* Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall: sent by ANDREW, sir DUDLEY CARLETON's servant.

My Lord,

His majesty having perused your last dispatch, which I received by this bearer your servant, whom with these I return unto you, is nothing well satisfied with the answer of the states concerning the reddition of the towns they hold in the countries of Cleves and Juliers, and the reintegration of the princes litigants into possession of their countries, out of which, by violence of arms, they have unjustly been dispossessed. Therefore his majesty's pleasure is, both in regard of his own honour, which is so deeply engaged in this case, and to free himself of the perpetual molestations, wherewith he is importuned by the Spanish ambassador, and the archdukes agent, that you resume this matter into your consideration: and that you may proceed with the more certain assurance, in my judgement, you will do well to confer with mons. DU MAURIER, the French ambassador, and know of him, whether he hath the self-same charge you have received, that the king his master is content, that his name should be omitted in the formulary, which the states shall use, and that he will become caution jointly with his majesty, that the archdukes faithfully and punctually shall observe the treaty of Zanten. If he have the self-same charge, as we are informed from divers parts that he hath, you shall do best to consult together, whether it will not be the speediest expedient, to put this business to a point, jointly to demand audience in the assembly of the states general, and there to declare the several charges you have received, which in one joint remonstrance you may deliver, signed with your hands, and thereunto require the states peremptory and determinate answer. This course, I confess, is *jugulum petere*, and to cut off all frustratory and elusory dilations: but if the French ambassador hath not this charge, or having it, will not concur with you in a joint audience, then are you to stand single alone, and to prosecute this matter by yourself; and amongst other reasons, which you may infer, this may be pressed, that his majesty, out of the confidence of the interest he

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holdeth



holdeth in their amity and alliance, hath bound himself by solemn promise to the archdukes, that the states shall be content to accept the formulary, with the omission of his name; and in that regard he is pleased, the rather to invite the states to accept thereof, to become caution for the observation of the treaty of Zanten. If now the states having so often intreated his majesty, by the ambassador sir NOEL CARON, to employ his best endeavours towards the archdukes for the accommodating of this difference, wherein his majesty hath spent much time and much travail; if now he shall find himself deluded, and his labours frustrated by them, who set him awork, he cannot but think his honour much to be wronged, and them, whom in reason he did hold to be his nearest and dearest friends, to be ever respectless of his credit and reputation. Bus if the French ambassador shall have no charge, or, not to offend the states, will not make use of it, I know you do but *oleum & operam perdere*; for the states have a fair *eschappatoire* to answer, the French king did assist by his ambassador at the treaty of Zanten; and therefore, without neglect they may not proceed to conclude any thing without his privy and advice. And so having nothing more to trouble you withal at this present, I rest, &c.

May 1. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD, sent by Mr. BURLAMACHI.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Being held from day to day in expectation of the states answer to my proposition: (whereof I sent your honour a copy by my servant, which is newly returned unto me with your honour's letters of the 20th of the last) I have forbore ever since that time to give your honour the trouble of empty letters, this being the chief and in effect the only subject I have in charge from his majesty. This answer hath been (as I am well informed) long since framed by the same in substance, which was delivered me in private conference, both by count MAURICE and monf. BARNEVELT: but hitherto I have it not in due form, whereupon to frame a reply. I am now assured, that I shall have it within these three days, the greffier excusing himself for this time by his indisposition; and I shall not then fail to proceed in that sort as I am directed, both by these your honour's last letters, as likewise by your former of the 10th of April, which I received by monf. BURLAMACHI.

Yesterday I conferred at large with monf. DU MAURIER, the French ambassador, touching the point of persuading the states to accept the formulary proposed by the archdukes, with the commission of both the kings our masters names, and offering both their majesties as cautions for the faithful performing of the treaty of Zanten. Wherein he professed unto me to have no such authority from the king his master, without the which he could not join with me in this course. Withal he made me so many doubts and difficulties, partly of the fraud and collusion of the Spaniard, partly of the stiffness and jealousy of the states, that on the one side he judged the omissions of the kings our masters names to be done with a sinister intent; on the other, that whensoever we should offer to engage their majesties names and words for the execution of the treaty of Zanten, they here would lend a deaf ear to us, which would be a prejudice to our masters honour. By which discourse of his and other arguments, I collect, that he hath authority out of France, though he profess the contrary: but the use of the same being referred to his discretion, he forbears to give



give this state so great a distaste, as I find indeed they will conceive at the urging this matter. He told me, that upon my first conference with him, he wrote into France; and that if thereupon he receive any further order, he will readily concur with me: but unless the order be exprefs, and nothing left to his election, I perceive he is resolved rather to run a course with the disposition of this state, than with his majesty.

Touching his doubts of fraud in the Spaniard, I shewed him how little that would prevail against the united forces of the kings our masters and this state: and concerning the stiffness of their men in refusing a reasonable overture proposed in both our masters names, I made it appear what small appearance there was for that jealousy, in that by our princes assistances they were maintained in their wars, and had procured their peace, and were not yet in that state, as they could subsist of themselves; in which regard it was not likely they would lend a deaf ear to their best friends. Withal I understood, that monf. BARNEVELT, upon suspicion that France would join with his majesty in this overture, told the agent, who is resident here for the prince of Brandenburg, about a month since, that he should advertise his master what was in treaty; and in case that both their majesties did concur together, that then this state must yield.

The French ambassador alledgeth a farther doubt, that when this state shall yield consent, the prince of Brandenburg himself will make a difficulty, in regard that, by the practice of the Spanish and popish party, the chief places in question are better affected to Newburgh, by which means, when the garrisons of the states shall be removed, he will be excluded by the inhabitants themselves. His conclusion was the insisting upon the execution of the treaty of Zanten without other formulary or promise; which is the thing I find this state resolved to stand upon; and therefore whatever endeavours I shall use to drive them from this retreat, whilst I march single by myself, I am in hope of small effect.

This morning the French ambassador hath had audience of the states general, to acquaint them with the news of the conclusion of the peace in France, which he received the night before; wherein he flattered them with this conceit, that they were clear-sighted enough to look through the mists both of state and religion upon the *royauté* itself; to which they gave their help and countenance, and for which he rendered many thanks.

By copies of Letters, which have passed lately between the king of Denmark and the states (whereof I send your honour herewith the translations, they being written in Dutch) his majesty will perceive how they do here *d'une pierre faire deux coups*, striking as well at the property, which his majesty doth challenge in the navigation of Greenland, and the fishing in those parts, as at the pretensions now set on foot by the king of Denmark. If his majesty do think fit I shall take knowledge hereof: I do humbly refer it to his wisdom, forbearing to do the same until I understand his pleasure, because I recovered these letters by private means.

The murderers of the jeweller of Amsterdam are discovered, upon a second robbery committed by them, to be two Frenchmen; the one an antient servant of his excellency's in his chamber; the other one of his guard, who had formerly been likewise his servant. This discovery is thought to come opportunely for his excellency's safety, in regard there could be no safety for them any where, but by purchasing to themselves a place of retreat by committing the like against his person, making way *per scelera sceleribus*; for which they had commodity, by reason of their privacy with him in his night-walks, wherein he gives himself much liberty.

I shall be ready to give lieut. HYATT, when I hear of him or his affairs, that assistance, which I account due to any your honour doth recommend: and for the present I humbly take leave, &c.

May 3. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINDWOOD, by BURLAMACHI in a packet to EDWARD SHERBORNE.

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I have nothing to add to my former letters of the 1<sup>st</sup> of this present, wherein I advertised your honour of my discourse with the French embassador here resident, and what I find by him, that either he hath not order out of France to join with me in preiling this state to the acceptation of the formularly proposed by the archdukes, or, if he have it, he is resolved not to use the same, which is all one in effect. The states answer to my first proposition touching this subject (which, according to his majesty's order, I demanded of them in writing) is still suspended, though the resolution for the same was taken a fortnight since; so as if any answer hath been delivered his majesty concerning this subject (as it appears by your honour's last letters there hath) it is without my knowledge; for that, which I advertised by my servant, was only what passed in private discourse betwixt mons. BARNEVELT and myself; and after with count MAURICE, before I made my proposition: and therefore I could not take it as an answer, though that, which is since framed, is (as I understand) to the same effect. The reason of their protracting the delivery of the same (though I have often pressed it both to mons. BARNEVELT and the president for the time being, as likewise the greffier AERSSENS), is, as I conceive, a desire they have to see the business of the rendition of the cautionary towns fully finished, before they give their answer, lest any dislike his majesty should take thereat, shall breed interruption in that foresaid business, which is now so near an end. Your honour hath many suits for the saving of private mens interest in that public business, which will make me bold to prefer mine; and the rather, because it doth likewise concern his majesty's service, in that a matter of that great consequence (though it had the beginning before my coming hither, yet since my arrival hath had some subject of farther treaty) is altogether managed by the minister of this state resident with his majesty, without my having any hand therein. Those, which are willing here to discredit my propositions (as some your honour knows here are, to whom the subject is displeasing) make this an argument of diffidence and distrust, and that I have not that credit with his majesty, which may countenance my endeavours. Herein I must refer myself to your favourable consideration so to provide in the end of this business, that I receive not a wound in the beginning of my charge, wherein  
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his majesty's service may suffer as well as his poor servant. Thus I cease to trouble your honour farther for this present, &c.

MONS. BARNEVELT goeth this day towards Zealand to the marriage of his younger son, whose absence will cause in this place 10 or 12 days vacation from affairs; in which time I may, if your honour so please, understand his majesty's farther pleasure, if there be any thing to be added or changed upon knowledge of the French ambassador's withdrawing himself out of the business of the formulary. I hope likewise in this time to be able to send their answer from hence in writing, whereby to proceed in better order, and upon surer grounds.

*April 30.* The lords of the council to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

To procure justice against MOY LAMBERT, a commander of some Dutch men of war, for outrage committed in one of the havens in Ireland, in spoiling merchants' goods, and killing many of his majesty's subjects.

*March 22, 1615.* Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

About MOY LAMBERT's murthering, two years before in Cork haven in Ireland, above forty of his majesty's subjects, and taking away to the value of 6000*l.* in goods belonging to Mr. THOMAS BOOTHBY, merchant of London.

*Feb. 14, 1615.* King JAMES to the states general from Newmarket, upon the affair of MOY LAMBERT.

*May 18, 1616.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD, by GEORGE MARTIN the post.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

By letters of the 1st and 3d of this present, which were both by conveyance of BURLAMACHI (who returned the day of the date of the last by way of Flanders) I advertised your honour, both of the receipt of your letters, as likewise of my conferences with the French ambassador here resident, touching the business of pressing this state jointly to the acceptation of the formulary proposed by the archdukes, wherein he professing to have no express order from the king his master, doth excuse himself. Since that time I have received the states answer to my proposition, as well concerning this business, as likewise the other in matter of religion in general, and particularly of VORSTIUS; the original whereof I send his majesty, and the copy to your honour, hoping thereupon to receive his majesty's and your honour's farther directions, before such time as the assembly of the states general (which now by reason of the absence of mons. BARNEVELT, and the retiring of the rest, is in a manner dissolved) will afford fit opportunity to make a reply. I find some here (though I cannot so say of any of the chief) very ill conceited of my urging the acceptance of this formulary, as if thereby his majesty should rather lend favour to the Spanish proceedings, than to the safety of their state: And considering the connection of the affairs of these parts with those on the other side of the mountains, I



am well assured nothing can put his majesty's friends (which are there some of them in present rupture with the house of Austria, others in daily expectation to be in the same state) in greater diffidence and distrust of his majesty's favour and assistance to their party, than in facilitating the affairs of the archdukes in this accommodation, whereby the Spaniard may intend the suppressing of such, to whom he picks quarrel in those parts, without any distraction of mind or diversion. These considerations, as likewise your honour's charge in your letters not to give them here any shadow of offence, make me no whit sorry for this vacation, which will give time to understand his majesty's farther pleasure; the state of the business being thus, that without the French ambassador do join with me, I am sure of a refusal, which, besides the disgrace of an exclusion, will be accompanied with other jealousies both here in this state, and with other his majesty's friends more remote.

The Muscovy ambassador, who hath long attended in this place a fit season for his return, departs this day from hence towards Amsterdam, where he embarks for his country in a ship of the states, having been defrayed during the whole time of his abode there, as he shall likewise be both by sea and land, as long as he is in the territory or shipping of this state; and presented with a fair chain of gold for himself and two others, the one for his secretary, the other for a kinsman he hath here in his company.

The two Frenchmen, of whom I advertised your honour to have committed the murder of the jeweller in his excellency's lodgings, were broken on the wheel alive on Monday last, here being a great concourse of people from all the provinces, and some out of Brabant and Flanders, to see the execution. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

May 8. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the king.

May it please your most excellent majesty,

I have given your majesty account by former dispatches through the hands of mr. secretary WINWOOD, (whereby to ease your majesty of that trouble) both of my reception and admission in the quality of your majesty's ambassador with the states general, and counsellor in their council of state. Likewise of my proposition in conformity to your majesty's verbal instructions, and those, which were delivered me in writing, concerning VORSTIUS, and the business of Cleves and Juliers, which I reduced to two heads; the one of religion, and the peace of the church in general, in regard of the present schisms, which I found *in flagranti* at my first arrival; the other of justice, which requires *suum cuique tribuere*.

The answer both to one and the other I send your majesty herewith, as it was yesterday brought unto me by the greffier AERSSENS in the name of the states general, which he delivered unto me with many excuses, partly of their important affairs, partly of his indisposition (to whom the framing and translating of it was committed) for his long detaining of the same after the resolution taken. What your majesty will please upon sight and consideration hereof to ordain farther, I am ready to perform; and the time by reason of monf. BARNEVELT's absence, and the separation  
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tion of the rest of the states general for the space of twelve or fourteen days, will admit the attending your majesty's further pleasure, though I already understand the small satisfaction, which your majesty doth receive, touching the difficulty they make in admitting the archdukes formulary; which I did by way of anticipation advertise: But the reply grounded upon their answer will have with it better form at least, though I cannot hope for better effect. For such is universally their settled persuasion both in the assembly of the states general and council of state, as likewise in count MAURICE, and such of their chief commanders with whom I have spoken, that on the archduke's and Spanish side there is no real proceeding in this business, but all done with fraudulent intent, whereby to gain into their hands the intire possession of the countries of Cleves and Juliers, which hath been (as they conceive) an antient design, and now followed *per fas. et nefas*, that I see no possibility of removing such deep impressions, they being by so much the more apprehensive, by how much they observe the other side still to persevere not to admit the treaty of Zanten, or the mention of your majesty's or the French king's names in the formulary, either of which would give this state (as in private they profess unto me) such satisfaction, as on their side there should be no difficulty in restoring the places they hold to their rightful possessors.

The French ambassador here resident (who hath concurred with your majesty's ministers in the whole course of this negotiation) rests at this period, professing he hath no order from the king his master to pass any further, and disputing the states cause in all conferences I have had with him, as if in his opinion the reason were on their side. This will be in the end their evasion, that seeing your majesty and the French king did jointly concur in the treaty of Zanten, they cannot lay by their insisting upon that treaty without your joint consents. Mean time the French do not omit the opportunity of endearing themselves with this state, as if they had a more tender care than their other friends of their preservation; and there want not amongst this people men of ill spirits, which make a cross construction of your majesty's sincere and direct endeavours; though the chief of them do universally justify your majesty's good meaning, notwithstanding that, for the reasons they alledge, they make difficulties in admitting the matter.

Touching their questions of religion, they were never in greater heat than now, every day producing some new acts or protests betwixt the states of these provinces and their preachers, with whom the people do most concur; as likewise writings and answers betwixt the two factions, which, on the archdukes side, are brought into the pulpit, with no small scandal to the true professed religion, as if it had no true or certain profession, but rested even in dispute and controversy.

Concerning VORSTIUS, if that cannot be obtained, which I have proposed, to send him out of the state (which will hardly be done by reason of their authority who brought him in) I presume such order will be taken with him, that as by your majesty's former offices he was pulled out of his professor's pew, by that which is now said, he will be debarred the printer's press.

For that point of his book in answer of SLADE, wherein your majesty is mentioned, they were all very sensible, and some of them earnest for your majesty's satisfaction

faction to have a censure passed upon him: which course was afterwards changed by others, who, having reviewed the passages, delivered their opinions, that the words might admit another interpretation, and that in their judgments and consciences they were not set down by VORSTIUS in any ill sense. The rest they referred to further examination of some, to whom they have given the charge; wherein I could not condemn them of want of respect, since they shewed themselves in this business more solicitous and careful of your majesty's honour, than of God's or their own; for to all these I accused VORSTIUS as answerable.

Thus I commit your sacred person to God's holy protection, resting, in all humility,

Your majesty's most faithful subject and obedient servant,

Hague, this 8th day of  
May, 1616.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

*April 28.* Answer of the states general to sir DUDLEY CARLETON's proposition of the 20th instant:

Thanks to the king for his affection; and desire, that he would continue it.

Are well pleased with the king's recommending to them the maintenance of the true religion, which they have always considered above all things.

With regard to the high and mysterious points of predestination, &c. they think both sides of the question are consistent with the truth of the Christian faith and the salvation of souls; but that they have and shall take care, that the dissensions shall be appeased.

That VORSTIUS has been ordered to answer and clear himself of the imputations charged upon him by the writers against him, and particularly by SLADE, an Englishman, rector of a private school at Amsterdam; against whom VORSTIUS had published a reply, which they will cause to be examined by some select learned men, whether it contains any thing contrary to the honour and interest of his majesty, or the fundamentals of the pure Christian faith, or the public laws and ordinances of these provinces.

With regard to the public peace, they hope to be able to continue it; and justify their retaining the castle of Juliers, especially from the fraudulent and violent conduct of the Spaniards; hoping, that the kings of France and Great Britain, the electors and other protestant princes, would take measures for securing those countries to the lawful successor, and that those of the reformed religion there and the states general might no longer be molested: But that in the present situation of affairs the states could not resign the towns, since it would be delivering up the whole country, and all of the reformed religion, to the enemy.

*May*



May 30. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD, sent by JOHN JOHNSON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I write at this present to the end his majesty should remain no longer unadvertised of the affairs of these parts, rather than for any express occasion: for since my last dispatch of the 8th of this present (which I sent by MARTEN the post) I have suspended my further proceedings with the states general touching the business of the formulary, in expectation of his majesty's pleasure upon that answer, though in particular I have done my endeavour to dispose them better to the acceptation thereof, but find them still possessed with the former jealousies, which are increased by an advice they have by the way of Colen of Count de Bucquoy's negotiation in Spain; that it expressly tends to the impatronizing of the countries of Juliers and Cleves: And there is further added a suspicion of the levy, which is here on the archduke's side of 4000 Walloons and Bourguignons, under pretence of sending them with the son of the marquis Spinola into Italy, mis-doubting upon great appearance, that they are intended for their designs in these parts; it being without example to transport men out of the Low Countries to the other side of the mountains.

The French ambassador was with me yesterday, to excuse the delay of the king his master's resolution in this business, which he lays upon their own unsettledness at home; by which they have been distracted in their considerations of foreign affairs.

Here hath been this fortnight past one ALBERT PAUL, a counsellor to the count of East Friseland, with a particular request to the states general, that whereas five years (the time of the contract for maintaining a garrison in Leer, a place of strength not far distant from Embden) are now expired, they would be content to add three years more: which they consented unto, without any difficulty, so as it was not needful for me to interpose his majesty's name; which I was ready to do, both for that I understood of his pleasure before my departure out of England; as likewise for that further commandment I received from your honour about a week since by monf. LUNTIUS, whereof I have advertised the count their master.

Here have been for the space of these three weeks past the deputies of ten of the Hans towns, whose first proposition to the states general with their names your honour will see by the translated copy, which I send herewith. They have had many difficulties and long disputes in their treaty touching the point of quotes (as they call them) or constitutions; wherein some of them, Lubeck in particular, fought to retract what they had formerly offered: But this in regard of difference amongst themselves in sharing their proportions, more than for any reason they could alledge, which might reflect upon this state. In which respect the states general took upon them yesterday to arbitrate the business betwixt them, and for more countenance called his excellency with the council of state to the assembly, where after long debate they were brought to this point, that they would willingly contribute 17 and one half against every 100 from this state; in place of 19, which was demanded; and distribute the same amongst themselves, without any further dispute; for which they said they had present authority: but in case the states would still insist upon the 19, they then professed they could conclude nothing without first making report to the Hans towns,

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and receiving new order. Whereupon the state consented rather to the acceptation of 17½, than to suffer any further delays in the treaty; and the distribution was made, in our presence, according to the note \* I send herewith.

There remain yet further difficulties in regard of the towns, some of them excepting against particular causes of rupture with other princes and states according to their several interests; and there want not amongst them, who require the treaty should take no force, in case a war should follow upon occasion of the difference concerning Cleves and Juliers. Most of them urge the constitutions to be only levied *tempore belli*; whereas the states do insist to have them begun presently, and men to be raised and maintained in exercise of arms by those towns after the example of these provinces: Which points, though they be of great consideration, I find will breed no such difference, as will interrupt, or so much as prolong the treaty; so earnest are those, who are the first authors of the league, to bring it to conclusion; and their hope is, that Dantzick and other towns will soon follow the example.

They are here no less busied in settling the quota of their own provinces, in which Zealand (as your honour can well remember) hath hitherto, by reason of difference of the times (which hath bred an inequality in their striving) stood averse from any exact reglement, though by connivance that province hath done like others. Hereupon his excellency is this morning gone that way, hoping by the temper he hath used in the many contestations betwixt the Zealanders and the other states, he may by his authority bring them to a resolution; and he doth hasten his journey some days sooner than he determined, to the end he may be present at the rendering of Flushing, in which he hath his particular interest.

Monf. MALRE, with two of the college of Zealand, are deputed by the states of that province for the receiving that town; and monf. MARTINESSE, with two of the college of Holland, are to do the like at the Brill; for which purpose they go from this place this afternoon. Order is taken for half a month's pay to be advanced to the English companies, which now march out of the towns; and patents already sent to dispose them in other garrisons.

His excellency, after he hath ended his business in Zealand, passeth over into Flanders to view the fortifications of Sluce, and other places thereabouts; from whence he maketh a round for the same purpose through the frontiers of Brabant and Guelderland; in which journey he will spend six weeks or two months: But when he is at Gertrudenberg, he makes account to stop hither before he pass any further. So I humbly take leave, &c.

May 14. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

Recommending Mr. CLEMENT COKE, son to the lord chief justice, on occasion of a double misfortune, which had happened to that gentleman. Desires sir DUDLEY CARLETON to have care of him, and that no dishonour fall upon him; and, if there be cause, to procure his pardon, which is a matter of course practiced in that place every day.

\* Lubeck 5½. Bremen 1½. Hamburg 3½. Rostock 1. Straelsund 1. Wismar ½. Maydenburg 1. Brunswick 2. Lunenburg 1. Grypswald ½. In all 17½.

May 30. O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: By JOHN JOHNSON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Sir HORACE VERE arrived on Monday last at the Brill, from whom I received the day following your honour's letter; upon which, besides the particular respect I bear him, he may challenge my best service. To such officers and others, whom your honour hath accompanied with your letters, I have already given assistance, or shall do as they have occasion. Mr. CLEMENT COKE is recovered of his hurt; and I have asked leave of his excellency for capt. SPREY to go into England, to the end he may be invited the rather for his company to return home the sooner, whereby to be delivered of many quarrels, wherein he is engaged. It will appear Mr. LIGGON (with whom he fought at Gorcum) died rather by the fault of his surgeons, than the danger of his hurt. In case his majesty's service will permit, I would humbly intreat your honour's mediation for leave, that I may this summer spend some small time at the Spa; which is all the help is left after the trial of many others, to rid myself of a most painful indisposition, which was contracted by my sedentary life at Venice, and doth grow daily upon me with greater extremity. Thus I rest, &c.

May 23. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Greenwich.

The next week you shall hear of our occurrences, which will be strange, whether the parties in question be absolved or condemned.

May 23. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON from Greenwich: By DIESTON.

My Lord,

The uncertain proceeding of the treaty between his majesty and sir NOEL CARON, for reddition of the cautionary towns into the hands of the states general, is the cause, that in none of my former dispatches I have made any mention of the progress thereof. But now that it is concluded, which was not done before Tuesday in Whitsun week, I will make unto you a summary relation *ab ovo usque ad nunc*. Some years since, during my employment in Holland, sir NOEL CARON, in the name of his superiors, made an overture to his majesty for the reddition of those towns upon reasonable and honest composition: which being not hearkened unto, it lay asleep until the month of December last; at which time sir NOEL CARON being newly returned from his superiors, revived that motion, with earnest instance; and for that purpose expressly demanded audience of his majesty. It happened at the self-same time, that the governors of those towns delivered unto me, to be exhibited to the lords, a complaint, that the garrisons had not received their pay for many weeks; the danger whereof the lords taking into their consideration, the question was moved by a great counsellor of eminent place, whether it were not better for his majesty's service to render those towns, than still to hold them at so great a charge. To be short, report being made to his majesty at the rising of the lords, that this question was moved in council, he acquainted them with the instance of sir NOEL CARON, and then gave them charge



to advise and consult thereof, and to deliver unto him their judgments and resolutions, what in a cause of this importance best might sort with his honour and profit. The lords hereupon assembled, before whom the treaties were brought, which were visited and perused. By the treaty of                    it was found, that these two towns were merely cautionary, then to be rendered, when such sums, which his majesty had disbursed for the service of the states, should be reimbursed. By the treaty of 1608, when the truce was made, it was found, that his majesty's debt being 800,000*l.* was to be paid by 40,000*l.* the year, during the continuance of the truce. Hereupon, after long and mature deliberation, by the general votes of the table, it was concluded, that it was much better for his majesty's service, to render up those towns, than longer to hold them; so that his majesty might receive from the states a fair and reasonable composition. The reasons in brief were these: that this debt of his majesty's was to be paid but by 40,000*l.* the year: That this 40,000*l.* was to be paid but during the truce: That of 40,000*l.* only 14,000*l.* came clear to his majesty's purse, the entertainment of the garrison yearly amounting to 26,000*l.* That in fifteen years, by the payments of 40,000*l.* yearly, his majesty's debt was wholly discharged; and in fifteen years 14,000*l.* did make but 210,000*l.* To this was added, that this 40,000*l.* was never duly paid at the day: That the garrisons were not masters of the towns, which lived there at the discretion of the burghers: That the towns were unfortified; and that, if better provision were not made, the governors, captains, and soldiers, at the end of fifteen years, when the whole debt should be discharged, would be cast upon his majesty's charge.

After this resolution of the lords, his majesty did depute six of his council, to consider upon what terms and conditions these towns should be rendered. This was set down for a fundamental point, that the garrisons should be erected into a regiment, and entertained by the states; only the governors, and some other inferior officers, should have recourse to his majesty, for recompense of their service. The debt then due was found to be 600,000*l.* the moiety whereof the deputies did demand to be paid in ready money 200,000*l.* and the rest by six and six months. By order from his majesty this resolution was imparted to sir NOEL CARON, who confidently delivered, that the states his superiors would never condescend to pay so great a sum. His offer was only 200,000*l.* to be paid in two years, protesting he had no other charge; yet he would adventure to exceed his charge for the sum of 50,000*l.* if that might be accepted. We attended three months and more, before we received the states resolution, which was, that they would be contented to pay *in contenti* 100,000*l.* and 150,000*l.* by six and six months. By express commandment of his majesty, the lords did return [resume] their former deliberation, and recapitulating the reasons above alledged, persisted in their first resolution. Notwithstanding his majesty took time to advise of it; and after deliberation of ten or twelve days sent his resolution to the lords by a letter, wherein he required them, upon their duty and allegiance, in this cause of so important consequence, to give him that counsel, as both might have care of his honour and profit. Upon this letter the lords assembled, and found no cause to vary from their former opinion. Soon after his majesty came to Whitehall, and then in his presence the lords did advise and confirm what amongst themselves they had upon mature deliberation resolved. This I have related unto you, that you might know, that this business hath not been carried in hugger mugger, by the practice of one or

two men; or that any man, to my knowledge (as the state of affairs doth stand) in this deliberation hath had any other end, but the service of his majesty; which, what hazard it might have run, if for want of pay the garrison should have mutinied or disbanded, your discretion best can judge. But it is not the least unhappiness, that falls upon them, who are ministers in public services, to be subject to slanders and calumnies; which, how false soever they are, their good friends are most apt to take into their belief. But time either hath enabled me, or shortly will, to be *validus adversus rumores*, and not to prefer *rumores ante salutem*. With these you shall receive the copies of all such acts, which have passed in this business; that is, the commissions and instructions of the lords commissioners; the treaty with sir NOEL CARON; and the note of the rewards given to such officers, as are not comprized within the regiment. Of this regiment sir ROBERT SIDNEY is colonel, and sir JOHN THROCKMORTON his lieutenant colonel. My lord LISLE doth purpose to come to the Hague to see his son invested in his charge.

To-morrow the countess of SOMERSET is to be arraigned, and the next day following the earl her husband. So I rest, &c.

P. S. *May 26.* Now that this letter hath been stayed until this day from sealing up, your lordship shall farther understand, that the countess of SOMERSET was arraigned the 24th of this month, and confessing herself guilty, had without long debate her sentence pronounced, which was, to return to the Tower, from whence she came, and from thence to the place of execution, to be hanged by the neck till she were stark dead. Yesterday being the 25th, the earl of SOMERSET also was arraigned, who gave his judges and peers much more trouble, for he held them in Westminster Hall from nine in the morning untill nine of the clock at night; yet was he also clearly found accessory to the said murder of sir THOMAS OVERBURY before the fact; and so received the same judgement, which his lady had the day before. *26 May.*

*May 21.* COMMISSION of the king to the lords to treat with sir NOEL CARON.

JAMES by the grace of GOD king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the most reverend father in GOD, our right trusty and right well beloved counsellor, GEORGE lord archbishop of Canterbury, and to our right trusty and right well beloved counsellor, THOMAS lord ELLESMERE, lord chancellor of England, and to our right trusty and right well beloved cousins and counsellors, THOMAS earl of Suffolk, lord treasurer of England, EDWARD earl of Worcester, lord keeper of our privy seal, LODOWICK duke of Lenox, lord steward of our household, CHARLES earl of Nottingham, lord Admiral of England, WILLIAM earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain of our household, THOMAS earl of Exeter, JOHN earl of Marr, and ALEXANDER earl of Dumferlyne; and to our right trusty and right well beloved counsellor, THOMAS viscount FENTON, THOMAS bishop of Winchester, EDWARD lord ZOUCH, lord warden of our cinque-ports, WILLIAM lord KNOLLYS, treasurer of our household, EDWARD lord WOTTON, comptroller of our household, JOHN lord STANHOPE, and THOMAS lord BINNING: and to our right trusty and well beloved counsellors sir JOHN DIGBY, knt. our vice-chamberlain, sir JOHN HERBERT, one of our principal secretaries of state, sir  
RALPH



RALPH WINWOOD, knt. one of our principal secretaries of state, sir THOMAS LAKE, knt. one other of our principal secretaries of state, sir FULKE GREVIL, knt. chancellor and under-treasurer of our exchequer, sir THOMAS PARRY, knt. chancellor of our dutchy of Lancaster, sir EDWARD COKE, knt. chief justice of our bench, sir JULIUS CÆSAR, knt. master of the Rolls, greeting. Whereas the states general of the United Provinces of the Low Countries have divers and sundry times for many years together solicited us by their resident embassador, sir NOEL CARON, knt. that we would be pleased to render into their hands, the towns of Vlissing in Zealand, with the castle of Rammekins, and of the Brill in Holland, with the forts and skonces thereunto belonging, which we hold by way of caution, untill such sums of money, as they owe unto us, be reimbursed upon such reasonable conditions, as should be agreed on between us and them, for the reimbursing a repayment of the said monies: and whereas we have recommended the consideration of this so weighty and important an affair to the judgement and discretion of you the lords of our privy council, and have received from you (after long and mature deliberation and examination of circumstances) an advice, that as the present condition of our state now standeth, and as the nature of these towns is (being merely cautionary) wherein we can challenge no interest of propriety, it should be much better for our service, upon fair and advantageous conditions to render them, than longer to hold them at so heavy a charge: Now forasmuch as in our princely wisdom we have resolved to yield up the same towns, with the said castle and skonces belonging unto them, upon such conditions, as shall be most for our advantage, as well in point of honour as of profit: know ye therefore, that we have assigned and appointed you the said lord archbishop of Canterbury, lord chancellor, lord treasurer, lord privy seal, lord steward, lord admiral, lord chamberlain, earl of Exeter, earl of Marr, earl of Dumferlyne, viscount FENTON, lord bishop of Winchester, lord ZOUCH, lord KNOLLYS, lord WOTTON, lord STANHOPE, lord Binning, sir JOHN DIGBY, sir JOHN HERBERT, sir RALPH WINWOOD, sir THOMAS LAKE, sir FULKE GREVIL, sir THOMAS PARRY, sir EDWARD COKE, and sir JULIUS CÆSAR, our commissioners; and do by these presents give full power and authority unto you, or the more part of you, for us, and in our name, to treat and conclude with the said sir NOEL CARON, knt. embassador for the said states of the United Provinces (being likewise for that purpose sufficiently authorised from the states his superiors) touching the reddition and yielding up of the said town of Vlissing, with the castle of Rammekins in Zealand, and of the Brill in Holland, with the forts and skonces thereunto belonging, and of the artillery and munition formerly delivered by the states with the same towns, castle, and forts, which are now remaining in them, and have not been spent or consumed, and for the delivery of the said towns, castle, and forts, artillery and munition into the hands of the said states upon such terms, as by you shall be thought fit for our most honour and profit: and for the manner thereof, to give instructions to our several governors of our said garrisons, according to such your conclusion. And this our commission, or the inrollment or exemplification thereof, shall be unto you and every of you a sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents. Witness our self at Westminster, the one and twentieth day of May, in the fourteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the nine and fortieth.

TREATY



## TREATY with sir NOEL CARON.

Whereas upon the instant and earnest solicitation of sir NOEL CARON, knt. in the behalf of the states general of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, his majesty, with the advice of his council, hath taken resolution for the delivery of his cautionary towns of the Brill in Holland, and Vlishing in Zealand, with the forts thereunto belonging, it is covenanted and agreed on between the said sir NOEL CARON in the behalf of his superiors, and the lords of his majesty's privy council in the behalf of his majesty, as followeth:

Sir NOEL CARON doth covenant and bind himself, in the name of the said states his superiors, that his majesty's garrisons and foot companies in the said cautionary towns of Brill in Holland, and Vlishing in Zealand, shall be erected and established into a regiment, the name of the colonel of which regiment, with the other officers and captains, shall be as hereafter specified:

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, knt. colonel.

Sir JOHN THROCKMORTON, knt. lieutenant-colonel.

Sir JOHN FLEMING, knt. serjeant-major.

Capt. LEONARD.

Capt. CONWAY.

Capt. AMYS.

Capt. HEYDON.

Capt. MORTON.

Capt. FERDINANDO KNIGHTLEY.

Capt. VERE.

Capt. THOMAS BOYS.

Capt. BROWN.

Together with other inferior officers.

The which regiment the states will treat and entertain in the self-same manner, as the other English regiments now remaining in their service are treated and entertained.

And whereas sir HORACE VERE, knt. now governor of the Brill, hath a company of 200 heads in the said garrison; and sir EDWARD CONWAY, knt. lieutenant governor of the said town, hath a company of 200 heads: who have both made humble suit, that these companies might be severed from the new-erected regiment, and adjoined to the regiment, which the said sir HORACE VERE, general of the English forces, now commandeth, that the said companies shall be accordingly joined to this regiment of sir HORACE VERE.

And because the towns of Vlishing and Brill for many years together have been commanded by his majesty, by reason whereof many of his majesty's subjects have long lived in those towns, and there have planted themselves and their families; if any of them shall purpose and resolve there still to continue and spend the rest of their days; the said sir NOEL CARON doth farther covenant and promise in the name of his superiors, that they shall be treated with all kindness and courtesy, as the subjects of his majesty their nearest and dearest ally.

The

The lords of his majesty's privy council do covenant and bind themselves in the name of his majesty, that at or before the       day of June next ensuing, according to the style of England, the lord viscount LISLE, governor of the town of Vlissing, being authorised thereunto by warrant under the great seal of England, shall deliver up to the states general, or into the hands of such persons as shall be lawfully authorised and deputed from them, the town of Vlissing and the castle of Rammekins.

And in like manner sir HORACE VERE, knt. governor of the town of Brill, shall at or within the time above specified, deliver up the town of Brill, with all the forts thereunto belonging.

INSTRUCTIONS for sir HORACE VERE, knt. governor of the Brill, and the forts thereunto belonging, for the rendering up of those places to the states general of the United Provinces of the Low Countries.

His majesty, by the advice of his council, being resolved to render up into the hands of the states general his cautionary town of the Brill, his pleasure is, that you presently repair thither; and after your arrival there, you shall assemble before you all the captains and principal officers of the garrison. To whom you shall declare his majesty's resolution, and afterwards shew and read unto them his majesty's letters patents under the great seal of England, giving you power and authority to render up that town with the forts to the states, or to such persons as shall be lawfully deputed from them. You shall give them to understand the gracious care his majesty hath had of their private fortunes; and that though that town be but merely cautionary, wherein he could challenge no interest or propriety, so that, the money for which it was pawned paid, the town in equity and reason is to return into the hands of the true proprietaries, and in consequence the garrison to be dissolved; yet his majesty hath been pleased, out of his gracious disposition, and out of a sensible feeling of their former services, to have favourable consideration of every man's particular, either by transporting him into the service of the states, or by giving him a competent sum of money proportionable to his former treatment. But if any shall except against the smallness of the sum he shall receive, as not holding proportion to his former entertainment, you may let them know, that what his majesty now doth, is mere bounty and grace, not duty or debt; that longer they were not to expect entertainment, than those towns should remain cautionary: but when the towns should be rendered, the garrisons necessarily were to be dismissed from his majesty's service: And that if they cast their eyes into the neighbour countries under the archduke's government, and inform themselves how such commanders and captains are treated, when the regiments or companies are reformed, they cannot but acknowledge but his majesty hath dealt right graciously and bountifully with them. You are likewise to acquaint the burgomasters and magistrates of the town with the cause of your coming over there. To them you shall remonstrate in fair and kind language the many favours their state in general, and that town in particular, have received from his majesty: in what peaceable government they have lived under you the governor and commander of that garrison: how they have prospered since the coming of the English: how greatly the town is enlarged, and their burghers enriched: and therefore his majesty has no cause to doubt, but that of gratitude they will





Sir HORACE VERE, Knt.	800l. pension per ann.
And 200 more after the death of the lady BURGH, together with the disposing of such captains places, as are now under his charge at the Brill, and are to go into the regiment.	
Sir EDWARD CONWAY, Knt.	500l. pension per ann.
Capt. FLEMING to be serjeant major of the regiment.	
Capt. MOYLE	400l. money
Provost-marshal of Vlishing to to be in the regiment.	
EDMUND GENTIL, provost-marshal	400l.
Two water-bailiffs	800l.
Out of which they are to allow their deputy water-bailiffs <i>pro rato</i> .	
Two commissaries of the musters	400l. apiece
Two clerks of the ordnance	100l. apiece
Two master gunners	100l. apiece
Two master gunners mates	100l. apiece
Eight quarter-masters gunners	400l.
Two assistants	40l. apiece
Two more assistants	40l. apiece
Ten cannoniers	80l.
Lady BROWNE	300l.
Monf. BLOOK, pensioner	250l.
Sir WILLIAM WOOD, comptroller of the musters	400l.
CLEMENT EDMONDES, next reverfioner	400l.
Sir WILLIAM WOOD, so much as is unpaid of his suit } of the cheques }	600l.
Two preachers	76l. 13s 4d.

Summa 5500l.

Add more 7500l.

Summa totalis 13000l.

The regiment.

Sir ROBERT SIDNEY, Knt. colonel.

Sir JOHN THROCKMORTON, lieutenant colonel.

Sir JOHN FLEMING, Knt. serjeant major.

Capt. GREGORY LEONARD.

Capt. HEYDON.

Sir ROBERT YAXLEY.

Capt. BROWNE.

Sir RICHARD WIGMORE.

Capt. CONWAY.

Capt. AMYS.

Capt. VERE.

Capt. MORETON.

Sir HORACE VERE's company of 200, and Sir EDWARD CONWAY's company of 100, to be added to Sir HORACE VERE's regiment.

May

*May 22.* The king's commission to sir HORACE VERE to deliver up the Brill. [See RYMER, vol. xvi. p. 783—787.]

*June 16.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD, sent by WILLIAM DIESTON.

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

The letters and copies, with which your honour did favour me by WILLIAM DIESTON (whom I could not sooner return for want of fit subject) came very opportunely for my instructions to give assistance to the new regiment of English, now entered into the states pay; and the other two companies, which are separated by the contract; here being certain difficulties in the manner of receiving them, partly in regard of their repartition, and partly in regard of their number; the first of which points will ask some time, in regard it depends upon the resolution of those of Zealand for the establishing of the quotas, about which here are commissions now daily expected. Mean time they must remain upon the generality for their payment: but I find the purpose of the chief here is settled to have them repartited, as best for the state, and most commodious for the companies. Touching the number, I have had some argument with mon<sup>r</sup>. BARNEVELT and the council of state, conceiving his majesty's intent to be, that the companies should be received and maintained in the self-same state as they stood in his pay, though it be not particularly set down in the contract; that is, the companies of the two governors, each of them 200 heads, and the rest at hundreds: but here is advantage taken of the present weakness of the companies, which was caused by the unhappy accident of the mutinies, whereupon many of the soldiers left their colours, whereby to keep them in state, as they are at their first musters, or reduce them to the number of the rest of the English now in their service. For the colonel of the regiment and lieutenant colonel, as likewise for sir HORACE VERE and sir EDWARD CONWAY, I have obtained their commissions to be dispatched, according unto their desires, at their wonted numbers: but at the receiving of them at the council of state, they are required not to fill them, until they have further order: the rest are yet held in suspense.

My lord LISLE hath been lodged by the state, and used with all other good respects. This day he returned towards England through Flanders.

The French ambassador DU MAURIER doth suffer the business of Juliers and Cleves to lie dead; and I forbear the reviving of the same, until I understand his majesty's pleasure upon my letters of the 8th of the last, wherewith I sent the states answer to my proposition in this subject, concerning which I beseech your honour to favour me with a few lines.

Three days since the French ambassador was, by particular order out of France, in the assembly of the states general, to crave pardon for such captains and other officers and soldiers of that nation here in their service, who contrary to their express commandment bore arms in these late troubles under the princes; which was the only effect of that audience.

The treaty with the Hans towns was finished, and the deputies feasted and dispatched within four days after my last of the 30th of May; wherein I advertised your honour what was concluded touching the point of contributions: and herewith I send the translated copies of the instruments.

I was only visited by the deputies of Bremen, who recommend their town to his majesty's favour and protection, and not without great subject, as is here conceived, the place being of itself weak, and strongly aimed at, and practised upon by the Spaniards, who in consequence of the taking of Zoeft and Lipstadt have a design to impatronise themselves of more places in those parts, whereby to cut off the passage betwixt these provinces and Germany. To this effect we hear of many preparations for the field on the archdukes side; but rest secure, that as long and no longer than the troubles last in Italy, the quiet here will be preserved.

In this consideration, that the war of those parts is the peace of these, I send your honour the copy of a letter from a person of good understanding and no less good affection at Venice, wherein your honour will see the state of their affairs, and the sense they have of ours. At the date thereof I understand sir HENRY WOTTON was not arrived at Venice, else should I not *committere falcem in alienam messem*.

I have been written unto lately by the archbishop of Spalato, to send him letters of address to some well-affected persons on the way, he having now (as he writes) settled his affairs, and persisting in his former resolution of going into England. Herein I made no difficulty to satisfy him, conceiving it to agree with his majesty's pleasure.

The agent of Brandenburg here resident hath presented a memorial to the state concerning many particulars in the present government of that part of Juliers and Cleves, wherein this state hath garrison; and amongst others, one of consequence, which is, that they would there establish *legem talionis* in regard of religion, and cause the mass to cease in all places where they have authority, unless the reformed religion may be restored in divers places on the other side, and the ministers admitted again to their charges, which have been shared away by the Spaniards. To this the state here doth consent, and accordingly give order to their governors, but with a restriction to proceed with moderation, in regard it appears what is done on the other side, not to be done by express commandment, but by connivance, which is all one in effect.

I have nothing more to advertise your honour for the present, and therefore humbly take leave, &c.

Since I began to write, the states have consented, that all the captains of the new regiment shall have their commissions at a hundred heads; but they are required to forbear the filling of them with new supplies, until the repartition be resolved.

May



May 28. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Greenwich.

My lord embassador,

I cannot but thank you for your kind letters and your advertisements. I think by this time you see the effect of the passing of those troops over the Rhine, that was in mine opinion to do something equivalent that, which the states forces did in their return from Brunswick; for I do not believe, that either of you will willingly renew a war.

We have now determined of the return of the cautionary towns, a matter vulgarly ill taken here, and with many of the best: but necessity is of the council. I think your lordship will hear of it by those, that have more hand in it than I.

We have no certainty of the peace in France by letters; but the rumor is current, and so it stayeth my lord HAY's journey, and hath given occasion to the Spanish embassador to press for a like extraordinary for Spain *puntilli gratia*. As our coffers are, I could wish neither of both; but if one, there is a decorum, that the other go also.

I hear nothing else to trouble your lordship with, but that the Venetian embassador craveth audience this morning to tell his majesty, that there is a suspension of arms between the doge and the house of Austria, and the siege removed from Grandisca. So I rest your lordship's loving friend,

THOMAS LAKE:

June 21. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

Giving an account of the business of mr. BOOTHBY for reparation of damages done by MOY LAMBERT.

That he had desired in his majesty's name, that the states would nominate and depute 3 or 4 of their own body to judge of the validity of the testimonies, and determine the cause according to the justice and equity thereof. What will be the issue I cannot say, for I find them here in causes of this nature as strong in their own sense, as stiff in observing their accustomed forms; from which they say this course doth differ.

June 13. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall: by JOHNSON.

My lord,

Amongst many other overtures propounded by the colonel SCHENBERG at his late being here, this was one not of the least importance, that whereas the elector Palatine ought to hold and possess certain fiefs appertaining to his rightful inheritance, enjoyed by his ancestors without controversy or dispute in the country of Juliers, whereof he is deprived by these unhappy differences lately fallen out between the archdukes and the states of the United Provinces; his majesty would be pleased to address his letters to them both, praying them without farther delay to reintegrate the elector  
his

his son into his lawful possession; and that he may with the self-same liberty peaceably enjoy his due rights, as his predecessors have done before him. To this purpose his majesty hath written, the copy of whose letters herewith you shall receive, that accordingly you may fashion the proposition, which you are to make in the assembly of the states, whose answer you are to require, and to send over with the first convenience; for his majesty hath promised, that the answer, which he shall receive from the archdukes and the states, shall speedily be sent unto the elector Palatine. I may not omit to let you know, that sir THOMAS EDMONDES doth advertise us, that the embassador of France hath written from the Hague, that you had order to solicit the states, that the emperor's name might be inserted in the formulary of the archdukes, and the names of the two kings omitted; a thing never dreamt of as by us, nor never intended to be propounded by you; and so I have written to sir THOMAS EDMONDES.

We hear by report of the reddition of the towns, and of the mutiny unhappily happened in them; the true ground whereof is diversely reported.

My lord HAY is now upon his present dispatch, so as he will be at the sea some day next week. So I rest, &c.

*June 12.* King JAMES to the states general: from Greenwich, in French. Upon the siefs in Juliers, which the elector Palatine had been deprived of: desires they may be restored, having no connection with the dispute about the succession in that country.

*June 12.* King JAMES to the Archduke ALBERT upon the same subject.

*June 23.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Immediately upon the receipt of your honour's letters of the 13th of this present by JOHNSON the post, I demanded audience of the states general; and after I had presented his majesty's letters, used some few words in conformity to them for furtherance of the prince Palatine's desire touching his pretensions in Juliers, for such siefs as rightly appertain unto him in that state by inheritance; wherein I found they were very well informed, as being a matter, wherein they have been twice or thrice formerly moved, and were always ready (as they said) to assist the prince in so just a demand, and now much the more willingly upon his majesty's recommendation. What their answer is, his majesty may be pleased to see by the inclosed, which I have accompanied with my proposition.

At this audience I moved the states in an occasion then newly presented of certain subjects of his majesty brought into Rotterdam and Delft, the 17th of this present, to the number of 82, which were taken for pirates in two small barks about the isles of Orkney by two men of war of this state, which lay there to guard their fishers; and having some information of the qualities of these men, that they were not such as was suspected, I desired, that the states would take knowledge of them, and not suffer them to be treated as pirates (for so they were, both at

sea, and since they came to land) until such time as they had past a trial, and then they might use them according to their merit. The day following, which was yesterday, the states sent unto me such writings, as these men produced in their justification; as likewise such testimonies, as were taken against them; upon view whereof I found, that these men were sent from sir THOMAS PHILIPS from Coleraine in Ireland for the taking of one SAVERLY MAC DONALD in the island of Rafflings (who was there entered into Rebellion) under the command of one ANDREW WESTCOATE, ensign to sir THOMAS PHILIPS; for which purpose they had instructions signed by sir THOMAS PHILIPS, and dated the 16th of May last past, as likewise a copy of a letter from the lords justices of Ireland, the lord chancellor, and sir JOHN DENHAM, bearing date the 1st of May, to sir THOMAS PHILIPS, whereby to authorize him to find out these men for the apprehension of SAVERLY MAC DONALD: Which being signified from me to the states, they presently took a resolution to return these men to the place where their men of war found them, and to present them to certain officers in the north of Scotland, named HEN. STUART of Carlongie, and WILLIAM LEVINGSTON, who stile themselves sheriffs of the county of Orkney and Schetland, from whom the states men of war have a letter dated the 5th of June, by which advice is given of a pirate ship in those quarters, which had taken cattle in the islands thereabouts, and lay in wait (as they advertise) for the Holland fishers. And this letter is the cause of the taking these men in place of the pirate, who in all probability was SAVERLY MAC DONALD, whom these men followed, and who was but a day's sail before them. This course, which they now resolve of, to send them back, and present them to the justice of Scotland, should have been taken at their first apprehending, whereby to avoid the trouble of this long voyage, and the wrongs these poor men have sustained by being spoiled of all they have, and lying in irons till this present; which hath given me occasion this morning to speak to monf. BARNEVELT to instruct their captains of those ships better, whom they send into those seas, whereby to avoid these ill-encounters: and for the present I have desired, that these men may have full restitution made of what is taken from them, and victual for their voyage back; which he hath promised me shall be performed. I have obtained licence for the ensign WESTCOATE to come unto me; and upon speech with him find him and the rest of the company to be such, and no other, as their writings, which I saw before, did import.

At this present here is advertisement of a ship newly come into Dunkirk-road out of the north of Ireland with fifty men in her, or thereabouts, and there seized for a pirate. This, in all conjecture of time, and other circumstances, is SAVERLY MAC DONALD, who (as ensign WESTCOATE informs me) first possessed himself of a French ship betwixt the Rafflings and the Skirriës, and after took a pilot out of a Scottish ship, which he robbed at the island Lewis, expressly to conduct him to Dunkirk. In which respect I send this bearer over land by Brussels, to inform mr. TRUMBALL of the condition of this person in time, lest he escape away under pretext of a refugiat catholic, which is the common cloke for such persons, and after to pass by Dunkirk, that he may advertise your honour what he observes and learns concerning this ship; and if it should fall out, that WESTCOATE being brought hither as prisoner, should be the occasion of the apprehending MAC DONALD in these parts, it would be *felix error*, and a good effect of an ill cause.

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The conformity, which this accident hath with that, which happened about two years since in Crookehaven in Ireland, where many of his majesty's subjects were spoiled and slain by certain of the states ships, who took them for pirates, gave me occasion at this self-same audience to recommend to the states general the dispatch of the business for reparation of losses to such as were interested, concerning which his majesty wrote his particular letters about three months since in the behalf of mr. BOOTHBY, a merchant of London; and I had one from the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council, in favour of one THOMAS SMYTH, who suffered in the same ship; and though I have weekly solicited the same with the presidents and mons. BARNEVELT, nothing until that time was done.

The next day the states spent the whole morning in reviewing the pieces concerning this business; and now I hope it will not be laid aside until they take a final resolution, of which I will give his majesty and their lordships an account with the soonest.

I cannot but marvel at the French ambassador's advice into France (whereof your honour doth please to advertise me) touching the order I have from his majesty in the business of the formulary; knowing, that he got out of the greffier's hands both my proposition, and the states answer in that business: And I have had so often communication with him, that I could not but be well understood; which I find I was by some speeches I have had with him since to this purpose; so as there must be some artifice in those, who gave the information to sir THOMAS EDMONDES; and I can make no other interpretation thereof, but that it was a wilful mistake, whereby to divert or protract the proceeding.

The French ambassador hath shewed me a letter from mons. VILLEROY, wherein he writes, that the Spanish and archdukes ambassadors at Paris have moved the king and the queen mother to give the like order to their ambassador here, as I have had from his majesty touching the acceptance of the formulary; in place whereof they have dealt with the Spanish ambassador to write to Brussels to the archdukes to accommodate themselves to some course more likely to be admitted by this state; which the letter saith the Spanish ambassador hath done. Mean time, in expectation of the answer, this French ambassador doth suspend my further proceeding in this business: but I find he is somewhat quickened by one speech his majesty hath had with the French ambassador's resident in this court concerning his coldness herein, which he excuses upon their troubles at home for the time that is past, as a respect fit for him to have, not to make so distasteful a proposition to this state, when he did not know what need his master should have of their help: but for the time to come, he professeth to lay by all these considerations, and according to those letters he shall next receive out of France, govern himself.

I have even now received his majesty's leave for my going to the Spa by your honour's letters of the 17th of this present; for which I render my humble thanks, and will not fail, both here and by the way, to be watchful upon all occasions for his majesty's service. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

June  $\frac{20}{30}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's proposition to the states general in favour of the elector Palatine's fiefs in Juliers: in French.

June 30. Answer of the states general.

That the same request had been made several years before during the life of the last duke of Juliers; and that they had several times, since the death of that duke, written and required the princes in possession to deliver up to the elector those fiefs; which not being done, the states, out of regard to his majesty's recommendation, will continue to use their utmost interest and endeavour in favour of the elector.

June 9. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Greenwich.

Recommending sir EDWARD CONWAY, a gentleman of *many noble parts, and of great virtues and integrity*, that sir DUDLEY CARLETON would assist him in his private occasions.

June 17. The same to the same.

My lord,

The letters, wherein you moved for leave to go to the Spa, came lately to my hands, I mean slowly; which is the cause, that I returned you no sooner an answer. This day I have moved his majesty, who is graciously pleased to grant your request. If you pass by Liege, I pray you inform yourself of such English, that live there; and whether there be not an English seminary lately builded, or now building. You will not forget to leave some one behind you at the Hague, to advertise of the occurrences of that place, if any happen in your absence. You will meet with many English at the Spa; and I fear many of them worse affected in their mind to the service of the state, than in body for their health. I pray you have a watchful eye of them; and though *extra territorium nulla jurisdictio*, yet it doth appertain to your care *semper et ubique* to do his majesty service. And this is all I have for this present. I desire my service may be recommended to your lady, and so rest, &c.

July  $\frac{3}{13}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD; sent by mr. GRIMES.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

In conformity to my last of the 23d of June (which I sent by an express messenger my servant over land, and the duplicate by JOHNSON the post) those men, who were brought in wrongfully for pirates to Delft and Rotterdam, were delivered out of prison the day following, and re-conducted to the states ship, which brought them in, to be carried back into Scotland, where if they justify themselves for honest men (and such I take them to be, and so have undertaken to the states) whatsoever hath been taken from them, shall be restored unto them by inventory. They passed out of the river from the Brill (whither I sent expressly to view and see how they were treated) the 28th of the last, being used rather like passengers than prisoners; but their conducting betwixt Delft and the ships gave me subject of much complaint, the soldiers  
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being bound together in cords by the arms, and the ensign WESTCOATE led in manacles; which the states excuse as contrary to their order; and the lords of the fishery (as they call them) whose prisoners they were, say they could not otherwise satisfy the people: but many rested as ill satisfied with their treatment; for if they were pirates, why were they delivered? If honest men, why thus used? Those, which were at Rotterdam, were sent aboard by night.

The states have, after long debate about the business concerning mr. BOOTHBY, which was solicited by this bearer, taken a resolution to depute one of every province out of their assemblies, to hear and determine thereof; with which this bearer doth depart better satisfied, than with 700%. composition, which I would have procured him. The recompence to THOMAS SMITH (who was recommended by the lords of his majesty's most honourable privy council) for his hurts and maims received in the same occasion, is referred to the same arbitrators.

The states of Holland have made a very sharp decree with pecuniary punishment and exile for such, as upon these differences of religion separate themselves from their wonted congregations, by going from hence to Ryfwick, and so from other places to churches more remote from their own parishes, to communicate and assist at divine service: Which those of Amsterdam and Enchuyfen have protested against, offering to receive any thus banished into their cities, and promising to repay their confiscations to the full, with purpose (as they openly declare) to defalc so much out of their contributions to the state, which hath caused the execution of the order to be suspended.

Here are deputies at this present from the province of Zealand expressly sent to conclude their long difference betwixt that province and the rest concerning their quotas; wherein they are very stiff not to exceed eight in the hundredth: whereas they are rated at eleven, in regard of their decay since the truce; and this they are now in hand to make appear to be reasonable before the council of state by a particular account of their encrata. Those of Friseland make the like difficulty in their quotas, and refuse to come to account. But this difference of their purses will be sooner accommodated (notwithstanding those difficulties) than the other of their consciences, in that those, who have chief authority in the state, make it their work to settle the one for their public good, and so prosecute their particular desires in the other, whereby to maintain their authorities.

Here is one PAUL DE LA RAVOYRE, a Savoyard, whose fortune and request your honour may be pleased to see by the inclosed memorial. He had a desire to have gone into England, which I have dissuaded, in that, if his majesty please to write to the duke of Savoy in his favour, I have promised him by your honour's means to procure your letter. He hath penned an apology for himself, which he hath shewed me; and therein he doth so well decypher the court of Rome (in which he is well practised) that he deserves all encouragement, having a purpose to put the same in print.

This French ambassador, mons. DU MAURIER, hath an order from mons. DE VILLEROY in the business of Juliers and Cleves, *reprendre les erres des promesses*: which



which general terms he expects shall be more particularly exprest by his next dispatch, and that at my return about the midst of the next month, we may proceed jointly in the busines.

The report, that I should move the states, that the emperor's name should be inserted in the formularies of the archdukes in place of the two kings, appears to be Spanish artifice, by that I understand from Venice of the same matter; which your honour may please to see by the inclosed abstract.

I have thus long deferred my departure hence towards the Spa, partly by reason of the unseasonable weather for travel, and partly for many affairs of those of our nation, which I have now left dispatched in a good way; and those, who have had your honour's recommendation, I hope, will have subject to acknowledge their thanks.

Here I leave mr. NATHANAEL BRENT, a fellow of Merton college in Oxford, one not unknown to your honour, to advertise your honour of all occurrents in my absence, and to receive your commandments. So praying almighty God to send your honour with all yours that health which I now go to seek, accompanied with all happiness, I commit you to his holy protection.

Here is at present an embassador from Basil [Boule] who had audience the 27th of the last. The only subject whereof was (besides compliment) the payment of a great remainder of debt for service done by that state to the late prince of Orange, which he requires of the states; and they have already answered the debt to be due by the seventeen provinces, and not these alone which are united. Wherefore they refuse to take the matter into consideration.

Aug. 2. N. S. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

My staying in Liege being one night only *in transitu*, this is all the information I could take in so short a time of the English seminary of the Jesuits there lately erected. It is now sixteen months since the Jesuits of Louvain and St. Omer were petitioners to the elector of Colen, as bishop of Liege, for licence to have a college in the town; with promise to be no charge to him, nor burthen to the inhabitants: which being granted, they bought certain houses joining to the rampart of the town on this side towards Brabant, close to a convent of Capuchins, which cost them four times the just value; and for the first six months they had a double process, one with the Capuchins for certain entries and passages; another with the town itself, which held it not safe to have strangers possess the rampart of the town, by which an entry might be given at all times to the antient enemies of the house of Burgundy. These differences being accommodated with money, they began to build about a year since, and have already raised the church to some perfection. Their college is likewise begun, on which they entertain always forty workmen, sometimes a hundred, which are well paid, and for the most part with English gold. The rector is THOMPSON. Six other Jesuits there are, who have as many names as they are men. The rest, to the number of

thirty or thereabouts, are novices. Two of the most antient of them were here at my first coming, and are now gone to the elector of Colen about the affairs of their college, they finding new disputes daily with the burghers of Liege, who are ill satisfied with the sudden increase of such a number, by reason of the state of the house: And these quarrels are fomented by the Capuchins, who are as much troubled with their ill neighbourhood.

What company I found here, with such as are since arrived, and how they stand affected, your honour will see by the list I send herewith, to which I add a paper with certain articles, which by these new-come Jesuits are put into the hands of the curate of the parish, that the lodging of such, as are of a contrary religion to this, make no impression amongst them. At the first articles they make no scruple: but the last is so much against their consciences (to swear, that these, by whom they live, and whose conversation they see to be religious and honest, are immediately damned) that the last year (which was the first time this novelty was introduced) six or seven families forsook this place, and now dwell at Amsterdam. And the same oath, being now proposed to the patron of the house, where the countess of Pembroke lodgeth, he hath left his house to his guests, and is fled into Germany.

By such soldiers, as are here from the places adjoining, we understand, that the baron of Anhalt, a cadet of that house near Zutphen and Darenter, who was a colonel in Cleve under Leopold, pretends to have commission for the levy of one thousand horse; for which he hath made choice of his officers: But it is not known, whether it be for the emperor's service, or the king of Spain's. He hath the title of gentleman of the emperor's chamber.

If the season will permit, our stay here will be yet three weeks; and in our return we shall be forced to take the way of Louvain, Mechlin, and Antwerp, by reason of the unsafe passage the other way without convoy, for which there is no fit commodity.

Of this I thought it my duty to give your honour an account, to the end I may receive your honour's commandments, if there be occasion for his majesty's service in those places. And though I do here chiefly *salutem curare*, yet I hope to settle such correspondence in Liege, that my journey shall not prove altogether unuseful.

Sir HORACE VERE (whom your honour, I suppose, will be content to hear of) finds himself somewhat weakened by these waters, which the physicians make no ill sign of their good operation. I have comfort given me for mine indisposition by the example of great multitudes, which chiefly resort hither from all places for the same cause; though they come likewise for all other diseases.

Thus, praying almighty God for your honour's health, with the increase of all happiness, I rest, &c.

July

July 13. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall.

My lord,

Although the Spa, where these will find you, is not a place for dispatch of business, yet am I willing you should there be advertised of the occurrences of this place: In the relation whereof I will begin with a memorable accident fallen upon the fortune of a powerful person in this state, the lord chief justice of the King's Bench \*. About a year since, his majesty understanding of some differences between the Chancery and the King's Bench about the limits of their jurisdiction, called in private unto him the lord chancellor and the lord chief justice; remonstrated how dishonourable to them, and disserviceable to him, such disputes would be; required them to contain themselves within their several limits; and so moderate their courses, that if any intricate question should arise between them, which among themselves they could not determine, they would refer to his censure, who would be pleased himself in person to decide it. Yet in Hilary term last many principal men, who have their dependence in the court of Chancery, were indicted in the King's Bench of a *præmunire*. Shortly after a cause of the commendams being to be handled in the Exchequer-chamber before all the judges, his majesty holding his prerogative to be interested therein, commanded the judges by order sent unto them by his attorney-general to defer the hearing of that cause: Yet the judges proceeded. Lastly, sir ROBERT RICH and sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON offering to make present payment of that money, for which their land is engaged, through the debt of chancellor HATTON, by the examination of the debt it did appear, that the lord chief justice, in the time that he was his majesty's attorney-general, did bind sir CHRISTOPHER HATTON in bonds and statutes to the value of 18,000*l.* not to procure nor solicit the disengagements of the land. Upon these reasons, by express commandment of his majesty, he hath been convented at the council-table, and by his majesty's solicitor charged with these crimes, as by the inclosed paper will more plainly appear. In fine, he is sequestered from the council-table, forbidden to ride this summer circuit, and commanded this vacation to reform his books of *Reports*, wherein are said to be many extravagant passages, different from the antient laws and constitutions of this kingdom.

The proceedings both of France and Spain in the affairs of Cleves and Juliers are variable and obscure, so as I cannot well judge what their conclusions will be; only this foresee, that sooner or later these different will produce a bloody war; which will not only rend in pieces those poor countries, but infect also the confines round about, and withal disquiet these other parts of Christendom.

This day the lord HAY parted home towards France, intending to imbarke at Dover for Dieppe, whither his horses and baggage are sent before.

His majesty is now at Wansted, about which place he purposeth to entertain himself until Friday the next week, when from Theobald's he doth begin his progress.

Mr. TRUMBULL hath order from hence to make instance to the archduke and his ministers, that SAVERLY MAC DONALD with his complices may be either sent hither to have the punishment of pirates; or else that they would there frame their process,  
and

\* Sir EDWARD COKE.



and execute according to their demerit, and withal to keep the ship and goods to the use of the true proprietaries. What he shall be able to effect of this, or whether any thing, or nothing, time will tell us. I am, &c.

Aug.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: from Spa, by sir ARTH. INGRAM.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

By letters from this place of the 2d of this present, I gave your honour an account of our being here, as now I thought it a duty to do the like of our departure, which shall be (God willing) on Thursday next, and that way as in my first I advertised your honour, unless a disorder committed by our convoy in their return make us unwilling to commit ourselves into the hands of the disorderly Liegois, who (as I am informed) have a secret purpose to satisfy themselves upon our carriages.

Sir HORACE VERE hath found great good effects of these waters, which for the present I cannot so much brag of, but hope for the best (as others do, which are subject to my indisposition) *a la lunga*.

Since our arrival at this place here have come few strangers: Of English sir NICHOLAS TUFTON only, who hath left his lady with sir EDWARD CECIL, her brother, at Utrecht. Those we found are for the most part departed. The countess of PEMBROKE remains somewhat weak of an ill effect, which was caused by these waters. In the list I sent your honour there are some gentlemen, who came with sir ARTHUR INGRAM, particularly noted, whose frequenting this church caused some suspicion; but it seems by that I have since observed, they were carried rather by curiosity than devotion.

Those two English Jesuits, who (as I advertised your honour) went from hence to the bishop of Colen, about the affairs of their college at Liege, had a farther commission to obtain license of the bishop for the settling of a company of the English votaries of St. Omer's (whom they call *Expectates*, and of which we had the governess in this place) in the town of Liege; wherein they are like to find no great difficulty with the prince, if they can as easily obtain the consent of the people.

The rector of the English college of Jesuits at Liege, who goeth under the name of THOMPSON, is (I am well informed) that JARRET or GERRARD, that escaped out of prison in England, and hath since resided long at Louvain.

It seems, that the levies, which are made in Burgundy for the service of the king of Spain, will be far greater in number than was first spoken of; there being men fetcht from all places adjoining, and arms transported that way from Triers and Mayence for seven or eight thousand foot. A company of horse hath been raised in Liege, and they are marched away with great diligence, their rendezvous being at Befance in Burgundy about the end of this month, where they are to be commanded with the rest of the horse by the count JOHN JACOMO BELIOYOSA an Italian. There

is small appearance, that their design is to pass the mountains into the state of Milan, as was pretended, the charge being so great for the conduct, and Italy abounding with horse more than any other part. Besides I hear, that those, which parted from Liege, have carried with them horses for artillery; which is an apparent sign they are not to pass the mountains.

The officers, and so of the soldiers, that are to be raised by the baron of Anhalt, are in readiness; but they want money for the intire levy.

It were a presumption in me, being in so remote a place from affairs, to discourse of so great a business carried with such extraordinary secrecy; but the most probable opinion of the strangers in this place, and the most universal, is, that all tends to the establishing the emperor's authority in Germany, by oppressing such, as any way oppose the same; the first fury whereof is like to light on the marquis of BADEN; and by consequence the creating a king of the Romans at the pleasure of the king of Spain.

Your honour will have heard divers ways of the death of TYRONE at Rome (whereof here are particular letters) and of the ceremonies of his funeral.

Thus craving pardon for giving your honour trouble upon so slight a subject, I humbly take leave, &c.

*Aug. 25.* O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD, from the Hague: by ensign RANDEN.

Being returned to this place of my residence, I would not fail of the first occasion to give your honour an account thereof, as likewise to reiterate my humble thanks for the leave it pleased your honour to procure for this mine absence and journey, wherefore I find since I left the Spa, and the use of those waters, such sensible and even visible good effects for the recovery of my health, that as I am better able to discharge my duty in his majesty's service, so am I more deeply obliged to your honour's great and continual favours. Sir HORACE VERE doth not yet leave that, whereof he receives so great benefit, having brought provision of Spa waters for that purpose: but I believe the air and other elements must concur; and that there may be excess in the best things.

In our way to this place, which we took by Maestricht (whereby to avoid a doubtful entertainment, which was threatened us at Liege) and after by Louvain, Brussels, Mechlin, Antwerp, and Breda, we could not see the preparation for war any way answerable to the noise, which runneth on this side: whereby it appears, that the Spaniards sent their terrors this way, and their forces another, to the end, that they may amuse this state, and keep it in quiet, whilst they may have commodity to effect their designs elsewhere. The archduke and the infanta were absent from Brussels, which gave us opportunity of making that small step out of the way, where we staid only a dining-time, and at Antwerp and other places a night only.

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Here I find them upon the point of the assembly of the states of Holland, which should begin this day; Monf. BARNEVELT being come from a month's progress two days since, and the rest of the deputies for the most part arrived. Their businesses will be great, both concerning their differences in religion, as likewise their contributions. In the first of which Holland is divided within itself, and in the second grown generally backward by the example of Zealand. And both these tender points of their consciences and their purses mixed together do much distract them.

Your honour hath been advertised of a secretary of Venice, who is here come, after their manner, with general instructions, to give account of their affairs. And if their troubles continue, he will have the quality of resident; for which purpose he is taking a house. And I find a disposition in this state likewise to send one to Venice, wherein they defer their resolution until they see how this man will be qualified, which is expected by the next letters. I send your honour this first proposition in the assembly of the states general.

Here is a fair present of six Spanish horses, with blue velvet covers adorned with gold lace, conducted by PLEUVENEL from the French king; whereof four are for count MAURICE, and two for count HENRY. They were presented on Sunday last with much ceremony, PLEUVENEL being brought to the court by the French ambassador in his coach, and a solemn speech of the French king's and queen regent's good affection to the house of Nassau, and particularly to those two princes, made by PLEUVENEL; in the delivery of which the prince of Orange was present; and news being come the day following of the prince of Condé's imprisonment at Paris, they do here already make an interpretation of this kindness to be *occupatio benevolentiae* against such consequences as may follow so desperate a resolution, which may cast France out of their fever *en chaud mal*.

The French companies, which are here in service of this state, have not for many months together touched any money out of France, so as the burthen of their paying upon these provinces, hath been so heavy, that they have not been able to sustain that, and give contentment to their own troops, which are much behind hand, and make no small exclamations; the soldier being not here suffered, as they are in other places, when they want their pay, to live *à la discretion*; and there being no other means left for their sustenance.

This is as much as I can collect in this short time since my return, and more than your greater affairs will permit: Wherefore I humbly take leave, &c.

Sept.  $\frac{16}{26}$  Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: sent by GEO. MARTIN.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I have attended these few days past in expectation, that the breaking up of the assembly of Holland would have afforded matter worth his majesty's knowledge: But they are this last day separated without conclusion, either concerning their contributions, or their questions in religion, the two principal subjects of their meeting,

which



which they have appointed shall hold here again about ten days hence. Mean time for the one of these points they expect to understand the resolution of those of Zeeland (touching which the treasurer DE BYE with another of the council of state hath been employed by the states general to that province) and thereupon doth depend on the resolution of Holland. Touching the other, they have had high and sharp language in their last assembly, and against they meet again, are to make trial in their several towns, how they can consent to a moderation: which is recommended by Dort against the violence of Rotterdam and this place; and the towns adjoining on that side, and the constancy (for so I may term a resisting of novelties) of Amsterdam and North Holland on the other.

The 7<sup>th</sup> of this present, the French ambassador, mons. DU MAURIER, had audience with the states general, which was the first he had since the prince of CONDE's restraint, the relation whereof he referred to the king his master's declaration: And after he had long insisted upon the king's sorrow for the occasion, the necessity to have recourse unto this remedy, his care to acquaint this state withal, as his best friends; his assurance of the sense they will have of it, and readiness to contribute all their help and assistance *à la guérison des maux*; the importance of the cause, which he terms *l'affirmissement de l'autorité royale*; their private interest therein, as the chief support of their liberty; the king's confidence in them, by example of their proceedings in their late troubles; the treaties, which were first contracted with the late French king, and since confirmed with this; and lastly, the king's endeavours to prevent the renewing of troubles, to the end he may rather be assistant than chargeable to this state (of which, if need require, he promised himself all help) he concluded with a request, that for the present they would make a proposition through the whole state, as likewise in all places they hold in Juliers and Cleves, against the transport of either men or munition into France, or the making of any new levies, to infect the kingdom; whereof he promised that good effect, that those troubles would be the sooner appeased, and by consequence the French king better enabled to pay the arrearage of the French troops, which are here entertained, for which their ambassador mons. LANGERACK hath lately made instance.

To this the states made answer the 10<sup>th</sup>, that they were very sorry for this new accident, of which they desired *un bon et salutaire accommodement*, to his majesty's contentment, and the good of his crown, as being thereto obliged both by treaties and favours received from their majesties: That they would presently make publication in all places, where their authority did extend, and particularly in Juliers and Cleves, against the transport either of men or munition, or making any new levies either of horse or foot: That they would religiously observe all things, to which they were bound, for the service of the king's person or his kingdom: That they did humbly thank his majesty for all his favours, which they prayed him to continue; and particularly to take order, that the arrearage of that, which is due to the French troops, be paid in time, whereby to avoid the inconvenients, which will otherwise follow both to the service of his majesty and this state.

The same day order was given for a manifesto, which hath been since published, according to the translated copy, which I send your honour herewith.

By a dispatch sent by an express courier from mons. LANGERACK to the states general under the date of the 2d of this present, wherein he giveth them an account of these new accidents in France, he doth likewise inform them of the good offices done by his majesty's ambassadors with the king and queen regent for the accommodating these tumults; and how he hath been particularly moved to join with them therein. To which, for want of commission from hence, he could make no answer, but only in general terms; and therefore would attend their farther order.

Upon knowledge hereof, as likewise in remembrance of what his majesty told me (when I had the honour last to kiss his hands) to be agreeable to his pleasure (at such time as the accommodation of the former trouble was in treaty) that the ambassador of this state might have order to join with sir THOMAS EDMONDES in that endeavour, I have spoken in time before the return of their courier (who this day is to be dispatched) both with his excellency and mons. BARNEVELT, as likewise with others of the states, to this purpose; shewing them how much the accommodation of those troubles now threatned in France doth import them, as well for the present, in regard of the payment of the French troops, now in their service (whereof these two last years arrearages do exceed a million of France) as for the future, because the strength of their antient and irreconcilable enemy, the king of Spain, will be increased by the division; and by consequence the weakness of France; and their strength here much diminished by revoking or disbanding the French regiments; which either necessity will cause the French king to recall, or their private interests and dependances to return, though they be not sent for. Hereupon I made it likewise appear how an united office of such princes, as had the same interest, is of greater consideration, than their negotiating severally; and how I well know, that the order they might, upon so good an occasion, give their ambassador to join with his majesty's to this purpose, would give his majesty much satisfaction.

I found his excellency with all others well to take this course, as fit to be taken now in the beginning, before these troubles had gotten *vires eundo*. Only mons. BARNEVELT did entertain the proposition coldly, he judging it a very delicate matter to interpose between a king and his subjects; though he remembered a conceit of my predecessor sir H. WATTON's in discourse upon the like occasion, that *crimen læsæ majestatis* in England was but a small crime in France. He added, they must expect farther, which way those affairs would incline, before they took any resolution; yet when they were to make answer to their ambassador, promised to refer my overture to the consideration of the states.

To make hereof a public office to the states general, I could not without particular order from his majesty; and I thought it not necessary, in regard, that if they judge it to agree with their private interest, they will lay hold on this motion, though made in private; and if they have any other conceit thereof, I do not hazard an excuse or denial in public.

Yesterday arrived another courier to this French ambassador with letters from Paris of the  $\frac{1}{2}$  of this present, by which he hath order to move the states to have two companies of horse (that of VILLEBON and MAY) presently sent into France for the

king's assistance; for which he is promised, that passage shall be procured through the archdukes provinces, and is to prepare a way for the three regiments of French foot, with an addition of as many more of other nations against the next spring, in case need do so require.

This day he makes his proposition for this purpose, which will sound very harshly with the states, as well in regard of being deprived of their troops, as for the manner of the passage through their enemy's country, where they may be subject to be corrupted.

Here is much complaint against the horse-troops of this state made by three several letters from the archbishop of Colen, for divers roads into his country, and disorders there committed: which the states general have referred to the examination of the council of state; and that is all the answer they have given to the archbishop.

In Colen there is a small accident happened, which raiseth no small discourse in these parts. BILDERBEG (one whom your honour knoweth) an agent for many princes there resident, was so acknowledged for the princes possidents, and by both their consents lodged in the house of Cleve, a place so called in that town, which in both their rights, he hath enjoyed for these five or six years past. About six weeks since a secretary of Newburgh demanded lodgings in that house; who being admitted, took to him the next day two soldiers or bravos; which caused BILDERBEG to take in others in the behalf of Brandenburg, to make good his possession. And the matter being thus disputed by them by the space of a month, the town about ten days since with 20 musketeers drove out both the litigants, and took the house of Cleve into sequestration, until the differences be composed between the two princes. Hereupon they make in this place a great reflection, as if by this, pattern were shewed what they may judge of the whole piece; and that a sequestration is intended by the emperor of all places now in the like controversies.

With what small affection the English Jesuits are entertained by the people of Liege, and what judgement my advertisements of the author of the infamous libel *Corona regia*, your honour may please to see in an abstract of a letter I send herewith. And so for the present I humbly take my leave, &c.

P. S. The French ambassador hath deferred his proposition, to try first by private conference how the states stand affected.

His excellency doth set forward to-morrow to visit the fortifications of Guelderland and those parts. He hath given PLEUVENEL, who conducted the French king's horses, a medal with his picture set with diamonds worth 6500 francs; and count HENRY hath given him 4 coach-mares.



Sept. 14. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from St. Bartholomew's, sent by JOHNSON.

My lord,

Now that I understand by your letters from the Hague, that you are returned from the Spa, I will first congratulate with you the happy success you have received by those waters, by the sensible amendment of your health. Next you shall understand, that during your long absence from your charge, so many occurrences have happened, and those of great consequence, wherewith, for want of conveniency, I have not acquainted you, that now I find myself, as it were, in a labyrinth, not knowing well where to begin, and less knowing how to end. But to come to that which most importeth the consideration of the good understanding between his majesty's crowns and those provinces, I cannot forbear to let you know, that at this present time, such are the distastes, which his majesty, his council, and his subjects, have conceived against the government of those provinces, that if by honest and careful endeavours it be not prevented, and the course of their affairs otherwise ordered, there necessarily will follow a rupture of our amity, to the disservice of their state, and the advantage of their enemy. For I must plainly deal with you, there is that general dislike for the publication of that rigorous placart against the reception of our dyed and dressed cloths, which, as we hear, is seconded by an obstinate combination of merchants of those parts, neither to buy dyed nor white cloths, that though as yet there be no public resolution taken, yet this is in the mind and in the mouth of every true-hearted Englishman, that his majesty, both in justice and equity (*neque enim lex justior ulla, quam necis artifices arte perire sua*) and in reason of state, ought to forbid all manner of intercourse between the kingdoms and the United Provinces, and forbid the Hollanders, by a fresh reviving of former proclamations, to continue their yearly fishing upon our coasts. Now if we shall come to these extremities (and to these extremities we shall come, if the states revoke not that exorbitant placart) I know both they and we shall suffer and smart for it; for *quando Africa piange, Italia non ride*, and none shall gain by it, but he, who hopeth, sooner or later, to build the greatness of his fortunes upon the foundation of both our ruins. I know well the nature of that people, and the humour of those masters, who sit at the stern of that state. They will not willingly be crossed in their courses, & *quod volunt, valde volunt*: yet it is never too late to be wise, and no counsel is evil, but that which cannot be changed. I profess unto you, I am in great anguish of spirits, how to accommodate these differences to the full contentment of all parties. This is most certain, *couste qui couste*, and though *calum terris misceatur*, his majesty is resolved not to swallow, much less to digest, these indignities. As before I have said, only the Spaniards have cause to triumph; and to erect trophies, and make bonfires of joy and gladness.

Out of my care for the advancement of the service of the public, and for the discharge of the duty of my place, I cannot but wish, that you should take an occasion to visit mons. BARNEVELT, upon some other subject; and then by the way, *tanquam aliud agens*, you should enter into discourse of these matters; and so plainly let him understand what you hear and have received; remonstrate unto him the inconveniencies, which must ensue, which only lieth in the power of that state to prevent; and the means to prevent it must be by revoking of their placart. I have freely dealt  
with

with sir NOEL CARON to the same purpose, and made it manifestly appear to him, that the states might have had their end, that is, made frustrate our design of dying and dressing, though that placart had never been published. You cannot do a better service, neither to the king our master (for I confess our good is interested in the preservation of these provinces) nor to those provinces, who cannot but acknowledge, that as their *esse* is derived from the favour of our crowns, so their *bene esse* dependeth upon the continuance of the same, to employ all good endeavours to certify these misunderstandings, which I am sorry to see are nourished and fomented by malicious practices of some ill-disposed persons, who gape after novelties, and either out of perverseness will not, or out of dulness cannot, understand how happy these kingdoms and those provinces are, so long as they live in amity together, and how unhappy they must be, when that bond of amity shall either be weakened or dissolved.

What success you shall have in this private negotiation, (for I write unto you as to a good friend, not as to a public minister,) I pray you advertise me with all diligence; and if the states do persist in their resolutions, you may rest resolved, *actum est de amicitia*.

We say here, that great quantity of cloth is made in Amsterdam, Alcmæer, and some other parts of Holland. I pray you inform yourself of the truth thereof, to what number of cloths, of what fineness, and how those towns are supplied with wool.

I may not forget to tell you, that mons. BERCKE, the pensionary of Dort, was this summer here to treat with this new company of dyers and dressers, to hold their residence in that town; and the rather to invite them (if alderman COCKAYNE the governor of their company speaketh truth, though I confess mons. BERCKE to me did flatly deny it) did promise them the revocation of this placart. This kind of proceeding did seem very strange to his majesty, that one province by under-hand and indirect means should countermine the good of another; for Middleburgh is in possession of our merchants, and so hath been more than thirty years. The welfare of that town is supported by the residence of our merchants; and if Holland *instar lienis*, shall draw unto it *succum & sanguinem* of all commerce, how shall Zealand pay their quota, for the reglement whereof among the provinces the dispute is so violent, even at this day, *tanquam pro aris & focis*?

Upon these reasons his majesty was not pleased to give access to mons. BERCKE, yet gave me power to speak with him, to whom I freely declared the disservice, that would come to their state; the envy, that would fall upon Holland, if upon such considerations our merchants should be forced to retire out of Zealand: and withal I pray you know, that if *cætera* may be *paria*, that is, if our merchants may find as good terms at Middleburgh as in any other place, his majesty had rather they should remain there, both for the vicinity of England and Zealand, and because that province hath ever been most affectionate to our country and countrymen. I have forgotten to set down, that our merchants are in treaty with Middleburgh, and have given them time till Michaelmas, to procure the revocation of the placart, which doth aggravate the unkindness of Dort to send a commissioner, as it were, *pendente lite*, to forestall the negotiation of a neighbour town.

I under-

I understand, that monf. BERCKE is ill fatisfied with me; but *id populus. Amicus PLATO, magis amica veritas.* I am a fervant to the public, and to no man's private.

I am now to thank you for the favour you have done fir HORACE VERE, whereof though you do reap the honour by entertaining into your friendfhip fo noble and worthy a gentleman, who thankfully doth acknowledge, and with refpect, all your courtesies; yet my obligation to you is nothing the lefs, knowing, as I do, that my recommendation, grounded upon the experience I have had of his worth and virtues, made his perfon more acceptable unto you: and fo wifhing you and your lady, to whom I recommend my affectionate fervice, all happy content, I reft, &c.

I pray you take fome time fully to advertife me of the ftate of religion in thofe parts, which is by divers reports ftangely scandalized with.

When I was ready to fign thefe, fir HORACE VERE came to me, who by your waters of Spa is made *novus homo*. If you will not be killed with the ftone, you muft dictate, and ufe the hand of another man.

Sept. 28. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to fecretary WINWOOD: by way of Zealand.

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

In conformity to my laft of the  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>6</sup> of this prefent, fent by GEORGE MARTEN, the poft, the French embaffador, monf. DU MAURIER, made his propofition the 19th, touching the two companies of French horfe, which the king his mafter defired to have fent through the archdukes countries into France: wherein he fignified, that there was already obtained from the archdukes a grant for the paffage; and the occafion ceafing in France, promifed they fhould fpeedily be returned again to the fervice of thofe provinces. The ftates took thereupon a prefent refolution, that the two companies fhould be fent; for which they will give their order as foon as the embaffador fhould receive his difpatches from the archdukes and from France touching their paffage and rendezvous. In the anfwer they likewise commend the kind's and queen's diligence in feeking to prevent the imminent troubles of that kingdom; as likewise their benignity (which was touched in the embaffador's propofition) in hearkening to an overture of accommodation, in which they pray their majefties to continue.

The Venetian fecretary had audience the fame day of the ftates general by order, which he received from his mafters two days before by an exprefs courier: wherein he firft gave account of their proceedings in the wars with the archduke Ferdinand, with much advantage on their part. Next of the propofitions made in the emperor's court, and willingly hearkened unto by the Venetians, but not proceeded in, in regard of the artificiofs and advantageous dealing on the archduke's fide. Laftly, he requested of the ftates in the behalf of his mafters, that they would be content to give license to the count JOHN ERNEST of Naffau (who had offered himfelf to the ftate of Venice) that he might go in perfon to their fervice, and make a levy of 3100 foot in this ftate and the confines thereof. This he preffed unto them by arguments of the common intereft for confervation and eftablifhment of their liberties, *domo cōfi pretiofo di Deo*.

The



The states in their answer (which they gave the day following) consented both to the count JOHN's going in person and to the levy, but limited his absence to the space of a year, in regard of the use they have of a man of his merit, whom they recommend in very ample terms; and therefore desire, that both in consideration of himself and his house, he may find at their hands the better treatment. They desire farther, that provision may be made, in case the treaty of peace shall succeed, for the safe return of their troops through the archduke's country, if they should take that way; and likewise a place for honourable burial for those soldiers that should chance to die, being placed any where in garrison.

The contract between the count JOHN and this Venetian resident is, that, peace or war, the troops are to be entertained four months in service: that they are to be ranged in 20 companies, and paid after the rate of Swiss 1150 florins for a company the short-month: that each soldier is to have 14 florins imprest: that they shall pass in 15 ships, for each of which is allowed 6000 florins. If more be requisite, they must be paid out of this allowance. That there shall be given to count JOHN for the victualling, and other necessaries, by way of advance, two months pay: for all which there are 40,000 ducats remitted by the way of Amsterdam to this Venetian resident, with credit for more, if there be occasion. Count JOHN for his person, and other officers in chief, are to depend upon the courtesy of the state of Venice for their entertainment.

The agent of Brandenburg hath had audience of the states general this last week, wherein he complained in the name of the elector of Brandenburg of wrong done him in Prussia by the Polonians, by soliciting his subjects, which profess the popish religion, against him; and desired the states would send an ambassador unto him to countenance his affairs. He hath order further to demand a levy of 120 horse and 200-foot in this country, to send by sea into Prussia; which he forbears, attending to hear from Prussia, where the elector now is, in what terms those affairs continue.

In the name of the prince of Brandenburg he complained of the tyranny (which word he often used in his proposition) of the states soldiers over the subjects of Juliers and Cleves; which he desired to be speedily redressed, for fear of the consequence.

He hath in private audiences intimated to the chief here the elector's desire to come to this place, to treat with the states touching the affairs of Juliers and Cleves; and the young prince's resolution to leave those parts to be governed by his council, and to go to his father in Prussia. In both which mons. BARNEVELT hath discountenanced them; the father, in regard of the jealousy he shall give to no purpose by this journey; and the son, in consideration of the prejudice his country shall receive, and the reputation he shall lose in his absence.

There is at this present a meeting at Arnheim betwixt his excellency the marquis of Anspach and count of Solmes, who married the sister of the marquis; the end whereof (for aught I can understand) is rather to discourse of the common affairs, than to consult of any particular design.

Now

Now in answer to your honour's of the 14th of this present received by JOHNSON the 20th, and to your other of the 20th, which came to my hands the 25th by HINDRICKSON, both chiefly to the same effect, concerning the revocation of a placart published in this state against the reception of our dyed and dressed cloths, with other circumstances thereon depending; I took some time after the receipt of your honour's first letter, and made a journey to Amsterdam under another pretence, whereby to give your honour more particular and certain information of those things, which you require; which I thought I might the better do, knowing it to be to small purpose to stir in the business of the placart, untill the coming of other merchants, which were expected here about this time, and are accordingly arrived. I find all possible care and diligence used in these parts, and particularly in Amsterdam, to supply their wants of our English cloths. For which purpose particular men are furnished out of the common purpose for the setting up of looms for making of cloths; each person, that taketh upon him to set up a loom, having 50 guilders, and 500 guilders lent to be repaid in ten years by even proportions. So as by this means there are already in Amsterdam about 90 looms, which make 50 cloths a week. In Alcmæer, Rotterdam, and other places of Holland, there are 250 looms more; which being reckoned *pro rato*, there is made in this province about 200 cloths a week.

For wools to supply this work they have more than they have need of, partly in their own provinces of Holland, Friesland, Overijssel, Guelderland, and Utrecht, and partly from foreign parts, as the land of Cleves, Pomerland (from whence they have great quantity), and Spain. They have wools likewise by stealth out of England, there being two ships come to Amsterdam within these three weeks past, laden with that commodity only, whereof the one was of Newcastle, the other conceals from what part it came.

The wools they have from other parts besides his majesty's dominions, do serve by mixture to make cloths from 10l. to 26l. a cloth, and not higher, except by choice of wools, and that very few. The most, which are made, are of the coarsest sort; and all, that they yet make, is not above the 15th part of that these provinces do need to maintain their trade of dying and dressing which they have formerly used.

Besides white cloths they have mingled coloured cloths, as pheasants, and the like, and some in imitation of Northern and Western kerfies.

The people, that work herein, are of fundry nations, as Flemings, Hollanders, Brabanters, and English; but most of all are Liegois and of the parts thereabout, as Aquisgran, and other places, from whence they are fled for persecution in religion.

They have within this fortnight established in Amsterdam a hall in imitation of Leaden-hall in London, over which there are officers appointed, to view the goodness, and rate the prices of cloths: which being sold are not liable to that excise, which is imposed upon all English cloth or kerfies, that do come into the land; which is 5 in the 100; this imposition being for such as are used in the land, and not for those that are transported.

Notwithstanding this diligence to make cloths in this province, and practice to hinder the sale of ours, I do not perceive, that it is the purpose, either of the state, or these country merchants (who have upon this occasion combined themselves in a society) absolutely to exclude our cloths, in regard the state cannot be insensible of the prejudice, which will ensue the rupture of commerce with their next neighbours and best friends. And the grossers of cloth (who were the authors of this placart) find already by experience, how they have by this means shut themselves in effect out of all trade. So as my hope is, that the intention of making this rigorous placart was only *iniquum petere*, whereby to bring some tolerable moderation in the sale of our cloths. For it cannot be denied, but that a great misery will fall upon numbers of these people, who only live by dying and dressing our English cloths; of which the 15th part are not set on work by this new trade of making cloths; which will the more excuse their proceeding, in case, now they are come to conference, they grow to any moderate conclusion: Wherein as my endeavours shall not be wanting, with that reservation as your honour doth prescribe in your last letters, so my hope is, we shall see some good effect, as well in regard of his majesty's service and the good of his realms, as the welfare of these provinces, wherein his majesty hath so great interest.

Your honour doth so well apprehend the inconvenience of taking away commerce betwixt his majesty's subjects and this state, that I need not interpose my poor opinion. But nothing is more certain, than that both will suffer infinite prejudice for the present; and the consequence is very fearful, this people being naturally headstrong. And what desperate resolutions they may take in despair of his majesty's favour and correspondence with his kingdoms (which have been for these many years both in peace and war, and so are for the present, their only support), I hope will not be put to trial. The Spaniard saith, *quando sierra une puerta, alira apre la fortuna*: and these men are, that will not stick to run headlong into this Spanish *puerta*, which will be always open unto them upon any conditions, rather than be deprived of commerce, the only support both of their private and public.

The questions in religion, whereof your honour requires a particular account, consist chiefly in admitting or refusing a decree established by the states of Holland, anno 1614, under the title of a *Resolution*: by which they silence both parties in the high question of predestination, for as much as belongs to the pulpit; though they admit the dispute in schools and amongst the learned. Against this decree four towns were the opposite and so continue still, Amsterdam, Enchuyfen, Edam, and Pumeran. Dort gave a consent; but all the ministers of that town and the precinct continuing in their antient form of preaching, and all of one mind, there is no occasion to put it in execution. Some other towns, as Rotterdam and this place especially, use much rigour, so as some ministers, which will not submit themselves, are silenced; whilst the preachers of the other faction (who have changed the question from the point of predestination to a dispute concerning the validity of this decree or *Resolution*) do under the authority of the magistrates *dominari in concionibus*. At the Brill there were five days since 12 ministers of that island convented before certain deputies of Holland appointed at their last assembly, unto whom the *Resolution* was read and urged to be admitted by them; which they refused, in regard of many opinions



opinions sprung up and maintained by these novellists, contrary to the antiently-professed doctrine. Whereupon they protested against communicating with them, as will appear unto your honour by a copy of their translated account; so as the matter now resteth between these two factions, on the one side to have the authority of the temporal magistrate, as well in ecclesiastical matters as civil, to be acknowledged; whereby the *Resolution* is generally to be admitted: on the other side they withstand the temporal authority in those cases; and the rather, because there are amongst them contrary voices and opinions, though the plurality hold for the *Resolution*. They say, that in these cases *ponderandæ sunt sententiæ, non numerandæ*; and for end of all controversies require a synod, either general or national; the decrees whereof being authorised and published by the state of the provinces, the ecclesiastical power hath his true place, and the temporal authority is likewise preserved. Mean while they require the silenced ministers should be restored to their functions.

Both parties are vehement under pretence only of zeal and religion; but some charge them with a mixture of temporal respects; on the one side to increase their authority, by having absolute rule of the church, as they have of the commonwealth; which comes in effect to one hand: On the other, to augment their number of people, and by consequence their country, by receiving into their new town at Amsterdam such, as will leave their habitation in other places, rather than submit themselves to this *Resolution*. And this is apparent will be the event, in case this schism do still continue, there being in this town towards the number of 500, who, refusing to communicate with those of all other factions, go every Sunday to Ryswick to a church, where there is a minister of their profession: and out of Rotterdam likewise after the same manner to a place adjoining.

I may not omit to let his majesty know, that both these parties strengthen themselves by his authority; the one prevailing itself of a letter from his majesty to the states general under the date of the 6th of March 1613; whereupon they say the *Resolution* was grounded, as concurring with his majesty's opinion; the other saying, the letter was obtained upon some indirect information of the state of the business, they assuring themselves, that their constancy in resisting of novelties, which multiply daily, will be agreeable to his majesty's liking; which they conclude the rather, because they maintain or require nothing, but what doth concur with the profession and practice of the English and other reformed churches; and are herein the more confirmed, in remembrance of his majesty's declaring himself against VORSTIUS; who, though he have opinions by himself, whereof these, who go under the title of *Remonstrants* do not participate, yet they concur one with another in common council, both by letters and otherwise, he having been few days past at Rotterdam, in secret conference with some of that faction against the time of the assembly, in which the states of Holland are now again met.

As any thing else doth farther succeed, I will not fail with all diligence to advertise his majesty. Mean time I must beseech your honour to inform his majesty, if there be any thing in this long dispatch (for which I must crave pardon) fit for his service or worthy his knowledge. And so I humbly take leave, &c.

Sept.

Sept. 20. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Theobalds.

My lord,

Since my last unto you, Sir WILLIAM COCKAYNE, governor of the new company of the Merchants Adventurers, hath made known to the lords, that the states general have written a letter to Mr. WHEELER, the deputy at Middleburgh, to invite him, accompanied with some other of that society, to come to the Hague about the 4th of October *style novo*, where there should be a conference between them and the merchants of Holland, for the accommodating of the differences now in question, both for the dyed and dressed cloths, and for the just length and breadth of their cloths, which with them is called *Taring*. Our merchants did desire, that the lords would address a letter unto you, authorising you to assist them in their negotiation; but after some debate, this only was accorded, that our merchants, as of themselves, might send their deputies to treat and confer: That you, as his majesty's ambassador, *ex officio*, might join with the merchants to do them all good offices to facilitate their negotiation; but not to receive express warrant by authority of the state to take notice of their treaty, much less to interest yourself therein: for it well may be doubted what may be the issue of this conference; and what may be the end or scope of the states design, who perhaps aim at nothing else, but to gain time, and to draw their conference into length, rather to seem to have a desire, than a purpose to continue the entertainment of our commerce; and the possibility is small to accommodate the difference, when as there is no *medium* in the demand of either party; for nothing is more certain, than that his majesty's resolution is firm and solid, though not at once, yet by degrees, only to suffer to be exported out of his realms dyed and dressed cloths. Our merchants will demand a revocation of the states placart, which I fear will not easily be granted: so this will be *hærerè in limine*; in the first entrance of the conference they both will be at a stand, unable, if I mistake not, to proceed further. But if the states intend nothing but for their own advantage, it is resolved here to beat them with their own weapon; and whilst this treaty shall be in handling at the Hague, it is resolved to withdraw our merchants out of those countries, and either to find a new mart town for vent of our cloths, or else to transport them all to Hamborough. A motion hath been made to find out a new trade for our cloths into the duke of Savoy's country by the port of Nitza to Villa Franca: but I fear this is but an idle fantasy; and will vanish away much like a dream. Thus you see what the difficulties are, wherein we are intangled. Perhaps our state might have been wiser than to have plotted this project of dying and dressing; and the states general might have shewed more discretion than with such precipitation to have published their placart against our dyed and dressed cloths; which if they will revoke, I hold that means the most proper to determine this dispute. Herewith I thought good to acquaint you, not doubting but you will make the profit thereof, to the honour of his majesty, and service of his state. And so I take my leave, and rest, &c.

October  $\frac{6}{16}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to Secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

By the commodity of this bearer Captain WOODHOUSE, whose departure I am surprised with, I would not fail to let your honour understand, in few words, how I

have had long discourse with mon<sup>r</sup>. BARNEVELT and others of the states, touching the present business of our merchants, and made them so capable of the importance and consequence thereof, that I make no doubt they shall be sent away with good satisfaction for the present. To which the state here I find is inclinable, though the particular merchants of this province of Holland are very averse. And for the future, they intend to negotiate the business by their ambassador with his majesty. This notice I thought very necessary to your honour, lest any thing should cross the business at home, or break it off suddenly (whereof it appears by your honour's last letters there was danger) whilst we are here in a good way.

His excellency is returned to this place, but goeth back to Buren the end of this week to the burial of his half-sister, the countess of Holloch, who died on Monday last after a long and languishing sickness.

The marquis of Anspach's chief discourse with his excellency at their last meeting at Arnheim was concerning the affairs of Cleves and Juliers, whereof he proposed a partition, that Saxony should be admitted to the dutchy of Berck; Newburg to have the possession of Juliers; and Brandenburg, of Cleve and Ravensburg: which would be soon accorded, if Newburg would as easily be satisfied with his portion, as the other two with theirs.

This is as much as the hasty departure of this bearer will suffer, or is indeed necessary, having written so largely to your honour the 28th of the last by the way of Zealand, and purposing within these two or three days to give you a more particular account of the business of our merchants, which by that time will be brought to some issue. So for the present I humbly take leave, &c.

*October 18.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by JOHNSON the post.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

The opposition of the merchants of this province of Holland (of which there have been betwixt thirty and forty of the several towns remaining and soliciting for a month) hath been so eager and earnest, and their writings and discourses before the states general so long and tedious, that a resolution in the question betwixt them and our English merchants touching the sale of our cloth in these parts was not taken until Tuesday last; notwithstanding that our men were assisted by three deputies of the town of Middleburg, and had my best furtherance. Yesterday the resolution was delivered both to our merchants, and those of Middleburg; which what it is your honour will see by the translated copy; it being only a provisional act to remove the present stop in the intercourse betwixt our merchants and sharers, until betwixt his majesty and the states such further course may be taken, as shall be best for his realms and their provinces.

In the point of tare, which causeth most dispute, the states have conceived certain articles, which they will publish by form of a placart, to prevent those wrongs, of which our merchants do justly complain. And now the way to open to them again for sale



sale of their white cloths in Holland, it is expected, that those many looms, which were set up in Amsterdam, Alcmær, and other places in Holland, upon the stay of commerce; will be turned to firewood before the winter come about; unless both the work and the workmen be maintained by the public cost, which they will be soon weary of.

For the rest, time may bring his majesty's purpose to effect in the venting of dyed and dressed cloths only for the benefit of his subjects, which cannot be received here on the sudden, without turning great numbers of their people to beggary, who only live upon that trade; and by consequence their whole government suffer alteration, which subsists chiefly (as your honour knoweth) of their number of tradefinen, by which their contributions are raised.

I found by mons. BARNEVELT, that they are jealous of his majesty's purpose, he professing unto me, that in the space of forty years, wherein he hath had the managing of public affairs (in which time there have been differences betwixt our merchants and theirs) he never met with so great difficulty as at the present, in regard of a conceit spread amongst their merchants, that as formerly about an hundred years since we had excluded them from making of cloths, which was a trade of the Seventeen Provinces, we would now deprive them of dressing and dying: which being the last means of their livelihood had made their minds (to use his own words) *fort-ulcerez*.

In the questions of religion, the states of Holland are once more separated without concluding any thing, but intend to assemble again the 15th of the next month for the same purpose. The state of the difference I gave your honour in my letters of the 28th of the last; which by their often contestations doth rather change form than substance. Two points are stiffly stood upon by those, that favour the contra-remonstrants: First, that the decree, or *Resolution*, as they call it, published in the year 1614, in the name of the states of Holland touching a reglement in the question of predestination and the dependencies, be declared to be no resolute decree, but a project or conceit only for the quiet of the church, because it was never consented unto by Amsterdam and some other cities. Secondly, that the ministers, who by rigour of that decree have been deprived or suspended, be again restored to their former estate. The other part, who protect the remonstrants, are too earnest in maintaining their decree. During this contestation amongst the states, every day doth produce discourses and writings amongst the ministers of the several factions, with very much bitterness; and after many years dispute, they cannot agree so much as upon the state of the question; as will appear to your honour by two books of either party some while since printed in their vulgar language, and one of them newly translated and published in French. To which I add a translated copy of a decree newly published by those of Friesland opposite to that which is now here so much questioned in Holland.

During this last assembly of the states of Holland, the French ambassador mons. DU MAURIER demanded audience of them (a course very unusual in my small experience) and with much earnestness debated a cause betwixt the religion of the Chartreux, and one PAUL RAVOYRE, who hath been formerly of that order: the state of which I sent  
your

your honour in a paper apart, with my letter of the  $\frac{3}{7}$  of June. The ambassador, by a particular order from the king, declared himself in favour of a prior of the Chartreux, who came hither expressly about three weeks since, accompanied with the king's letters, to remove the cause from this court, where it now depends, to the court of parliament at Paris, pretending it was there commenced before it was begun here. The states found so small ground in this pretence of *litis-pendence*, that they took a resolution to continue the cause here before the great council, to which they wrote their particular letters the 18th of this present for expedition thereof; and at the same time sent four deputies to the ambassador to make their resolution known; with which he was so ill satisfied, that by a second instance and mediation of mons. BARNEVELT (who brought the cause from the question of justice to a matter of state) he obtained a surceance of the proceeding for the space of a year, which RAVOYRE suspects will turn to his ruin, in that his gaining of time will give liberty to the Chartreux (who are assisted by the Jesuits in France) to obtain new letters of recommendation from the French king, and, by the help of this ambassador, to overthrow his cause. He hath often repaired unto me for countenance in his affairs, which I the more sparingly give him, in regard the French ambassador hath so openly declared himself in his master's name; yet I have assisted him the best I may with advice, in regard he hath acquainted me with a settled purpose he hath of changing religion, and making a manifest of the motives; which will be of very good use, he being a man, by long practice, very well and particularly acquainted with the corruptions of the court of Rome.

The  $\frac{1}{2}$  of this present, the French ambassador had likewise audience of the states general by particular order from the king sent by an express courier, wherein he complained of one JOHNSON, a captain of one of the states men of war, who with his ship lay before Rochefort in assistance of those of Rochelle against the duke D'ESPERNON, and by stratagem had taken divers prisoners, the duke's followers, whom he had sent into Rochefort. Herein he required speedy redress with exemplary punishment of the captain of the ship. He likewise demanded shipping for assistance in the siege of Blay near Bourdeaux, pretending, that the governor of that place is not only entered into actual rebellion against the king, but that he takes great and extraordinary imposts of all such ships as pass to and from Bourdeaux. In both which he is like to receive satisfaction; but hitherto the states have not directed their answer.

Here came lately a certain Italian from Bruffels accompanied with letters from the French king to his ambassador, whereby he was required to move the states to grant passage to a certain ship furnished with arms at Antwerp for the service of the marshal D'ANCRE: which the ambassador hath excused, and sent back the Italian upon this reason, that not having a certain list of the arms, he knows not how to frame his proposition; and that it will be now needless, seeing matters being composed in France, there will be no more use of those arms.

The last letters out of Germany advertise, that the prince of Newburg, having been a long solicitor in the emperor's court, is finally excluded in both his pretensions, first of the investiture, and next of the sequestration of the countries of Juliers and Cleves: the former of which being done by the emperor, in contemplation of the duke



duke of Saxony, who hath had an investiture heretofore, and is one, whom the emperor will not willingly displease: the latter in favour of the house of Austria, there being a purpose (as is advertised) to reduce matters to the former estate, and to settle the archduke LEOPOLD in that country under the title of sequestration, out of which he was expelled by strong hand; the emperor taking new encouragement by example of Aquisgran, as if the affairs of the world had in this short time taken a revolution to the advantage of that party.

Many discourses are framed hereupon, and divers apprehensions conceived upon consideration of the great and puissant armies the king of Spain hath at this present on both sides the mountains: and doubtless he will not let slip the opportunity of the peaceable disposition of some princes, the destruction of others, and weakness of the rest, to finish the work (whereof the foundations were laid by the king his father) of an universal monarchy: Which passing in discourse of some of the chief here, I find an inclination to make by way of provision some strong opposition against the next spring, so as his majesty were thereto disposed. But these are such unperfect notions, that I hold it not fit to trouble your honour therewith any further for the present; and therefore do humbly take leave, &c.

*October 6.* Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall.

Recommending mr, BELL, a merchant of London, who was sufferer by the spoils committed by MOY LAMBERT in Crook Haven.

*October 14.* Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall.

My lord,

I thank you for your last letter of the 25th of September, which I received at Royston, and there communicated them to his majesty. We attend with good devotion to understand what issue the negotiation will have between the deputies of our merchants and the merchants of Holland: but what conclusion soever they make, his majesty can have no contentment, unless the placart of the states general be first revoked; and I doubt the intercourse of commerce will not be re-established to the former lustre, unless the states shall resolve to send over into England some commissioners to treat with our merchants, whereby all differents may be reigled, and a better reglement for trade hereafter settled. In the mean time the bearer hereof, mr. HENRY MISSELDEN, an able and discreet gentleman, who hath been of the old, and now is of the new company of Merchant Adventures, doth come over (not without the knowledge of his majesty) to no other end, but to do good offices with his friends and acquaintance, for the more speedy accommodation of all petty differences, and to inform himself of the state of these affairs; that by the report, which he shall make at his return, his majesty may take a more absolute resolution in this important business, which so much doth concern the good of his people, and the welfare of his kingdoms. Although the coming of this gentleman cannot be concealed, yet the good of his majesty's service doth require, that the subject and cause of his coming should not be divulged. I pray you assist him in what you may: Any favours you shall confer upon him will be well bestowed; for you will find him a proper and an understanding man.

My



My lord HAY is returned, and the creation of our prince doth hold for the 4th of the next month. And so I leave to trouble you, &c.

*October 26.* O. S. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I have not failed to give this bearer mr. MISSELDEN (by whom I received your honour's letters of the 14th of this present) my best assistance in the business wherein he was employed; which how he hath treated, and with what issue, your honour will know by his own report. He came in one respect very unseasonably; the assembly of the merchants being newly dissolved; and they here expecting answer from sir NOEL CARON, how what they have done is accepted by his majesty; upon which they will ground their further proceeding. And it seems this gentleman cannot attend the time of that deliberation. So as all he carrieth with him is an inclination of these here (which, I think, mons. BARNEVELT will make known by his letters to your honour) so far to accommodate themselves to his majesty's mind in that occasion, as they possibly may without very great and manifest prejudice; whereof it were to be wished, for many most important considerations, that our merchants affairs could attend the event, before they imbarck themselves in any new course. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*October 31.* SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by mr. BRENT.

R<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I gave your honour an account of the 18th of this present by an express messenger of the resolution the states general had then taken in the difference between our merchants and theirs: and by mr. MISSELDEN (who parted from hence the 26th by way of Zealand, with purpose to pass through Brabant and Flanders) your honour will have understood in what state he found and left the business. Other affairs stand at the same stay, the questions of religion being pursued with their wonted heat, both in the pulpit and press, and will grow to some ill exigent, unless in their next assembly of the states of Holland (which begins four days hence) some better order be taken. Herewith I send your honour an oration made by GROTIUS in Amsterdam, which was long since printed in Dutch, but suppressed by public act, and now is come to light in Latin. The answer thereunto was short, and the same that those of Amsterdam still insist upon, protesting against the resolution, with all other acts and decrees made by the states of Holland in these questions of religion, until by a lawful synod under the authority of the states they may be approved.

The French ambassador had answer of the states general under the date of the 28th of this present to this office of the 26th, whereof I advertised your honour, first concerning their captain of a ship of war JOHN JOHNSON (against whom the ambassador had complained for his demeanors before Rochefort) that as they disavowed and detested his ill proceeding, so they would make it appear by the first opportunity (when they could get him into their hands) how much it was to them a *contra-coeur*, that by any of theirs such actions should be committed to the French king's prejudice.

Touching the demand of assistance by sea for the siege of Blay by Bourdeaux (for which purpose the embassador received five ships of war) they have thereto consented, promising to send them well manned and furnished into the river of Bourdeaux, in case the siege proceed. The embassador required to know a prefixed time when the ships should be there, to the end the French king might cause his troops to march accordingly; which they say they cannot resolve upon, by reason of the incertainty of the winds; but promise to use all possible diligence.

I advertised your honour of all difficulty or delay was made by the French embassador, in procuring passport for the passage of certain arms by sea from Antwerp, which, it appears, proceeded of the care he himself had taken to make provision from hence; he having obtained and sent into France very lately by particular license of the states (for which he used the king's name, but I am informed they are for the marshal D'ANCRE and the duke D'ESPERNON) 658 muskets with their rests and bandeliers, 660 corselets, and 668 pikes. Under colour of this grant, I hear, there is a greater quantity transported.

The embassador of Basil, who hath resided here for the space of six months, suing for certain antient pretensions of debt for assistance given by certain subjects of that state in the beginning of these Low Country wars, is now upon his departure by way of Brussels, where he hath another pretended errand; for so is his employment interpreted to be, whereby in these times, which threaten alteration of the general peace, to observe how in these parts they stand inclined. He parts with a chain of 150 *l.* which is all he hath obtained. By him I understand, that the levy of Swisses for the service of the king of France (in which there was difficulty made by the protestant churches) is yielded unto but conditionally, and with express charge to the colonels and captains; that they shall not under any pretence serve against the protestants.

Monsr. LANGERACK, embassador for the states at Paris, hath advertised his masters by letters of the 28th of this present, N. S. that he hath understood from some of the chief counsellors about the French king, that the siege of Blay doth not proceed, because the governor of that place hath made his excuse to the king and queen, and submits himself to reasonable conditions: yet that their majesties will expect to be served of the five ships before required to lie upon the coast of France for reputation of their affairs.

Those, who have most authority here, are ready to second whatsoever is demanded in the name of that king and queen; yet there want not, which I speak very loud, of their hasty imbarcking themselves in the affairs of those princes, as if they were no better than satellites of their pleasures, especially seeing them guided and directed by the counsels of Spain, which were always suspected, but never made more apparent than by the partial resolution taken in favour of the king of Spain, in prejudice of the duke of Savoy, in whose preservation the kingdom of France hath the greatest interest.

Other matters of discourse I refer to the bearer mr. NATHANAEL BRENT's relation, who can inform your honour of any thing particularly you can be content to know in  
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these parts; where he hath spent out the remainder of the time, which was allowed him by his majesty's license to travel, and now returns in hope to procure by your honour's favour some place of employment in his majesty's service; for which he hath made himself very capable. He will acquaint your honour with an office in Ireland, which by his friends advice he aims at; and if the interest I have therein (which I willingly resign unto him) may assist him, I shall be very glad, and account myself particularly favoured by the commendation your honour may please to give him. So I humbly take leave, &c.

*Dec. 1.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

The states of these provinces have been lately much busied in accommodating certain antient difficulties and differences amongst themselves, chiefly concerning the quota, wherein Zealand, by reason of decay of trade and intercourse, hath in place of eleven in the hundredth contributed of late years eight only, whereby the land for the other three parts hath been charged with interest.

There is now a moderation set down by his excellency and the council of states, to whom of course such differences are committed, when the provinces cannot otherwise agree, that for the money paid his majesty for the redemption of the cautionary towns, Zealand still contribute after the wonted rate of eleven in one hundred; for all other charges, nine in one hundred; and this to look back for three years past, and to continue for one now ensuing. The other two parts are to be distributed amongst the provinces. This is hitherto but a part only, yet such as is likely to be accepted by Zealand and the rest of the provinces, though Friesland will make some difficulty; and this being ended, the state of war will be perfected, and all the companies repartited, whereby the soldiers will be better paid (of which they have of late much complained) and the country be much eased.

There hath been likewise a resolution lately taken by the states general in an antient difference betwixt Friesland and Groningen, touching both the government and sovereignty of Delftzyel; the one of which they refer provisionally to the appointment of count WILLIAM, as governor of Friesland, according to such order as shall be given him by the states general: The other they adjudge to belong to Groningen, in that manner as it stood before the war.

I have been written unto by monf. DU PLESSEN, a counsellor of the prince Palatine, to put the states in mind of the prince's pretensions to certain fiefs in Juliers, whereof Heimback, a small castle and town near Gulick, is in the states possession: And accordingly I have moved monf. BARNEVELT and his excellency, knowing it to be agreeable to his majesty's mind, by such order, as I have formerly received from your honour to this purpose; wherein they have made a good answer, that when those affairs come to deciding, they will give his highness all contentment.

FRESIA, the duke of Savoy's agent in France, hath sent a letter of credence lately to the states from the duke his master, of which he himself should have been the deliverer,



liverer, and should likewise (as he writes) have gone into England to move his majesty, as he doth the states by very earnest letters, to give the duke his master assistance against the oppression of the Spaniard; but pretends, that being suddenly called back by his master, he could not perform his journey. Nevertheless he desires and conjures the states to aid his master in so great necessities, as having a particular interest in his preservation, and doth charge them with a former promise to this purpose: to all which I do not hear that they make any answer, but rather marvel at that prince and his ministers, that they do *tantam rem negligenter agere*, by letters only without negotiations.

Before the receipt of these letters the states had given charge to their ambassador in France, mons. LANGERACK, to move the French king and his council in favour of the duke of Savoy, saying, that it was contrary to the late king's maxims to suffer that duke either to be won by fair means, or force, to the Spaniards; he judging it much to import the safety of his crown, to keep him in devotion towards France, and to alienate him from Spain. To which the council in France hath made an answer, wherewith the ambassador hath acquainted the states by an express courier, that the king's being at the charge of the maintaining an extraordinary ambassador from Piedmont; his suffering 20,000 men to go out of his kingdom by connivance to the service of the duke, and his holding a hand in the reconciliation of the duke and NEMOURS (now brought to effect) shew how he holds that duke's affairs in the same recommendation as the king his father did. But whereas the ambassador went farther in discourse, as it were by way of expostulation, why the Spanish ambassador had such frequent access to the council in France: to this was plainly answered, that it was a part of the contract of marriage, that as well the French ambassador in Spain, as the Spanish in France, in quality of governor of the young queens houses, might have access at pleasure, without demanding audience according to the use of other ambassadors.

Hereof they desire the states to make a good interpretation, and to continue their wonted friendship with the king and kingdom, as they hoped of his majesty of Great Britain and other friends of the crown; wherein if there should be any default, and that France should be forsaken by ancient friends, they then openly profess the king in desperation must have recourse to the forces of Spain, whereby to secure himself against intestine troubles.

With this menacing clause of the letter the states are much startled, seeing the bridle with which they are like to be governed in all their affairs with that crown; and their fear is (not without probability) that in place of payment of the French troops here in their service, for which they have been long suitors, they shall hear shortly of a loan to supply the wants of that crown; and in case they refuse, be threatened with the forces of Spain.

Here is a new proportion of arms like to the former, of which I advertised your honour, obtained for the French king's service at the instance of the ambassador here resident; and passage for as many more down the Rhine from Colen.

The French embassador hath demanded license of the king his master for his return into France for dispatch of his private affairs; which is granted him; and his absence is like to be for the space of three or four months. He saith he hath no order or news of any thing concerning the business of Cleves and Juliers.

The states at the instance of the elector of Brandenburg have elected an embassador out of their body to go into Prussia for reputation of that prince's affairs, which is STICCHIUS of Overysfel, father to the prince of Brandenburg's agent here resident; and he is in that forwardness for his departure, that he only expects his son's return from Cleves, whereby to go better informed in the business now proposed touching the treaty of Zanten.

The king of Poland hath lately published a bande against a place in Prussia, whereof I send your honour a copy; whereby it will appear the trouble of those parts to be the fruit of seeds sown by the Jesuits, which are there established by the king of Poland.

Those women of our nation, mrs. WARD and her fellow of St. OMER's, whom I advertised your honour to have seen at Spa, and that they had a purpose to settle themselves at Liege, have put the same in effect, having bought a house in that town for 11,000 florins, which they intend to make a college of Jesuiteffes.

The troops, which are here raised for the service of the Venetians, are all embarked at the Texel, and in the Maese, and now wait only a wind for their voyage. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

October 7. Secretary WINWOOD. to sir DUDLEY CARLETON::from Whitehall.

My lord,

This bearer, mr. ALBERT MORTON, is so well known unto you, that I should wrong both you and myself to recommend him unto you. This I will only say, that out of devotion to do service to my lady ELIZABETH, he doth quit all other hopes, and intendeth to serve her in place of secretary.

We understand, that mr. WHEELER with some other merchants and three of Middleburg assembled at the Hague the 6th *stilo novo* of October. What they do we shall understand by you; but this believe, if ever they intend to re-establish the commerce, the placart must be revoked. Then if they will send any commissioners to treat, they may be heard; but now are we in deliberation to publish proclamations to revoke all the English cloths now at Middleburg, and to instruct our merchants not to trade any longer in the United Provinces. We understand from all parts, that English, Scottish, and Irish wool is carried over into Holland in great quantity. Of the two latter I doubt not; but I pray you inform yourself of the first by SKELTON of Rotterdam, that we may understand what English wool cometh to that town, who are the masters of the ships, and from what port they are transported out of England. The like by your care may be known at Amsterdam, wherein you shall do an acceptable service to the states.

There is a small town not far from Breda, where, it is said, great quantity of cloth is made. It is easy for you to know the truth, and to advertise from whence they have their wool.

The 5th of November will be, if God please, the creation of our noble and most hopeful prince. We expect every day my lord HAY: the lord ROSS is not yet gone, but every day going. Commend my service to your lady, and rest assured, that I am, &c.

Nov. 9. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall.

My lord,

I have not leisure to trouble you with many words; yet out of that care, which lieth heavy upon me, to preserve a right understanding between our crowns and these provinces, I do borrow thus much time from my attendance on his majesty to advertise you, that such is the present condition of our affairs, that unless commissioners speedily be sent over from the states general, authorised to treat for the accommodating of those differents, which unhappily are risen amongst our merchants concerning the sale and vent of our dyed and dressed cloths, it is to be feared we presently shall fall into an open rupture. Sir NOEL CARON, understanding the greatness of the difficulties, and foreseeing the imminent dangers, which of necessity must ensue, hath engaged his credit and reputation with the king, that with all possible diligence the states his masters will send commissioners to treat and determine the differences now in question: but because there is *periculum in mora*, I pray you upon the receipt of these, presently to repair to mons. BARNEVELT, and let him know, that yesterday I had charge from his majesty to press mons. CARON to hasten the coming of these commissioners, which this morning I have done. This you may add, that to my poor understanding, this means is only left to rectify the misunderstandings, which are amongst us, and to establish a perfect and intire amity; which cannot be continued, if these difficulties be not first removed. We have received from good hands, that our merchants are wooed to return to Antwerp, the antient state of their residence: and although the river of the Schelde be not open, yet they are made believe the channel some years since commenced to be cut by the marquis SPINOLA from Ostend to Bruges will be as convenient a passage, as well for safety as for charge. I pray you advertise with all diligence, how you will find the humours there affected; and if it shall not there be thought necessary to send commissioners hither, the next resolution, which here will be taken, will be to publish a proclamation, interdicting all intercourse and commerce between his majesty's realms and these provinces.

The fourth of this month our prince was created prince of Wales, and this day the lord chancellor created viscount BRACKLEY, the lord KNOLLYS viscount WALLINGFORD, and sir PHILIP STANHOPE lord STANHOPE of SHELFORD.

Sir THOMAS EDMONDES is shortly to return, and then shall be comptroller of the household; but he is to resume his charge again in France, and so to continue until the affairs here shall be better settled. And so I rest, &c.

My



My lord,

Nov. 13.

When those letters were ended, which accompany these, the Spanish ambassador having had access to his majesty the day before, demanded audience, and by express charge (as he saith) delivered, that there was nothing, which the king his master desired more, than that the towns possessed by the archdukes and the states in the countries of Cleves and Juliers, might be delivered to the princes litigants, and in consequence the treaty of Zanten perfectly accomplished. Therefore he did desire his majesty to intercede with the states of the United Provinces, and with the princes interested therein, that they likewise would concur in this good resolution for the better re-establishment of a settled peace, and the repose of those poor distressed provinces, which long have languished under the bondage of a miserable thralldom, and that a certain day might be prefixed for the reddition of these places, which between his majesty and the ambassador was named to be the last of February next, *scilicet* *vet.* within or at which time, if the states would not resolve for the performance of the treaty of Zanten, the ambassador desired, that the king his master might not be any more importuned by his majesty, but hereafter might be excused, if he should continue to possess the places he now holdeth, without purpose to restore them to those princes to whom of right they do appertain: for the states, as he saith, fortifying Juliers, the king his master doth intend to fortify Wesel; which charge he will not employ to the benefit or service of any other, but only for his own good; and therefore, when he shall have fortified that town, he is not resolved after to render it up.

This is the proposition, that the ambassador of Spain did make to his majesty, whereof the electors Palatine and Brandenburg and the prince his son being advertised, his majesty doth require you to impart it to the states in their public assembly, and to use the best arguments you can to exhort them to embrace this overture, which cannot but tend to the advancement of their service, and the maintenance of their honour and reputation; which in the opinion of the world must needs be scandalized, if by their refusal to perform the treaty of Zanten, the war shall be renewed, and those poor countries of Cleves and Juliers continue to be oppressed with a perpetual servitude. Commiseration is to be had of the good town of Wesel, which heretofore hath been a nursing-mother of religion, and a retreat and refuge for all those, who for their conscience have been exiled. And so I take my leave, &c.

Decem. 2. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Though I cannot yet make any direct answer either to your honour's letters of the 7th of October received by mr. MORTON, or your other two by mr. MALTS of the 9th and 13th of the last, in regard, that the first doth ask time to receive information from abroad, and the two latter do depend upon the slow resolutions of this place; yet would I not fail to give your honour in the mean while an account of my endeavours.

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I took the first commodity, which was the next day after the receipt of your two last, the 21st of November, to speak with monf. BARNEVELT, when I acquainted him both with sir NOEL CARON's promise to his majesty, that commissioners should be speedily sent over from the states to treat and determine the differences now in question amongst our merchants concerning the sale and vent of our dyed and dressed cloths; as likewise with your honour's particular opinion, that this was only left to rectify the misunderstandings, which are risen upon this occasion, and so prevent farther inconveniences; to which I added what in my poor judgment seemed best to this purpose.

He confessed unto me, that sir NOEL CARON had written to the like effect; but that the promise he had made to his majesty of sending commissioners from hence upon this occasion, proceeded from himself out of his own conceit, and of the construction he made of the last general words of the decree, which the states did lately set down betwixt the merchants, who were here assembled; not that he had any such order from hence: yet since he saw it was a thing would be agreeable to his majesty, he would do his best to dispose the states thereunto: but that this business would ask some time, in regard it chiefly belonged to merchants, and therefore must be communicated to their towns.

I acquainted him at the same time with the order I had from his majesty to relate to the states general what had passed betwixt his majesty and the Spanish ambassador touching the execution of the treaty of Zanten; and at their next assembly (which was the 23d of the last) made my proposition according to the copy I send herewith: to which, after some small consultation, monf. BARNEVELT made answer in the name of the rest, that they could not but acknowledge his majesty's care and continual endeavours to procure a good end of the business of Cleves and Juliers; and that his majesty might rest assured, that the failing hitherto to put in execution the treaty of Zanten proceeded from the Spaniards, not from them: that the hard measure they have found in all affairs betwixt them and the Spaniard might excuse their jealousies (if they should apprehend any) in a matter of this consequence: and that his majesty should see by the effect how much they do in all occasions attribute to his advice. So desiring me to give them my proposition in writing (as I did immediately) they promised to take the matter into consultation, which accordingly they did, but without resolving any thing.

The 27th I repaired again to monf. BARNEVELT, and remembered unto him both sir NOEL CARON's promise concerning commissioners, and my proposition touching the treaty of Zanten; letting him know, that though they were both businesses of consideration, yet they were neither of them new propositions, but such as had been formerly well debated and digested in their assemblies; so as I desired to know of him what I should write concerning both to his majesty, who expected my answer.

Touching the first, he confessed there had not until then any proposition been publicly made in the assembly of the states general, nor any note taken of the matter more than by what was written by sir NOEL CARON: but that with the states of Holland (whom it chiefly concerned) he had proposed the time, and so well prepared:

pared the matter, that his opinion was, they should resolve to send commissioners; which I believe they will, because he saith it, who hath all authority, though the opinion of some others of the chiefs is, that they were better first by their embassador in England prepare the matter, than by sending commissioners rawly instructed, and slenderly authorized, draw upon themselves greater displeasure from his majesty.

Concerning the latter, he said, the jealousies were so great of fraud in the Spaniard, and the humours of the states so divers (which he discovered, as he pretended, when I made my proposition) that he could not undertake to carry the business forward alone; and therefore advised me to move their president to call an assembly expressly: which accordingly I did the day following; and they met, but parted again with this resolution only, to have herein the advice of his excellency with the council of state.

The matter notwithstanding was suspended three days after. Yesterday in the evening monsieur HUYGENS, secretary to the council of state, came to me as sent by the council, to let me understand, that the day before, after my departure from the council (which was when all affairs were ended, and the council risen), a message came to them from the states general, who sent them the copy of my proposition with reference to them, to consult upon it, what answer was fit to make his majesty. Wherein because it was a proposition made by me, they referred it to my consideration, whether I would be present or absent at the debate thereof, in that I might suppose (as he said) in my presence they should be forced to use more reservation, than was fit for the liberty of their consultations in a matter of this nature. I answered, that herein I would govern myself according to use and custom; which, if, by example of my predecessors, it did bear, that I should absent myself from all deliberations, for which by his majesty's commandment I should minister the occasion, I would willingly do it: otherwise, as I made my proposition in quality of embassador with the states general, so I held it my duty both to his majesty and the states, in conformity to the oath I had taken at my admission to that council, to deliver my opinion in this business, as counsellor of state, whereof I would not fail, unless I had express order to the contrary.

He told me hereupon, that in the late queen's time, when the council had absolute authority in these affairs, her ministers did use to absent themselves from the debates of those propositions, which they made themselves; and that the use was, that when any counsellor of a province, as of Holland for example, did make an overture, which concerned Holland, he absented himself from that debate. Hereof I told him I would consider that night, desiring him to take my house in his way as he went to the council the next morning: which accordingly he did, and then I declared unto him, that I had reviewed both my former letters, and those I last received by his majesty's order, touching this business of Cleves and Juliers, wherein I was commanded not only to make bare and naked propositions, but to acquaint them with other circumstances, as might clear their judgments: and these I reserved for fit time and place; rather than set them down in writing, by reason of their use to disperse copies of all my propositions in this kind, and all considerations were not proper for all mens view; that the example he alledged did not agree with this case, in that  
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when the late queen's ministers did absent themselves, it was upon occasions, which concerned England and those provinces: but in affairs of other princes, wherein they had common interest (as his majesty and the states had in this) they governed themselves by common council, which might be imagined to have been the case of her having a counsellor, and sometimes two, at that table.

That I had observed very lately, that in two affairs, one of the quota, wherein Zealand was particularly interested, the other of Delfzile, which concerned Friesland and Groningen, that tho' in the assembly of the states general, the deputies of those provinces absented themselves; yet when the matters were referred (as they were both) to the council of state, the counsellors of those provinces rested at the table, and delivered their opinions, as others did, without exception. Wherefore as they referred it to my choice, whether I would come or no, I must now refer it to their judgments, whether they would lay a greater aspersions of partiality upon me than upon others of my associates: and then whether his majesty being a mediator in this business betwixt the archduke and them, in this proceeding they would make him seem a party, and a party in their opinions, as would be inclinable rather to the archduke than them; of which, in regard of the interpretation the world would make hereof in prejudice of the reputation of the strict amity and alliance betwixt his majesty and the states, I desired them well to consider: yet because I would observe the rule, since this question was unhappily raised, of not coming to council *antequam voceris*, I told him I would herein expect their answer.

Betwixt eleven and twelve mr. HUYGENS came to me again from the council, letting me know, that though his excellency and count HENRY were both there present, as expressly called, yet they had resolved not to treat of that business, until they had new order from the states general, whose minds they would know touching my assisting in council upon this occasion. Mean time they left me to my liberty, whether I would come or not, which I excused for that day, the time being then so far past: and this I did the more willingly, because, howsoever I would not fail of what belongs to my duty in his majesty's service, yet it should appear unto them I was not more curious *in alienâ republicâ* than was fit. This long narration I make to your honour, to the end you may not be unacquainted with the proceedings, whatsoever be the consequences. Some have a conceit, that since the time of redeeming the cautionary towns, they have meant *gradatim* to estrange his majesty's ministers from their council: which jealousy hath made me the more earnestly dispute this occasion; which is the first hath presented itself in this kind.

Touching the business itself. I find by monf. BARNEVELT, as likewise by his excellency and others, with whom I have treated particularly concerning the same, that as the proposition was much unexpected, so are they not a little distracted, as well in their opinions of the intention of the Spaniard, as likewise their judgments what course to take.

Monf. BARNEVELT said *sur le champ* (when I first proposed in private unto him the matter) that the Spaniard would hereby take a pretence to fortify Wefel. His excellency was somewhat warmed at the first hearing of it; but after long debate gave his  
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opinion, that the Spaniards meant nothing less than to restore the places; but that they purposed under this colour to draw in a treaty of renewing the truce with this state; which grows towards expiring. Most are wedded to a conceit, that if the Spaniard do leave the places, it is but *reculer pour mieux sauter*; and he shall no sooner be gone in contemplation (as he will now seem) of his majesty, but the fortifications of Juliers, Emmerick, and Rees, being demolished, will return again under title of the emperor. All conclude, that if there were sincere meaning in the Spaniard, he would have put the treaty in execution at first, without this long delay, and therefore they are now more jealous of the sudden offer, than the former refusal.

What judgment to make of their resolution herein is very doubtful; for it is plain, they are nothing sorry, that the difficulty of executing the treaty hath hitherto risen from the Spaniards, whereby to have a colourable pretence for the retention of the places they now possess: and if any stop may be made by others, whereby to avoid the reproach of usurpers (and hard it will be to remove all difficulties, where so many are interested) no doubt they will prevail themselves of the occasion. This I gather out of their suspending their answer, some advising to hear first out of France, because that king is joined in this business of the treaty with his majesty: some to have first the answer of the elector of Brandenburg, who is now in Prussia; some to have the matter communicated first to the provinces; and some counselling all those courses, whereby to gain time. But I have let them know, that those would be taken as tergiversations, in that France is so busied at home, that it cannot attend these foreign affairs. The elector of Brandenburg is so far off, that in two months an answer can hardly be returned from him. Now no more was required, than that as Spain had led the way, the states should answer for as much as depends on them. And touching farther references, the treaty having been framed by their deputies with those of other princes, who had full authority, it was not now needful to be remitted anew to the provinces.

This reference to the provinces, in regard the business hath so long slept, and so much of their money hath been spent in the fortifications of the towns they hold in Juliers and Cleves, to the value of 100,000 crowns, and upwards (as they account) will hardly be avoided.

As for Brandenburg and Newburg likewise, it seems the matter is already well prepared, they being both weary of their several yokes, which hath caused them by secret ministers to treat betwixt themselves of a private agreement, by means of a provisional partition of the country in controversy; to which purpose mons. STICCHIUS, agent for Brandenburg, here resident, met about ten days since at Amsterdam secretly with one WONSEIN, lieutenant for Newburg at Dusseldorp.

This STICCHIUS is now gone to Cleve, being called thither by the prince of Brandenburg, to relate what passed betwixt him and WONSEIN at Amsterdam: at whose return, which is expected within two or three days, the states will take some resolution. Mean while they will defer their meetings, and by consequence protract their answer under colour of their assembly of Holland, which is now here much busied about their questions of religion; wherein I see no great likelihood they should grow

to agreement, in that the deputies are come from their towns (which are differently affected) with very strict and limited instructions.

I will not fail to advertise with diligence their proceedings in these affairs; as likewise what I can learn from Amsterdam and Breda in the business of our clothing: And for other occurrents, presume to refer you for the present to a letter apart. So I humbly take leave, &c.

P. S. I do even now receive letters from Amsterdam, which advertise, that of late no English wool hath been brought thither: But as any comes, I shall have notice; and at the same time I have received likewise letters from Breda touching the cloth which is made in those parts, of which I send your honour a copy, accompanied with a box of certain patterns both of wool and cloth, in that manner as it is sent me.

*Nov.* 26. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall: by mr. BLONDELL.

My lord,

In my last to your lordship by mr. MILLS, I did acquaint you fully with all the occurrences of these parts. Since the dispatch of these here hath nothing happened, but the fall of the lord chief justice COKE, who hath run himself so far into his majesty's displeasure, that he is removed both from his place in council, and upon the Bench. In the latter, sir HENRY MONTAGU hath succeeded him, and sir LIONEL CRANFIELD is sworn master of requests extraordinary.

My papers being gone to Newmarket, whither I am presently to follow, I cannot well tell whether I did let you understand by my last, that sir THOMAS EDMONDES was now upon his return into England. If I did omit it, you shall know by these, that he is to be made comptroller of the household; the lord WORTON being by the surrender of the lord KNOLLYS to be treasurer; after which honour done him, he is to resume his charge in France, until the affairs of that kingdom shall be established.

You can do nothing for the present more agreeable to the place you hold, than to hasten over the commissioners, which are coming hither to treat about the cloths; and therefore, as in my last, so in these, I cannot but recommend it to your first care, that by that means the commerce may be continued, and the amity preserved betwixt his majesty's kingdoms and those countries.

This bearer is brother to FRANCIS BLONDELL; for whose sake I assure myself your lordship will respect him, and the rather because he is recommended to your good favour by me.

Before mr. BRENT came hither, whom you recommended to be secretary of Ireland, that place was conferred upon one sir FRANCIS ANNESLEY, who is to execute it without fee; otherwise I should have done my best to have pleased him, as I will any man that shall come from you. And so I am, &c.



December  $\frac{1}{2}$ 7. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the king.

May it please your majesty,

The occurrences of these parts I continue to advertise through the hands of mr. secretary WINWOOD, whereby to ease your majesty of that often trouble. This occasion, which now presents itself (an answer of the states to a proposition I made in your majesty's name the 23d of the last, touching the business of Cleves and Juliers) I thought not unworthy your majesty's view; the proceeding therein depending wholly upon your authority, without the which these countries must remain in perpetual thralldom; and therefore is it the more proper subject for your princely consideration.

Yesterday monf. BARNEVELT, accompanied with one of the states of Guelderland, came unto me, as sent by the states general, from whom he delivered me this message; that the states did acknowledge their infinite obligations to your majesty, and particularly for your care in reducing the uncertain and litigious affairs of Cleves and Juliers into a settled estate, which they perceived by your former endeavours, and now by your recommending the execution of the treaty of Zanten. That the states did concur in the same desire; but that there were many important considerations, which made them suspend their resolution; as first, because their number here was not complete, most of the states being absent, and all of the province of Friesland. Next, because the matter was first to be communicated to the elector of Brandenburg and the prince his son, in whose right they held what they now possess in these countries: and not only the elector, but the palatine of Newburg, (whose consent must be had likewise) being so far remote, it would ask much time, and more than the last of February, which is limited, to have their several answers. Lastly, because they had now more reason to be jealous of the purpose of the Spaniards, than when the treaty was made, they having shewed their ill intentions by their possessing themselves by force of the neutral places of Zoeft and Lipstadt, and having it in their power, whensoever Juliers, Emmerick and Rees are rendered, and the fortifications demolished (according to the treaty of Zanten) to surprize those places in an instant, the people, which are there inhabitants, being for the most part popishly affected, and the Spaniard having places so near adjoining on both sides of the Rhine, as Berck, Linghen, Wacehendonck, and others, where they may have in readiness out of the ordinary garrisons eight or ten thousand men for any sudden attempt. To this he added a further consideration of the present proceedings of the Spaniards in Italy, where, if they were forced from this diversion, they would jointly employ all their forces; and having so great strength together against those weak princes, would in all appearance make a short end of those wars, either by bringing the state of Venice and the duke of Savoy into absolute subjection, or forcing them to accept dishonourable and disadvantageous conditions of peace, and afterwards would march into Germany to accomplish their designs there, where they could find no great resistance; and in conclusion seek to follow their fortune with a rich and victorious army in these countries, where they must always make an account of the Spaniard as a mortal enemy: And therefore it would be *un pas de Clerc* to give up the advantage they now have without very good assurance, that the princes should be put in quiet possession, free from all danger to  
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be removed either by force or practice, there being great appearance likewise, that under the title of sequestration, or some other colour, the emperor making either the king of Spain or the archduke executioner of his mandates, would dispose of these countries, which were the same thing, though under another name.

These reasons they desired me well to weigh, and to refer them to your majesty's princely consideration, professing how much they attribute to your wisdom and authority, which they would shew by good effect, in case this matter proceeded further; and that the short time limited by the Spanish ambassador (wherein he made profession both to fortify and maintain the places they now hold in those countries as their own proper possession) did not cut off all further treaty.

To this I answered, that seeing your majesty's intentions and theirs concur in the true and faithful execution of the treaty of Zanten, which was the main subject; I made no doubt but the difficulties they alledged might be so well satisfied, that the intervening accidents betwixt the time of the framing of the treaty, and now that the execution was required, should rather quicken their resolution than otherwise. For their having a full meeting of the states, the time would very well permit it, if their will be as good to expedite the business. And for communicating the matter to other princes, which were interested, it was a thing very necessary; and that your majesty had already performed the same by letters, so as no more was required, than that as the king of Spain had led the way by his ambassador's declaration of his purpose, so they would answer categorically, for as much as depended on them (they two being in effect the princes possidents, and the other the pretendents) and refer the business afterwards to be executed by deputies in the same manner as the treaty was made. That the neutral places the Spaniard had taken since the treaty, howsoever the surprise of them could not be excused, the effect of rendering them should be the more willingly embraced: And for the commodity he hath of lodging men in the frontier towns, whereby to be ready upon any attempt; for the affection of the people of the Romish religion; and finally for their doubt and distrust of the emperor's authority; these circumstances were no more considerable now than at the framing of the treaty, wherein they did assist by their deputies, and had a chief part: And if they thought they might proceed safely then, they might be as well secured now; and so much the more, by how much the Spaniard, being now busied on the other side of the mountains, could the less intend to enterprize any thing in these parts. That their consideration of those princes in Italy, and care of their preservation, was very laudable; but that they must take heed, lest this their diversion did not prove a conversion of the torrent of the wars from the course it now had down the Po to the Rhine, of which God of his providence had delivered these parts after many years great effusion of blood; the stage for those tragedies being now removed to the other side of the mountains, where they stood always like quiet spectators, whilst they here were actors; and it ever proveth by experience, that the war of those parts is the peace of these; so *à converso*. Hereupon I desired them to observe the present conjuncture of three great affairs in Europe, which all in effect are managed by the king of Spain, and all three depend upon execution of treaties: That betwixt the archduke FERDINAND and the Venetians, on the treaty of Vienna: That betwixt the duke of Savoy and the governor of Milan, on the treaty of Asti: And this here on the



the treaty of Zanten. This being *trop embarasser* for one prince, be he never so powerful, it may be well conjectured he doth first make offer of accommodation here, where his honour is least engaged. But this failing, no doubt but those other treaties would be put in execution, and this here remain to be tried by the sword; wherein I told them plainly they would have this disadvantage, to be left single to themselves, without assistance of their antient friends, whose aid they could not justly demand or expect, when they had wilfully drawn a war upon their own necks.

To many other considerations, which were alledged in discourse by monf. BARNEVELT of the Spanish fraud and ambition, I thought not fit to be an advocate of that nation in a time, when they give the world so much jealousy, and plead their sincerity and temperance; but desired him to think, that suspicions and jealousies were equal on both sides, and lighted as well on new rising commonwealths, as upon other princes; the Spaniards doubting as much a purpose in the states, by means of these differences, to add an eighth province to the seven, which are now united, as they could suspect the Spaniard with increasing the number of those they now enjoy in these countries. Wherefore it stood them as much upon to justify their proceedings by the effects, now the matter is to come to the last trial, as it did the Spaniard: and it would now appear to the whole world, who proceeded sincerely with the princes pretendants, and who abusively.

They desired me hereupon to make a good report of their intentions, which to your majesty as an upright judge they would render very justifiable; and likewise to send their answer in writing, as made only for the present by way of provision, until, their number being full, and answer being received from the princes, who are chiefly interested, they might give a more determinate resolution.

Under humble correction, I do not see how answers may be had from the elector of Brandenburg, and the palatine of Newburg, with the consent of the provinces, which they resolve here to have upon their answer, and then to have time sufficient for the execution of the treaty before the end of February next, they having now dispatched an embassador to the elector of Brandenburg, who cannot arrive in Prussia until the end of January, or the beginning of February. Wherefore, if the difficulty rest only in some small time, more or less, it may the better be allowed them, considering the nature of their government, which inforceth them in all important affairs to have the assent of their provinces, so as they cannot take a sudden resolution like an absolute prince. That this may be the better admitted by the Spanish embassador with your majesty (who, it seems, hath power to limit the time) I have moved both his excellency and monf. BARNEVELT, that there shall be nothing more done in Juliers, and other places, in matter of fortifications; but that they should rest in state as they now are: which I have done by way of provision, in regard of the reason alledged by the Spanish embassador to your majesty (which appears in your letter to the prince of Brandenburg touching this subject) that the time limited is in regard of a purpose he understood the states had to augment the fortification of Juliers, which would enforce the archdukes to do the like at Wesel. And as the time doth not serve for fortifications (it being now the depth of winter) so can I give your majesty good assurance, that, since my coming into this charge, there hath been no order given by the council of  
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state, where such affairs are handled, touching the augmenting of fortifications of that place; nor can any be in this time, because it must likewise pass by consent of the provinces.

I find by the agent of the prince of Brandenburg here resident, who hath lately had private conference at Amsterdam with a chief counsellor of the palatine of Newburg; the conceit and inclination of both the princes to be to make a provisional partition of the countries in controversy before the restitution of the places be effected: which being done, and those confining on the archdukes provinces being assigned to Newburg, these towards the states territories to Brandenburg, the princes will be well satisfied, and the states in some sort delivered of their jealousies.

This course is not disagreeable to his excellency, nor such of the states with whom I have had private conference concerning this subject; and would in all appearance settle the princes in greater security, than if, the countries being divided by lot, they should be cast on either side upon neighbours, where they should give and receive daily jealousies.

What order your majesty will please further to give in this occasion (which must now receive life from your majesty, or be given for ever hereafter as desperate) I shall attend with all humble devotion, and, kissing your royal hands, ever rest

Your majesty's most faithful and obedient servant,

Hague, this  $\frac{17}{27}$  of December, 1616.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

*December  $\frac{17}{27}$ .* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I advertised your honour at large by my last dispatch of the 2d of this present, sent by lieutenant TUB, both of the occurrents of these parts, as likewise of my proceedings in those two businesses, which I had particularly in charge from your honour; the one concerning our merchants affairs; the other touching the execution of the treaty of Zanten; the former of which, as your honour hath recommended the same anew by your letters of the 26th of the last (which I received by mr. BLONDELL) so have I not failed of my best endeavours to procure a speedy resolution for the sending over commissioners to his majesty; and accordingly in the assembly of Holland it was determined the last week, that commissioners should be sent. The secretary of Middleburg, SCOTT, being come hither the day before expressly to further this business, went immediately towards Zealand, to obtain the like resolution there; which being had (as it will be without much question) the other provinces will make no difficulty; yet for all public embassages to foreign princes, though this doth chiefly concern Holland and Zealand, mons. BARNEVELT tells me plainly the consents of the rest must be had likewise, before any resolution can be taken by the states general, which he hopes will not stay long, because upon sir NOEL CARON's first letters (wherein he signified

nified his promise made to his majesty) the states did then advertise their principals thereof, and do by the first commodity expect their orders.

Touching the answer to my proposition in the business of Cleves and Juliers, seeing the dispute about my being present or absent at the debate thereof did prolong the same, I thought best to make that a matter of election, which in conclusion I found would be of necessity, in that I was informed by mons. BARNEVELT the order was at first given by the states the matter should be treated by the council in my absence, though the message was delivered me in other terms: And therefore I desired mons. HUYGENS to move the president of the council, without attending new order from the states general, to dispatch that business, wherein delay bred more danger than my presence could any ways avail; and what I wanted there in quality of counsellor, I would supply as occasion served with the states general in quality of ambassador.

The same day, I absenting myself, in presence of his excellency this advice was determined upon, whereof I send your honour a translated copy. But the absence of the deputies of Holland in their provincial assembly was the cause, that no resolution was taken until the  $\frac{1}{24}$  of this present; which what it is, and the message wherewith it came accompanied, your honour will understand by my letters to his majesty; I having taken the boldness to address the same to his majesty's own hands, both in regard it is a subject worthy of his princely consideration; as likewise (to use so much freedom and plainness with your honour) to put his majesty in mind, he hath a servant at the Hague; finding myself altogether forgotten by my lord treasurer, who since my coming into these parts (which now draws upon a whole year) neither for my ordinary provision of diet, transportation, or other extraordinaries (notwithstanding that I am advertised by my servant I have your honour's favourable allowance, for which I render my humble thanks) hath not supplied me with one penny out of the Exchequer: which, considering the charge of my first furnishing and settling, a costly journey to Spa, which passeth on my own account, and the quick expence of this place, lies heavy upon me. Your honour is not *ignarus mali*, though you were never subject to such hard measure; and therefore I will beseech you to make my lord treasurer more sensible of my want than I can do either by letter or other solicitations, in all which I have not failed; for this kind of treatment is full of discouragement; and I must confess I am not able longer thus to subsist. So I humbly recommend myself and my poor fortune to your wonted love and favour, as one that ever rests, &c.

Dec. 3. N. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's proposition to the states general.

Dec.  $\frac{1}{24}$ . Answer of the states general:

Complaint of the Spanish proceedings since the treaty of Zanten: particularly the seizing of Syburgh, in 1615, and Zoest and Lipstadt that year.

That the assembly was not then full, and therefore would not determine upon so important an affair during the absence of their colleagues.

That the elector of Brandenburg, and the princes of Brandenburg, and palatine of Newburg, who were the chief persons interested, ought to be consulted, which could not be done within the time limited, considering the distance of the elector then in Prussia, and the palatine of Newburg.

That they hoped, that the king will take in good part this provisional declaration.

Dec.  $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>9</sup>. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I have staid this dispatch (which goeth now by my servant, whom I send expressly) these two days, both in regard of the contrary wind for passage, as likewise for satisfaction of the agent of Brandenburg, who having letters from the prince, touching the execution of the treaty of Zanten, to mons<sup>r</sup>. BARNEVELT, was of opinion in the delivery of them, he should learn somewhat for the furtherance of this business. But there is nothing to cause your honour further trouble; only both he and others, who wish well to the cause, think it most expedient to procure (if it be possible) order out of France to this French ambassador to concur with me in the same office with the states, whereby to cut off those, which are unwilling, from that, which will be their last retreat. The ambassador's licence to go into France is prorogued until new order from thence.

Here came yesterday unto me, in company of LUNTIUS, one THEODORE WESEKUS, a senator of Wesel, to take information secretly what lay in them to contribute to their own delivery, by sending deputies from their town hither or otherwise; which it is thought expedient (and so I have advised him) to do, at such time, as the matter is like to come again *sur le bureau*: for any thing they should do now would animate the Spanish garrison against them (of whose tyrannies they much complain) with out fruit.

By divers letters I have seen here, which pass betwixt friends and correspondents in France and these provinces, I find a general opinion of new troubles in France this next summer; and that all will determine in a war of religion. For which purpose here is continual provision of arms made under the king's name, which goeth into the hands of the duke of ESPERNON or the marshal D'ANCRE. Those of religion would fain use the like providence, but cannot have liberty; those, which sit at the helm here, being unwilling to let any thing pass, which may give distaste to the king or queen regent.

In this regard the factors here for those of Rochelle have addressed themselves to me with this request, which I send here inclosed, thinking to be provided, under such a colour of having leave, by my means, to send arms into England, which would not be denied me: But it is too delicate a matter for me to meddle with, unless I may understand herein his majesty's pleasure; which for their satisfaction, whom it concerns, I shall be glad to receive from your honour with the soonest.

There is nothing effected in this last assembly of Holland for the quieting the present differences and disputes about religion, the matter being remitted to their meeting  
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again in March next: mean time they grow daily to greater bitterness and distraction, which appears these holy days in the town of Leyden, where they have divided their churches betwixt the orthodox and Arminian factions, the one refusing to communicate with the other.

I am told GROTIUS shall be one of the deputies of Holland to his majesty, which I the rather believe, because he is observed of late days to use much temper and moderation in these questions of religion, wherein before he was *antesignanus*. The other two (for so many I hear will be for Holland) will be one of Amsterdam, the other of Dort. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

Dec. 31. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall.

Recommending the bearer, sent to buy in the United Provinces one hundred muskets, pikes, and arms for the trained bands in Gloucestershire commanded by the lord CHANDOS.

Dec. 31. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall.

My lord,

*Unâ fideiâ non duos, sed plures dealbabo parietes*, make answer with one short letter to many of yours; all which are of length and substance. Perhaps I shall keep no method, but may answer the last first; yet shall I be sorry to omit any essential or important point, wherein for the advancement of his majesty's service you require to be satisfied.

I will begin with the business of Cleves and Juliers, which is and will be *lapis offensionis*; and howsoever the states are otherwise pleased to understand it, yet if the differences be not accommodated, and the state of these countries better established, which now do languish under a miserable bondage, sooner or later it will kindle a war between Spain and them; which, I think they will acknowledge, is rather for a time, till the Spaniard can take his best advantage, artificially smothered, than clean extinguished. His majesty cannot but marvel to find the states, after so many serious admonitions and reiterated instances, so little sensible both of their honour, and of their own private good: for howsoever they would disguise it, and make the world believe that the fault resteth upon Spain, and not on them, that the treaty of Zanten is not accomplished; yet sith the Spaniard doth tender so fair and plausible offers, that he doth desire nothing more than the quiet establishment of these provinces, the reintegration of the litigant princes into their former possessions, and the perfect performance of the treaty of Zanten, his majesty cannot see how the states can be freed from this foul and shameful imputation, that they are the fosterers of broüilleries and confusions in those parts of Europe; that, out of ambition and greediness of enlarging the bounds of their territories, they incroach with violence upon their neighbours countries: And that, which is most deplorable, by suffering the men of Wesel with the mother church and antient nurse of our religion in those parts of the world so many years together, to endure the yoke of thralldom and servitude, they abandon the cause of religion, which they know ought to be the fundamental ground of their state.

state. Therefore his majesty's pleasure is, that you see the assembly of the states general resume this cause. You may tell them, that *nunquam nimis quod nunquam satis*; that his majesty hath that tender care of their honour and of their good, that he cannot desist to persuade them to hearken unto reason; that is, *suum cuique tribuere*, and not to continue *malæ fidei possessores*. And because they shall not alledge *non causam per causam*, that they are straitned in time by reason of the remote abode of the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Newburg, his majesty at his charge will undertake, that the time appointed for the reciprocal restitution of the places possessed by them and the archdukes shall be prorogued a whole month longer; that is, from the last of February to the last of March; in which time all parties interested may be advertised, and their full consents clearly obtained. You may add, that his majesty is the more earnest in this cause, because he is assured, that if this difference be not the sooner accommodated, it cannot but beget a cruel war; and his majesty would be sorry they should entertain any quarrel, wherein they might not be seconded by his assistance, and countenanced by his protection, which he freely professeth cannot be done, in case they should re-enter into a war upon this subject; which lieth in their power fairly to prevent, if they would concur with the archdukes in that peaceable disposition for the performance of the treaty of Zanten.

His majesty doth require you to give all furtherance and assistance, that that treaty, which, you write, hath been negotiated at Amsterdam between the ministers of the elector of Brandenburg and the duke of Newburg, may take effect: and yet I must deal plainly with you, they do but reckon without their host; for the archdukes being masters of the one, and the states of the other, though of themselves they may have good intentions, yet can they not be reintegrated into the possessions of those countries, until the garrisons, which now command them, be first retired.

Concerning the requests presented unto you by STEPHEN GERRITTS, merchant of Amsterdam, his majesty is graciously pleased, both for the furtherance of the common cause, and for the safety of the town of Rochelle, that you of your best discretion consider, how and in what manner by your means they may be furnished of such arms, as they shall think necessary to buy in the Low countries, and to cause them safely to be transported thither.

The count of Oldenburg hath written lately to his majesty, and doth intreat, that you may have express charge not only to hear such ministers as he doth employ to the states, but also to advise with them, and to assist them in their negotiations with your best counsel and directions: which is his majesty's express pleasure, whereof you may not forget to take notice, when the count's ministers shall come unto you, whom I doubt not in your good discretion you will entertain with all courtesy, as the minister of that prince, whose friendship his majesty doth much respect, and whose worth he doth much esteem. And so I commit you to the protection of the Almighty, and rest, &c.

P. S. You cannot do a better office to the states, than to make them hasten over their commissioners, the rather because his majesty's journey into Scotland doth begin the 25th of March.

16<sup>16</sup>/<sub>17</sub>. January 14. O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD :

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Your honour's letters of the 31st of the last I received by my servant the 8th of this present, at such time as the states were here wholly busied in pacifying the tumults, which were in danger to arise about their questions in religion; in which respect I could not have audience until yesterday the 13th, which delay I did the more willingly suffer, in expectation, that the wind serving so well for a passage out of France into England, and from thence hither, I might very well have understood his majesty's pleasure, if from thence any cause had been ministered of change in his directions touching my resuming the business of Cleves and Juliers, and pressing therein a more determinate resolution than the former, which I had reason to hearken after, knowing this state to be advertised from their ambassador at Paris, that the Spanish ambassador there resident doth openly disavow and protest against the offer of DON DIEGO SARMIENTO to his majesty, as done without order from the king of Spain or the archdukes touching the form of accommodating that business; the like advertisement being come from Brussels. But hearing nothing from your honour to this purpose, I framed my proposition in conformity to your letter; and thereof send your honour a copy, as I will likewise do of the answer by this dispatch, if it be not longer deferred than it is fit for me to stay the messenger, in regard of other affairs necessary to be advertised.

For the present, I had an answer of course made me by mons. BARNEVELT, acknowledging his majesty's great care both of the public tranquillity and their private welfare; and declaring their good intention to give his majesty all possible satisfaction: but hearing the Spanish ambassador in England to be disavowed by the other in France, it could not but minister unto them *arriere pensée*; especially being so much practised (as they are) to the Spanish frauds and subtilties. Yet, he said, they would take the business again into consultation, and give me an answer. I replied unto him, that in general discourse and compliment, it might be possible a public minister might do and say somewhat of his own brain; but in a matter of this nature, being of that importance, and consisting of time and place, with other particular circumstances, it was very unlikely: besides, that it was usual with princes to commit their affairs to one of their ministers without communication of them to others; and that it might be pre-supposed, that as France, in regard of domestic troubles, could not so diligently attend the peace of those parts, as his majesty in his princely care hath done, so the answer might be directed according to the pursuit of the business.

The queen regent (as I find here both by this French ambassador, and the dispatches of mons. LANGERACK) takes it as a high point of honour, to be interested equally with his majesty in this business. To which effect she hath dispatched an express courier into Spain, and given this ambassador DU MAURIER order to make stop of the proceedings (which he hath endeavoured in private with mons. BARNEVELT and his excellency, but by no public office) as likewise the council in France hath desired mons. LANGERACK to write to the same effect, which he hath done; but as their device, not his advice; so as this direct opposition will breed much difficulty, and they have a proverb at Venice, *piu valo un remo che scia in drio, che dieci, chi parano avanti*.

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The agent for Brandenburg, STICCHIUS, is returned again to Amsterdam, and from thence to Cleves; and WONSEIN, the duke of Newburg's lieutenant at Duffeldorp, is gone to Newburg, to communicate to his master the first proposition I made here in his majesty's name, which he had from STICCHIUS; and likewise the effect of their private negotiation at Amsterdam, to make a provisional distribution of the countries in the controversy betwixt them, which, under correction, is the only way, that is left for accommodating that business; the change of time and many considerable circumstances having made the treaty of Zanten subject to many jealousies and difficulties: and if the Spaniard be really so well affected, as they profess to be here (so they may proceed with safety), it will be no hard matter, whilst the places be *in deposito* in their friends hands on both sides, so to agree, that their partition may be determined of before, and executed after the restitution of the places; to which finding them here well affected, makes me make the better judgment of the sincerity of their intentions.

There is an extraordinary ambassador, mons. DE LA NOÛE, designed in France to this state, who attends for his dispatch the answer out of Spain touching this business of Cleves and Juliers: but his chief negotiation (according as I have seen divers advertisements) is to keep this state in devotion to the queen regent, not only in regard of the princes, that they may have no succours, but likewise for increase of the king's and queen's authority by public demonstration of strict amity betwixt them and this state.

The duke of Bouillon hath written hither the 25th of the last to the states general (which letters were received the 10th of this present *stilo novo*) signifying unto them, that the marquis of Spinola hath a design to besiege Sedan, having purchased the title of MONTLEVRIER to that place; in which case he desires to know, both in respect of religion and reason of state, what assistance he may expect from hence. To which no answer is hitherto made; the matter being referred to the provinces, which will ask some time, and in the mean while the matter being known (as I am well informed it is) to mons. DU MAURIER, and therewith an express courier dispatched into France, the hinderance thereof will be undoubtedly part of LA NOÛE's instructions.

Though DU MAURIER hath his licence at his own will to make a journey into France for three or four months, he defers his departure in expectation of answer to these businesses.

Here hath been lately a gentleman deputed from the duke of Brunswick, who at his departure about a week since acquainted me with a purpose his master had to send an ambassador to his majesty. His business here was to sound the states and his excellency's disposition in private, without moving any thing in public, how they stood affected in a difference betwixt his master and the duke of Luneburg, touching the duchy of Brochenhagen (situated in Brunswick, and possessed by that duke, but claimed by Luneburg) the intention of the states being the more doubted, in regard of their league with the Hans towns, which doth engage them to Luneburg: but they here profess, not to stir in this business, unless it be by way of friendly mediation betwixt those princes.

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The difference betwixt the king of Poland and Swede, touching the duke of Courland, whose protection Swede had undertaken against the prosecution of a bando made by Poland, is accommodated by the intervention of the sister to Poland, who is a recluse in a convent; and Courland restored to grace with Poland, to whom he is subject as a feudatory.

As any thing shall present itself for the service of the count of Oldenburg, I shall not be unmindful of his majesty's pleasure in his behalf.

The resolution of sending commissioners to his majesty touching merchants affairs sticks long in Zealand without answer from thence, which is the more marvelled at, because the business doth chiefly concern that province: but I conceive the stay to depend upon the assembly of the states there, wherein they being now to take their final resolution about their quota (and they are not at this present for that purpose) they will dispatch all under one. Monf. JOACHIM is gone thither two days since to hasten their answer. And so I humbly take leave, &c.

*January*  $\frac{1}{4}$ . The same to the same.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

The differences here about religion are grown to that height, and consist of so many circumstances not unworthy his majesty's knowledge, that they require a letter apart, wherein I will begin with the historical narration of all that is past since the last assembly of the states of Holland in December last; of which, as likewise of their resolution to meet again in March next, I gave your honour an account in my former.

Those, which go under the title of contra-remonstrants here at the Hague, having been put off these eight months past from one assembly to another, without satisfaction to their demands (which were either to have their ministers restored to their function in the church, or else to have a private place of preaching allowed them, whereby to be freed from the incommodity of going to Ryfwick) and now seeing this next assembly so long deferred, lost all patience; and having secretly hired a house here in this town, and fitted it for their purpose, intended there to have a sermon on Sunday last was fortnight, the 29th of the last: but their purpose being discovered to their adverse party, they were hindered by the magistrates of the town, who sealed up the doors of the house by public authority; which notwithstanding could not change their purpose, they going from thence in troops and some disorder to a house of an officer of his excellency's, and there they had their sermon. The day following six of their company, whom they had deputed for their affairs, were called before the provincial council; and being their handled with some rough terms by the president, and willed to desist until the next assembly of the states of Holland, refused absolutely, not fearing to return as high language, both in their own defence, and disgrace of their adversaries. The council hereupon had recourse unto his excellency, and first desired of him part of his guard to keep these men in devotion until the next assembly; which he excusing, they required, that he would send for soldiers from other towns, wherein they prevailed as little with him, he saying the one was  
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for the guard of his person; the other for the defence of the frontiers against their enemies; and therefore should not be employed for offence of their friends. The magistrates of the town, having been with him to the same effect, had the like answer. The Friday and Saturday following, which were the 2d and 3d of this present, all other affairs ceased, to attend this their high court of justice, their provincial council and the *chambre des comptes* being all assembled together in the council chamber of Holland, where the first day they debated the matter amongst themselves, and the next in the morning called his excellency to their meeting, where the business being laid open unto him in favour of the remonstrants, and disgrace of the contra-remonstrants, they desired his advice. Whereupon he called for the register-book, wherein his oath was set down, which he took in the year 86; at which time he entered into the charge he now holds for the service of the state: which being read in all their presences, and therein this article noted in particular, that both he and the states do mutually bind themselves, even to the last drop of blood, for the defence of the reformed religion, which was the first ground of their quarrel, and for which his father lost his life; this oath (said he) will I keep whilst I live, and this religion will I defend. This caused much argument amongst them, in that all possible endeavour was used to persuade his excellency that the introduction of these new opinions was no change of religion, they being such, as might stand with the antient profession: and in opinion they had left him well edified, gave him full authority to call the deputies of the contra-remonstrants before him that afternoon in the chamber of the provincial council, where sitting in the same chair which was anciently the place of the counts of Holland, and where he first took his oath as governor general, or lieutenant of these provinces (and to this place he hath not been called before this time since the year 86) he required of them by way of advice and intreaty, that for the next day, which was the communion Sunday, they would, to avoid disorder, go to Ryfwick, promising them, upon his word, that the Sunday following, they should have not only a house, but the chief church itself for their sermons, with a preacher of their own choice at such convenient hour, that the remonstrants likewise might have their turns: with which they resting satisfied, went the next day a great congregation more than ordinary to Ryfwick; where, the sermon being ended, they made presently an election of deacons and elders amongst themselves: which precipitation gave advantage to their enemies to accuse them of schism; and being called before his excellency the next day, they maintained their act with a constant asseveration, that they would have no communication with the remonstrants, either by hearing their preachers, or admitting any officer of the church, which should be of their number, saying for themselves, that whilst they were at Ryfwick, the alms, which were collected in the church of the remonstrants, were not distributed to any of the poor of their society; so as in this they were but led by example. Much contestation grew hereupon betwixt the chief of the remonstrants (who are the chief in authority here) and his excellency, they saying, that he was now freed of his word for giving the contra-remonstrants a church, since they manifestly tended to schism; and he persisting, that he was bound to make it good, they grew then factious to an inrolling of their numbers, and comparing of their qualities; and it appeared the greater part of the Hague, and the better sort of men, to be remonstrants; which made the matter the more considerable in laying so great an aspersions upon so many of so good quality as unfit men

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to be thought members of the true church. Whereupon a resolution was taken to send exprels messengers to all the towns of Holland, and to call the assembly of the states presently, which was appointed in March next; and provisionally order was taken by consent of his excellency, whose authority prevailed with the contra-remonstrants, that they should have liberty to preach this last Sunday in our English church, with the deacons of the other part for collection of alms; which was accordingly performed without interruption to our service, in that they began early in the morning, and had done by ten of the clock. The day before I had my consent required for their preaching-place, by certain deputies from their three councils united, who used this argument to me, that they had thought of this way as an expedient to make peace in their church: which gave me both subject and opportunity to recommend the same, as pleasing to God, agreeable to his majesty (who had done, as I remembered unto them, many good offices to prevent these inconveniences), and necessary for the preservation of their state. With his excellency I have had speech during this debate, and gave him the best comfort I could in supporting a good cause, which was found needful against so strong opposition. What will be the issue of this business is hard to conjecture, both parties remaining still violent, and each of them animated by daily letters and messengers from all the other towns of Holland; to which the proceedings here will set the law.

The Brill at the same time was in the like disorder; and with some more violence: but there is a surceance until their assembly. It was happily foreseen and well prevented, that the contra-remonstrants might not have their elders and deacons apart (though there is no advantage to be wished to their adverse party) in that so absolute a separation would have made the two factions irreconcilable, and no end to be hoped for without the suppression of one of the factions, whereof there is yet much danger.

I here take the relation out of my secretary's hand, to advertise at large, and with more freedom, the state of this business, to the end, that his majesty being made acquainted therewith, I may from time to time give your honour notice of the successes, without breeding new trouble by an unnecessary repetition. Yet to set down a present state of the question betwixt these factions is very hard, they having changed the same often, and the worse cause having the better patrons. *Litigando jus acquiritur*; the advantage resting on the remonstrants side by yielding to authority of the superiors, and against the contra-remonstrants for opposing the same; which finally is brought by artifice and tract of time to be the dispute: and by this means I know many grave and discreet persons amongst them (I will name your honour's friend, the treasurer DE BYE, for example) who, being beaten by long and continual assault from the first ground, and viewing only the present face of the business, shew themselves directly opposite and violent against that party, with which they otherwise concur in opinion.

The original cause of this disorder is easily discovered to be Arminianism: the effects will be faction in the state, and schism in the church, if it be not speedily, even at this present assembly, prevented.

The factions begin to divide themselves betwixt his excellency and monf. BARNEVELT, as heads, who join to this present difference their antient quarrels; and the schism rests actually between UTENBOGARD and ROSEUS, whose private emulation and envy (both being much applauded and followed) doth no good towards the public pacification.

The provinces are thus divided; Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen, are absolutely for the contra-remonstrants; Utrecht as absolutely, and that province only, intire for the remonstrants. Guelderland and Overysfel divided; but the two thirds for the contra-remonstrants. Holland likewise divided; but the two thirds for the remonstrants; yet in the towns where the magistrates stand that way affected, or by practice are gained, the people for the most part are opposite, as in Dort, Leyden, Harlem, Alcmæer, the Brill, and others. Rotterdam, both magistrates and people (a small number only excepted) are remonstrants, and the greater part (as I said) here of the Hague; against which are Amsterdam, Enchuyfen, Edam and Parmeran absolutely on the contrary part: and the villages, as well of Holland as the other provinces, universally for the contra-remonstrants.

If I should now enter into the discourses and rumours of these free-spoken people upon this subject; I should never end, they going so far, both on the one side and on the other, to lay to the charge of the adverse party a design to change the government; the remonstrants imputing to his excellency *Leicestrana consilia*, as they stile them; and the contra-remonstrants to monf. BARNEVELT and his party, the bringing in of popery. For my part, I cannot wade so far in my conjectures, but think his excellency's aim to be, besides the maintenance of the common cause of religion, rather *ad destructionem* than *edificationem*, in opposition to monf. BARNEVELT's authority, which he hath long practised with much diligence to encrease by introducing these new opinions, and creating magistrates in all places that way affected, and exclusion of others; which I think to be his greatest scope. Yet this may be noted in confirmation of the vulgar opinion, that those places, where popery is most frequent, as Utrecht for a province, and Rotterdam for a town, the remonstrants are absolute, and generally the papists hold with that faction. Some conjecture (and this is his excellency's opinion) that all this is done by monf. BARNEVELT by way of preparative against the time, when the renewing of the truce, or changing it to a peace, shall be brought into treaty, wherein it being likely the king of Spain will insist upon mitigation of the first article concerning the sovereignty of this government, and upon toleration of popish religion in these provinces, the opposition to both which will only grow by the protestant party, he intends to prevent this difficulty by suppressing that faction.

I cannot omit a popular vanity of prognosticating change upon the coming here on shore of three whales 60 feet or thereabouts in length, and 30 in compass; whereof two of them being stranded upon the Brill island, and one here by Scheveling, in the very places and instant time of these tumults, they cause the more surprize; the rather because it is remembered, that at the first breaking out of these country wars, there were two of the like bigness driven on shore in the river of Schelde below Antwerp, and at the framing of the truce one here in Holland. But these are effects of the

long and continual storms we have had here at the West, which have caused likewise many wrecks upon this coast.

The states of Holland are already arrived, and have their first meeting to-morrow. I shall make use of that liberty his majesty gives for the transport of arms, as may be best for their service whom it concerns, and will speedily procure those your honour writes for by your letters of the 31st of the last, for the service of my lord CHANDOS.

The duke of Bouillon employs both his friends credit and purses likewise for provision of arms from hence: and I hear of a levy of horse making here in these quarters, and the lower parts of Germany, to the number of 2000, for the service of the princes in France.

The baron d'Oyose of Guelderland, who hath been formerly in their service, doth undertake for a great part of these horse, being assisted with private loans of persons which are here affected to that party. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

Jan. 13. O. S. Proposition of sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the states general: mentioned in his letter of January 14, O. S.

Jan. 23. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

The bearer hereof is one PAUL DE LA RAVOYRE, of whom I have made mention to your honour in former letters, he being a Savoyard by birth, and heretofore a fryar of the order of the Chartreux; and having been much persecuted by the pope and his general, hath had his refuge hither into the United Provinces, where the Chartreux do enjoy certain rents by benefit of the truce, out of which he hath been a suitor to have an yearly pension for his entertainment, and an action to this purpose hath been here followed in their high court of Justice betwixt him and the Chartreux, till, the matter being brought to sentence, the Chartreux, by intercession of the French king, have a suspension thereof for the space of a year. *Cum Deus unus obest, fert Deus alter opem*; and the hope he hath, that a letter of commendation of his majesty may set him again *rectum in curia*, hath made him take a resolution to go into England; and upon his request I could not deny him a letter of address to your honour, knowing the man's abilities, and what he hath in store to publish by way of manifest, touching the present abuses of the court of Rome, wherein he deserves all encouragement. So I humbly take leave, &c.

Jan. 24. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

By a dispatch of the 14th of this present (which I sent by JOHNSON the post) I advertised your honour at large in two several letters of the occurrents of these parts; and therewith sent a copy of my second proposition, which I made the day before in the assembly of the states general, touching the business of Cleves and Juliers, in conformity



formity to your honour's letters of the 30th of the last. The answer whereunto was deferred until yesterday, and then brought me only by word of mouth from the states by monf. MAGNUS of Zealand, and \_\_\_\_\_ of Utrecht, and was to this effect, that the states having sent my former proposition of the 3d of December to their several provinces, from which the latter did little differ in substance, save only in respect of the time for the restitution of the towns, which was prolonged to the space of a month, all they could do, according to the constitution of their government, was to send this my second proposition likewise into their provinces, which they had done the day after I had made the same: and until they receive more express order from their principals, they were to rest upon their former answer, wherein they declared their good intentions to accommodate this business, so it might be with safety to themselves, and satisfaction of their neighbours: and herein they were to expect the resolution of the elector of Brandenburg, from whom the time did not yet serve to know his mind. Mean while they humbly beseech his majesty to make a gracious construction of their proceedings.

I was the day before with monf. BARNEVELT (who is president this week) to solicit their answer, who excused himself upon the smallness of their number; many of the states being absent, and of two provinces all the deputies; so as to give a determinate resolution, according as was required, they could not; and to make answer in general terms, since his majesty rested not satisfied with the former, he doubted another of the same kind would less please him: so as it seems this message, in place of an answer in writing, proceeded from his counsel.

By discourse both with him and those which came unto me, upon this subject, I find their diffidence of the purpose of the Spaniard rather increased than otherwise, upon the news of levies intended on the archdukes side to the number of 9000 foot, and 1000 or 1200 horse: and their delay in taking a determinate resolution no way dissuaded, but rather counselled by all other princes, who have interest in this business, their ambassador at Paris having advertised them by reiterated letters, that don PEDRO DI SARMIENTO's offer to his majesty, touching the execution of the treaty of Zanten, is absolutely disavowed by both the kings of France and Spain: and this French ambassador, monf. DU MAURIER, having made it appear unto them, that at Brussels they have the same conceit of it, as a thing done without authority. Besides, the princes of the union have written lately express letters to the states, wherein they persuade them to extraordinary vigilancy upon the Spaniards, and particularly upon this business of Cleves and Juliers; the translated copy of which letter I send your honour herewith; and the prince of Brandenburg being young himself, and having his council divided in opinions, doth nothing absolutely without reference to this state. And here when I put them in mind, how they themselves were the authors and framers of the treaty of Zanten, they stick not to say plainly, *tempora mutantur & nos*; so as I am daily more and more confirmed in my former opinion, that there is no way left to accommodate this business but by a private agreement betwixt the princes pretendents, which is still endeavoured by their ministers: but STICCHIUS, the agent of Brandenburg, being absent at Cleves, I do not hear how this negotiation proceeds.

Amongst other particularities, which passed in discourse betwixt monf. MAGNUS and myself, I insisting upon restitution of the towns, as the means to prevent an imminent war upon this quarrel; he asked, to whom they should restore them, unless the princes were agreed; and that they might know which of the princes should receive them, and whom they should have for their neighbours. Whereby it appears this course will on this side remove all difficulties.

It is advertised hither by monf. LANGERACK, the states embassador at Paris, that the apprehension they had in that court, to have this business ended without the French king's intervention, caused monf. DE REFUGES to be summoned to make another journey expressly hither, in regard he had formerly the managing thereof, notwithstanding that monf. DE LA NOÛE was already named for this extraordinary embassy. But REFUGES excusing himself upon his indisposition; sent all his memorials of what passed, when he was here, in the treaty of Zanten, with his private opinion upon the whole matter, to serve as an information to LA NOÛE. By other letters of the 28th of the last, monf. LANGERACK hath given this state many important advertisements; as first, that he hath obtained of the French king a continuance of the succours of the three regiments of foot and two troops of horse of that nation for one year longer, notwithstanding the opposition of the Spanish and archdukes embassadors, who advised the recalling of them upon occasion of the present troubles in France: That there is order and assignation given for 120,000 crowns towards the arrearages of their pay. That a resolution is taken in that court, by the advice of the new counsellors, contrary to the opinion of the old, to prosecute the princes by war, and maintain the king's authority henceforward by force. That to this effect the king desires the states should perform their promise of sending towards the river of Bourdeaux five men of war. That he likewise requires of them (in conformity to the last treaties betwixt that crown and this state) an assistance of men to the number of the French, which are here in service, under some good commander: but the French themselves the king will not have, for fear, when they shall come into France, of their revolting to the princes. That he demands free passage through these countries down the Maese and the Rhine of 3000 soldiers with their arms, which are levied by the count JOHN GIACOMO BELIOYSA in Luykland, and thereabouts; and shipping to transport them into France. All these particulars were moved unto him (as he writes) by the marshal D'ANCRÉ: to which he adds, that the king is so much incensed against the duke of BOÛILLON for seeking to this state for protection by those letters whereof I advertised your honour in my last, that there is a resolution taken to declare him *criminel de lese Majesté*.

Those grants are so scant, the continuance of the French troops in the service of the states being but for a year only, and the payment of them arriving only to the tenth part of what is already due, that they here interpret them to proceed from the marshal D'ANCRE, *pour tenir* (as they say) *le bec en l'eau*: and the demands are so large and extravagant, that they are thought *iniquum petere, ut æquum ferant*; whereby on the one side to keep this state in devotion to the French king, and on the other to prevent the like request of the princes: for there is small appearance they will give passage to so many men through their country, armed and commanded by an Italian, who hath born arms against them, and is married into the archdukes country; and when

it comes to question of sending forces of their own thither, it is like they will find as good excuses for that point, as they have hitherto done for the sending of the ships, now three months since promised, and still solicited. For howsoever the chief persons here have been long particularly interested and engaged (as your honour knows) by near dependance on that crown, I find them of late very much alienated, in consideration that it is so much governed by Spain, which in the end they apprehend will turn to the ruin of this state.

In France they are jealous of this coldness, and have of late expostulated the matter with mons. LANGERACK, as if they here did incline to the princes, there being a bruit raised in Paris, that count MAURICE would go in person to their assistance; whereof the queen regent was very sensible: but I do not find here, that there was any ground for that report.

Here hath been lately a fame spread and nourished, by such as desire to weaken the correspondency betwixt his majesty and this state, that his majesty is in near terms of matching our prince with Spain: which report is now the more credited by an advice out of Spain from a secret minister, this state entertains there under colour of soliciting merchants causes, that this match hath been there by order of the king of Spain debated in the inquisition, and judged necessary, in regard it would serve for introduction of popery into England. This I find to be the remora of my chief affairs with this state, my pressing the restitution of the towns in Cleves and Juliers being thought by many of the jealous people to hang on this thread, as a thing very acceptable and agreeable at this time to the king of Spain, and much advantageous in this present conjuncture to his affairs; and my insisting upon their sending commissioners to his majesty in the business of our merchants they apply the same way, as if the opinion, which two hold, be conceived of this embassy (that, howsoever merchants affairs were pretended, the chief intent were to play *Davus in comædia*), should, according to the use of *nitimur in velitum*, rather kindle than quench the desire of the Spaniard, and draw the match to a more speedy conclusion.

At my last being with mons. BARNEVELT I did expostulate the states delay of sending commissioners to his majesty upon this occasion, as neither answerable to sir NOËL CARON's word and promise to his majesty, nor to, which from his mouth I did advertise your honour of, the states inclination in general, and the resolution in particular of this province of Holland. To which he answered me, that with much difficulty and opposition he had obtained the assent of Holland; and that now the matter rested with Zealand: but he doubted, that his majesty's restoring the old company of the merchants would make a stay of any farther proceedings, as now less requisite; howsoever that sir NOËL CARON hath written, that notwithstanding this change, he thought the sending of commissioners very necessary.

The questions here about religion rest in the same state as I advertised your honour in my last, the assembly of Holland being separated until the end of February, *stilo novo*, when they are to meet again. Mean while a provisional order is taken, that the contra-remonstrants shall continue their preaching in our English church, which they have accommodated with scaffolds to make it more capable of their number.

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There was much question in this assembly, whether his excellency should be present or not; but in the end he was called by the major part of voices, contrary to mons. BARNEVELT's opinion; and his authority overruled the matter in favour of the contra-remonstrants, for the continuance of their preaching, which it was proposed to hinder by some violent courses. By example of this place there is the like provisional order taken for preaching at the Brill and Rotterdam; and certain of the burghers established in Tergow, who were put from their trade and commerce for their expostulating with the magistrates upon the quarrel.

I have been desired by particular persons well affected in this cause, to procure a letter from his majesty to his excellency, whereby to comfort and encourage him in his zeal for the maintenance of the true doctrine and the professors thereof against these novellists and their opinions: which I must humbly refer to his majesty's wisdom, in case he judge this office necessary, whether it be fitter to have it done by message or letter; the former of which will be of greater virtues, but the latter less subject to cross constructions of the Arminian faction, which your honour knows how potent it is here amongst those, who have chief rule in the state. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*Jan. 29.* P. S. Since the writing hereof (which hath been stayed with the messenger with continual tempests) mons. DE LA NOÛE is arrived, and lodged and entertained after the accustomed manner of extraordinaries; though here is speech (and so it appears by his equipage) that he shall take the place of resident from DU MAURIER. In other affairs these few days have bred no alteration. This 29th of January.

*Feb. 6.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by sir EDWARD VERE's man.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

There is nothing farther occurred in the business of Cleves and Juliers, which was the chief subject of my two last dispatches of the 14th and 24th of the last, save only, that the poor town and church of Wesel have presented their requests to the states and his excellency for their deliverance out of their present thralldom, and their humble thanks to his majesty for his princely endeavours in their favour; which will best appear by their own letters to me; and therefore I send the original herewith to your honour. The states and his excellency have made them courteous answers; and I for their encouragement have assured them of his majesty's perseverance in this good work.

The 29th of the last mons. DE LA NOÛE had his first audience in the assembly of the states general, and two days after gave up his speech in writing; whereof I send your honour a copy, as soon as I could possibly recover the same, in hope it may arrive in good hour to acquaint his majesty of the baron DE LA TOUR's errand before his audience, it being very likely, that these extraordinary ambassadors, dispersed at this present out of France through all Europe, are sent to set the self-same gloss upon the affairs of that kingdom; this being in effect a *disculpa* of the queen regent for the government, both during the time of the king's minority and since.

I have seen a copy of an association amongst the princes in France, which was shewed me by a chief confident of theirs in this town: the subject whereof is a combining themselves by solemn oath to take arms for the liberty of the king and kingdom against the tutele and oppression of strangers; and the arguments in all matters of moment opposite to this ambassador's apology.

How the states here rest *pagati* with these fair words and no money (for as yet, notwithstanding what lately passed betwixt the marshal d'ANCRE and monf. LANGE-RACK, nothing appeared) your honour can easily conjecture. The Venetian resident, SORIAN, hath letters at this present from PATAVIN, the agent of that state with the Grifons, wherein it is advertised, that the French ambassador with that people, GAF-FIER, did ever covertly, and now openly, oppose the league betwixt the Venetians and the Grifons, notwithstanding the exprefs letters, which were obtained from the king by OTTAVIAN DON at Paris, for the furtherance thereof, and this ambassador putting that act *au lin de conte* amongst the strict observances of the antient alliances of that crown. I find his majesty thrice mentioned in this speech; first, as an approver of the match betwixt France and Spain; next, as a suitor at this present to Spain for the like alliance, and that *avec passion*: lastly, as if he had lent a deaf ear to the match with France, which was (as is there said) on that side *ardemment désiré*.

The rest I account *alienæ reipublicæ*; but cannot so let pass the second point, which concerns his majesty, there being nothing more prejudicial to the good correspondence betwixt his majesty and this state, than the belief of matching our prince with Spain; which, I advertised your honour in my last, was no small cross to my negotiations with this state: and it being likely to take greater impression by this ambassador's so constant asseveration, I shall be glad to remove the same upon better warrantise than my private opinion only, in case it so agree with his majesty's pleasure and service.

I find they have laid by the purpose of sending commissioners to his majesty touching the merchants affairs; which the more I stir in, the greater are their cross constructions: and therefore, if your honour think it expedient to be insisted upon, the best way is to procure it by sir NOEL CARON's letters, who hath bound both himself and his masters by promise to his majesty.

We have here the news of a peace finally concluded betwixt the Muscovite and the king of Swede: of wars in hand betwixt the king of Swede and Poland, for which diligent preparations are made on both sides: of levies in Denmark, and putting ships in readines for that king's service, which puts Hamburg and Lubeck into much jealousy: and therein this state, in regard of their league with the Hans towns, hath interest, but stirs not at this first alarm.

There being here lately made a loan to the king of Swede of 360,000 guilders for a payment to the king of Denmark in conformity to the articles of peace betwixt those kings, the money came short at the day appointed to Hamburg; yet the same being otherwise provided by the king of Swede, and paid to Denmark, this money of the states was there received to the king of Swede's use, for which he is bound, as well  
for

for the principal as the interest, to give satisfaction to this state in copper, a commodity wherein his country abounds.

That king hath given order for a levy of 2000 men in these provinces, some part of which he desires to have sea-faring men for his ships; and to this effect hath remitted hither to his embassador 40,000 dollars.

Here is arrived a gentleman from the count DE LEVESTIN, a German, to desire passage of the states through these provinces for 3000 of his nation for the service of the Venetians, as likewise to suffer him to hire shipping at Amsterdam for their transport by sea; which if he can obtain, he intends to have his men in readiness to embark by April next.

The levy, which was made by count JOHN ERNEST of Nassau, and hath been embarked ever since November last, remains still wind-bound in the haven, by reason of a constant and stiff gale betwixt the East and South; which hath held in that quarter for these three months past, and so still continues, having brought us up another whale fish at Catwick, and one in Friesland, so as now those monsters cease to be wonders; yet they are thought to prognostique both famine and plague in this country, though they are rather part of the effects of this unseasonable time, than the cause of the consequences, the failing of their wonted frosts at this time being contrary both to the health of their bodies, and fertility of their land.

Of one of these we begin to feel the smart already, the plague being entered into four houses here in the Hague; which is more neglected than belongs to so great a danger. Of the other the states are careful and provident, having recalled many ships from the Texel by public order, which have there long lain wind-bound laden with corn.

Here happened at the Brill on Friday last some small tumult about these differences in religion, the magistrates having, contrary to an order of the provincial council (which had suspended all proceedings, as well there, as in this town and other places, until the next assembly of the states of Holland) made search for a preacher of the contra-remonstrants; and to this purpose put both the burghers and garrison in arms; but missing to find him, the complaint came the next day to this town, where both parties found their patrons, his excellency blaming the captains and officers with sharp terms for going into arms without his or the states order; and mons. BARNEVELT maintaining they did but their duties; the garrisons (as he said) being placed in the towns for the service of the land, and therefore were to be commanded, according to occasions, by the magistrates.

Upon this question depends the decision of the cause; for the magistrates being in most places on the remonstrants side, if they may dispose of the garrisons, they will soon bring the country to obedience. On the other side, if the garrisons may not stir but by commandment of his excellency and the states, the contra-remonstrants (who exceed the other in number) will have the advantage.

It



It is very considerable in this question, that the magistrates of most of the frontier towns (if not all) by the industry and practice of the chief here in government, are remonstrants; the remonstrants for the most part Arminians; and the Arminians, if not (as they are suspected) inclining to popery, yet in case matters come to the extremity (as often it falls out in popular tumults) to call in foreign assistance, it is easily seen to whom that faction must have recourse.

GROTIUS hath been dealing since the last assembly with the contra-remonstrants of Rotterdam, seeking to bring them to treaty; but they answer they can do nothing without the consent of the other churches of Holland; so as now it is a declared common cause, whereof the event is very fearful; and if their animosities still increase (as they have done hitherto with much bitterness) this difference can take no end but by the subversion of one of the parties.

To what extremity the people are grown may appear by an accident at Rotterdam, where there being a congregation of the contra-remonstrants in a private house at a sermon, some unruly persons of the contrary faction had provided dirt and stones, wherewith to salute them at their coming out, they having a nick name put upon them by reason of their going formerly to a village into the country to their preachings, as they did here to Ryswick, of *Slyk-gueux*; but they were pacified by a good old woman, who coming first out from the sermon, counselled them in sad and sober earnest to beware what they did, because (said she) his excellency is *een slyk-gueux ooc*; that is, a dirty beggar as well as they.

Hereof is made no small reflection, that the name of Gueux is revived, which was the first badge of the discontents in these countries; and no less note taken of the entering into arms at the Brill, which in this quarrel was the first place that gave the *tocsin* to the revolt of those provinces; and the common enemy spares not to brag of their hopes, that they shall enter again at the same door where they were shut out.

There hath been some contestation on Sunday last for the church of Oudewater betwixt two preachers of the two factions, wherein the contra-remonstrant prevailed, but is silenced for hereafter upon penalty by the magistrates. The same day there being an assembly of the remonstrants at a sermon in a ware-house at Amsterdam, which they had fitted with a pulpit and scaffolds for that purpose, the windows were broken down by the fury of the people, and the preacher hardly escaped from being flung into the canal.

I send your honour an abstract of a letter from Liege, wherein is advertised an accident, not unlike to this at Amsterdam, in our English Jesuits college; and therein is likewise contained the new discipline and increase of the Jesuiteesses. So I humbly take leave, &c.

P.S. I have at this present received a letter from Amsterdam containing a particular relation of the late accident in that town from a person of credit, which I send your honour, because it is like the reports thereof will be great and divers.

Feb. <sup>13</sup>/<sub>28</sub>. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by captain BRADFORD.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

With my last dispatch of the <sup>6</sup>/<sub>17</sub> of this present I sent your honour monf. DE LA NOÛE's first proposition, which was the ceremonious part; and herewith goeth his second, which is the substance of his embassy. Herein your honour will observe, on the one side, a demand of succours for the French king; and, on the other, a prevention either of assistance or intercession in favour of the princes. To which he can yet procure no answer, though he do earnestly solicit the same; all the provinces, Holland only excepted, lending a deaf ear to his instance; and in Holland what the effects, will rather be by the means of such, as are particular *devots* of that crown, than by the publick inclination; which notwithstanding is drawn many times by artifice to resolutions contrary to the minds of the generality. In conclusion it is thought the French regiments will not be denied, the state being bound by contract to send them, though there is a *temperamento* proposed of allowing the one half the arrearage of the pay of the French troops, which are here in service of this state, for the levy of so many new men in France for the French king. But herewith there is no appearance, that the ambassador will rest satisfied.

By sir NOEL CARON's last letters to the states general they had large advertisements of many particulars, which had newly passed betwixt his majesty and him at an audience; and amongst others, that his majesty, resting no ways satisfied with the present government of affairs in France, desired, that the states, either by an express ambassador, or by their resident at Paris, would concur in a necessary office with his ministers to the rectifying of the present disorders in that kingdom; of which having knowledge, I laid hold upon another occasion to sound monf. BARNEVELT, how he stood affected this way; but found him very averse: And though he be sensible enough of the present misgovernment in that state, and of the consequence thereof to this, yet it appears by many arguments, that he for his particular is resolved to run a course with the queen regent, and those who have the present managing of affairs in that kingdom, and to dispose this state the same way, as much as lies in his power.

His declaring himself so openly, and persisting so peremptorily in this resolution, notwithstanding all reason, which in this present conjuncture is alledged to the contrary, causeth men to search more deeply into his designs: And here be, that call to mind how the president JEANNIN at his return from those parts into France, after the framing of the truce, related, that he had the word and promise of the chief here in government, that in short time the free profession of popery should be tolerated in this state; and hereupon infer, that his protecting the Arminians with so much heat and passion hath aspect this way, as if he would effect that by degrees, which he could not attain unto *tout d'un coup*. The authority, which he so strongly contends for in these questions of religion, gives greater subject for this suspicion; it resting in his power, having once the reins in his hand, to enlarge or straiten them at pleasure; which makes this point the more earnestly stood upon by the contrary part, rather in regard of the consequence than the present inconvenience.

On

On Saturday last, in consideration of the tumults lately happened at Amsterdam, the magistrates of this town assembled the whole body of those burghers, whom they call the *Scuterie*, and of them framed a new company, changing the form of the ancient oath, both in regard of the persons to whom they swear obedience, and the substance; the former being in the name of the *Gravelick height*, the country, in which his excellency is included, and that for matters of course: But this is particularly an oath of obedience to the magistrates of this place *en tout et contre tous*. By some it was refused at the present, and by others disclaimed afterwards; but the greatest part of the inhabitants remain subject.

What succeeded at Amsterdam since my last in the sacking of a house by the fury of the people, your honour may please to see by a letter I send herewith. The day following a proclamation was published in that town against assembling any where at sermons but in the usual churches, and against such as lent their houses for the meetings of the Arminians.

It is now feared, in regard that examples of this kind *non constituunt ubi incipiunt*, that where the contrary faction is the stronger, we shall hear of the like outrages. Wherefore it is wished by many, who apprehend the disunion of the state upon this quarrel, that a moderate course, now newly established in Guelderland, and published in print (whereof I send your honour a translated copy), might be here received in Holland: but to that ill constitution is this province grown by these distempers, that it can neither suffer the disease nor the remedy.

I have had long speech this last week, both with his excellency and monf. BARNEVELT, upon occasion of these accidents. With his excellency I had formerly spoken upon the same subject, and found him at both times, and so left him, very well edified in the business for the support of the better cause; and yet well disposed to that moderation, as, without prejudice to the true religion, might tend to the preventing of disunion to the state, of which he is very apprehensive.

To monf. BARNEVELT I said, that howsoever I came instructed from his majesty, when I had the honour last to kiss his hands, to omit no fit occasions, which might reconcile these differences, his majesty in his princely wisdom foreseeing, that they were rather covered for a time than quite quenched; yet I had forbore of late any whit to shew myself herein, finding amongst some in this place a cross construction made of his majesty's good intentions, as if he sought to put *scam in alienam messem*. But now seeing the matter grow to extremity, I could no longer upon nice respects forbear this necessary duty, offering myself hereupon as a minister of that prince, whose confederation with this state was chiefly strengthened by the bond of religion, to do those friendly offices, which betwixt such, as are parties in this difference, may be required of a third for the peace of their church.

He acknowledged in answer the obligation of the state for his majesty's continual care of their welfare; and hereupon in a long discourse delivered me the state of the cause to this effect; that these United Provinces, and this of Holland in particular, had in them many sects and religions: that of these *la plus saine* (as he said) & *plus ricke par-*



*rie* was the papists: that the protestant was not the third of the inhabitants; and these he divided into puritans and double puritans (for so he said we held them in England:) that these remaining thus separated, the papists would be the stronger: that to prevent this inconvenience, the states did endeavour to settle and establish some certain form of government in the church; which being composed of divers persecuted churches, such as in the beginning of the wars had their refuge hither, that, which during the wars could not so well be done, they now thought seasonable for a time of truce; and therefore would shew their authority in preventing the schism of the church, which would follow the separation of those they call remonstrants and contra-remonstrants.

I told him hereupon, how I understood the state of the cause; and first let him know, that those, who are termed Puritans in England, cannot be so called here; they being there so esteemed, because they oppose the received and settled church-government. But here their church consists only of such, who may be as well stiled good protestants as those in France, or other reformed churches; and these we account to concur with our church in profession; the difference of customs and ceremonies in several provinces making no difference in the state of religion. Touching the government they would now establish in their church, if it tended to the prevention of separation and schism, I said they should have begun to exercise the same, when ARMINIUS began the first separation by introducing new opinions. Now the question being, whether those, who out of scrupulosity of conscience cannot communicate with the Arminians (whom they call remonstrants) should have their preachings (according as they desire) apart, or be silenced, the using authority in upholding the Arminians, and suppressing their opposites, would seem a novelty in this state, and cause the lawfulness of this authority to be disputed, as in effect it is. I wisht him hereupon not to strain it too far until it were better settled; and then in such differences as these, but now chiefly, to have recourse to the usual remedies exercised in all churches of provincial or national synods.

He would no ways yield, that ARMINIUS was the first, that brought in these disputes: but I maintained unto him, that he was the first, that did openly profess them in these parts: for proof whereof I said, those of his opinion were denominated by him. I concluded with him, that things were grown too far to be now disputed *in thesi*, since that hitherto they had argued *pro aris*, but now they began to fight *pro fo-cis*. Wherefore present remedies must be applied to desperate diseases; wherein I renewed the offer of my best service.

The thanks he gave me were accompanied with this circumstance, that, according to occasions, the state must likewise make use of messieurs DE LA NOÛE and DU MAURIER, both zealous professors (as he said) of the religion: but of both these I must let your honour know here is prejudice; LA NOÛE having subscribed in the late assembly of the states in France to the council of Trent, and DU MAURIER having declared himself partial on the Arminian side; so as his mention of these I take as a prevention not to have any strange princes, or their ministers, interest themselves in their affairs: for such assurance and confidence doth he retain, notwithstanding these imminent dangers, that to one, who offered the like in behalf of the prince Palatine, he answered, that

that this state should neither climb mountains, nor cross seas for that, as belongs to government.

I have, as matters fall to my pen, entertained your honour long on this subject, conceiving it will not be disagreeable to his majesty to be acquainted with all circumstances. What this new assembly of the states of Holland (which began on Friday last) will produce, I will advertise with all diligence.

Yesterday the ambassador of Swede gave account to the states of the peace betwixt his master and the Muscovite, and demanded leave for a levy against the king of Poland, whose preparations, with the opinions of his designs, your honour may please to see in an abstract of a letter from Dantzick.

The Venetian forces are this last night put to sea both at the Texel and the Brill, the wind being come opportunely to prevent their mutinying, to which they were all inclined; and one ship in the Texel so declared, having gotten the upperhand of their officers and mariners, and chosen their electo. But count JOHN went thither presently in person to redress the same; and the states send them accompanied with a man of war to prevent the like inconvenience at sea. His excellency hath given to every ship several letters patents to avoid a quarrel, which in the passage of the Streight the Spaniards may pick against them as pirates, where the states are advertised they are laid for 30 sail of ships and 10 gallies.

I send your honour a book, which comes at this instant to my hands from Colen, in answer to the archbishop of Spalato's motives: And so humbly take leave, &c.

Feb. 16. Secretary WINWOOD: from Whitehall.

My lord,

His majesty hath spared so much time from his more serious occupations, that he hath been pleased to read your last letter of the 14th of the last month, from the beginning to the end: and although many years since, when VORSTIUS first was brought into Holland to be public professor of divinity at Leyden, he did foresee the miseries which would ensue, to the danger and dishonour of that state, by the schisms, which then were rising in the most eminent towns in Holland; yet he had well hoped, that the providence of the governors, who sit at the stern of that commonwealth, could have been so watchful not to have suffered the sparks of dissension to break forth, to their shame and disgrace, into an open combustion. I know well the state of this cause, wherein if God's providence had not protected me, and the gracious assistance of the king my master, I had suffered shipwreck of misfortunes and reputation. I have been acquainted with the humours of those great ones, who have been the *antesignani* of the new-fangled doctrine preached and published in these parts. I cannot deny, but that universal grace is a plausible learning to flesh and blood. Upon these reasons I acknowledge how difficult a thing it is to resolve of an expedient course, how these difficulties should be accommodated, and a settled peace in that church established.

His

His majesty is of opinion, that the contra-remonstrants, which profess the antient and received doctrine acknowledged by an unanime consent of all the reformed churches, should not give place to the factious opinions of VORSTIUS and ARMINIUS, against which the more strongly they shall oppose, the more honour they shall gain; and shall also more clearly manifest to the world, as well the truth of their profession, as their zeal for advancement of religion. But if they shall become subordinate to their adversaries, whose malice hath neither brim nor bottom, and whose insolency is insupportable; what can they expect in lieu of remedy and relief, but scorn and contempt; and at the end not only they themselves in person, but the doctrine they profess, to be chased out of those provinces? You are *sur les lieux*, and therefore are best able to advise what is to be done for the honour of his majesty and the maintenance of religion. And you remember the precise instructions you received from his majesty, by your painful and industrious endeavours, to give all countenance to the common cause. And as occasion shall be ministered, if not upon express purpose, yet *aliud agendo*, you may peaceably treat with mons. BARNEVELT, whose conscience must tell him, if he would have been but an indifferent judge, and not have made himself the patron of the party, these disputes had been nipped in their bud without disturbance to the repose of their state. *Neceffe est ut scandala veniant; sed vix illis, per quos veniunt.*

You understand how the new company for dying and dressing is dissolved, and that the old company of Merchant-adventurers have assumed that charge upon them; which perhaps is the cause the states make so slow haste to send hither commissioners, wherein they extremely wrong themselves, because the old company, though for some months they are spared, is bound to carry forth our cloths dyed and dressed in the self-same proportion as was prescribed to the new company. And therefore if beforehand some good agreement be not settled between our and their merchants, we shall again fall at odds: and ordinarily it falleth out the relapse is more dangerous than the original disease.

I have charge from his majesty, to require you, that if the duke of Savoy shall send any minister to the states, either to reside or negotiate with them, you should assist him with the best offices, which may demonstrate the affectionate care his majesty hath of the preservation of that prince both in honour and in state.

We have here from France an extraordinary embassador, the baron DU TOUR. His errand is to dehort his majesty from intermeddling in those differences, which now do break forth into an open war, between that king and the princes. The resolution his majesty will take, you shall understand by my next letters; for as yet the embassador hath had but one public audience. His majesty's purpose is, to treat him kindly; but how he will be pleased to carry himself in the business of France, mr. comptroller, who is to return thither, shall declare his mind.

The king's journey into Scotland doth begin the 15th of March. And so for this time I rest, &c.

Feb. 27. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

This, which goeth by the commodity of this bearer, sir HENRY LEVINGSTON's passage for England, serveth to acknowledge, with my humble thanks, the receipt  
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your honour's by JOHNSON of the 16th of this present, which came to my hands this morning; and withal to give to cover a book, which I mentioned in my last dispatch, but omitted to send the same; as likewise to the two copies of the several answers, which are given by the states to the French ambassador's two propositions, the first whereof is compliment only; the second a consent to as much concerning the sending of men into France, as they are bound to by contract, that is, to suffer the French regiments to go to the king's service, in case they be required. But this was not the scope of mons. DE LA NOÛE, whose toleration expressed in his proposition of having half of the men the king requires French, and the rest of other nations, was an insinuation of what he rather desired, than what is now granted. And so he hath plainly expressed himself in his private negotiations. But besides that the states should be thereby engaged in the cause between the king and the princes (which they desire to avoid) they would have been likewise obliged to the payment of the troops. Mons. DE LA NOÛE doth remain here until he hath answer out of France, whether the king will prevail himself of these troops or not; which as they here make a question, by reason most of the troops, both captains and soldiers, are inclined to the princes; so do they upon the same reason hold it out of question, that if they be sent for into France, they shall be returned hither no more; for, the wars continuing, they will find employment there: and if peace succeed, the power of the Spanish faction in that court will detain them from the service of this state.

Your honour will observe, that whereas in the latter proposition, there was a pre-occupation of the states interesting themselves in the cause of the princes, by way of mediation with the king; in the answer to that point, the states are careful not to bind their own hands; but to preserve their liberty, according as by the princes themselves, or by such others as favour their cause, they shall be required, adding a word of advice, rather to proceed in those affairs by way of friendly accommodation than of extreme rigour.

The disputes in the assembly of the states of Holland are earnest in the differences about religion; and nothing hitherto concluded, the chief of the remonstrants using their wonted practice to play *alla stracca*, whereby to have the advantage both of the time and the impatience of their adverse party. But if they part once more *re infectâ*, these next Easter holydays cannot pass without notable disorders in their chief towns, there having been in Amsterdam, notwithstanding very diligent watch, which is there continued both night and day, divers fires kindled, some casually, and some of malice, as is thought; and in some parts of the town have been found bags of gun-powder with matches fastened unto them, for some such mischievous intent.

I have not failed of my best endeavours (as will appear to your honour by my former letters) both with his excellency and mons. BARNEVELT, in conformity to my first instructions, for the countenancing of the better cause: which being much strengthened since his excellency's declaring himself, both parties are more inclinable to proceed by way of synod: And now by further declaration of his majesty's mind, which appears so clearly in your honour's letters, I doubt not but to give his majesty an account before long of some better effect: though I must confess I have hitherto more sparingly interested his name, than hath been required of me by many, out of

an obfervation I have long made of this people, which hath it in nature, *tu contra audentior ito*. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*March 7.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to fecretary WINWOOD: fent by enfigh MORE.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

With my laft difpatch of the 27th of February, by fir HENRY LEVINGSTON, your honour had two feveral answers of the ftate to monf. DE LA NOÛE's two feveral propofitions.

The excufe made in the latter, for the delay of answering until the afsembly of the ftates were complete, gave me fubject to vifit monf. BARNEVELT, and to require of him an answer to my propofitions in the bufinefs of Cleves and Juliers, which was protracted upon the fame reason; at which time I defired to know of him likewise, what was the ftates refolution touching the fending of deputies to his majesty about the differences betwixt our merchants; becaufe, as I told him, the change of the company of our Merchant-adventurers at home did no ways change the condition of our trade in our foreign parts. He being prefident at the fame time, propofed on Sunday laft thefe two points in the afsembly of the ftates general, with fome other particular affairs concerning his majesty's fubjects, both foldiers and merchants: to all which I had a verbal answer fent me by their fecretary AERSSENS the day following. Touching the firft, that howfoever all the ftates were now prefent, fome of them had as yet no order from their principals, there having been no afsembly in their particular province fince I made my propofitions, as it is true indeed for Guelderland and Overyffel, where they afsemble this next week. For the fecond, that his majesty's journey into Scotland was a hindrance to that, which was otherwise their intention. In other affairs I cannot complain of their answers; only a poor Scottifh merchant CARMICHAEL, touching whom I received your honour's letters of the 2d of the laft, finds finall fruits of his long attendance, and the beft affiftance I can give him.

The ftates at my request have given license to STEPHEN GERRITS, merchant of Amfterdam, to transport 500 corflets and pikes, and 500 mufkets, for his majesty's ftore, but to that ufe your honour knows; whereof you may please to take notice, if you be fpoken to about it: otherwife it is not needful.

There is liberty granted by the ftates to the count LEVISTIN to hire fhipping and all other provifions at Amfterdam for the transport of his men to Venice: but he is to imbark them at Embden, without paffing through thefe provinces.

Here is arrived the fenator MONTHONE from the duke of Savoy without title of embaffador, or other qualification. He had audience of the ftates general the 14th of this prefent, wherein he demanded (upon thofe reafons which your honour will fee in the copy of his propofition) a fuccour for his mafter of 4000 foot, and 400 horfe, and a quantity of munition of all forts, with fome pieces of artillery, preffing herein expedition, becaufe he defires to return into Germany (from whence he now comes)

to be present at the assembly of the princes of the union, which will be the 25th of this present. Yet if he have no resolute answer at the present, he purposeth to go that journey and return hither again. I have signified unto him the charge I have from his majesty by your honour's last letters, to give him my best assistance; whereof I shall not fail, though there is small hope of obtaining satisfaction in so high demands.

The duke of BOÜILLON hath written again to the states for succours, and is recommended by the prince Palatine; the copy of which letters I send your honour. They came accompanied with a packet of letters intercepted near Paris; whereof I shall be able to give your honour a more particular account within two or three days. So for this present I humbly take leave.

P. S. I have at the closing of these received your honour's letters of the first of this present; to which I shall not fail speedily to return answer by the same bearer.

March 1. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

My lord,

I write these by express order from his majesty; and therefore you shall first understand, that his majesty, not without cause, hath reason to complain of the froward proceeding of the states, who engaged, by the promise of their ambassador solemnly made both to himself, and to some of his principal ministers, to send over commissioners into England to treat and compound the differences now in question between our merchants and theirs, should now *palinodiam canere*, and hold it sufficient to make a shew to perform that which never was intended, or to lay the fault upon the remote and upland provinces; when as only Holland and Zealand are interested therein, for the continuance of commerce, and advancement of their trade.

This you may represent to mons. BARNEVELT, and to any other of the states, as occasion shall be ministered: And you need not to be dainty to let them know, that this kind of proceeding doth argue a coldness and respectless care in them to conserve and maintain the antient amity and alliance, which long hath been continued betwixt his majesty's crowns and their provinces. And this I will be bold to add, that if some of them who now hold part in the managing of his majesty's affairs had carried themselves with the like indifferency and insensible carelessness, the old merchants at this time had not been restored, much less re-established in the town of Middleburg.

To that point of your last letters, wherein you require to understand what language you are to hold concerning his majesty's purpose and resolution to treat a marriage between the prince his son and the second daughter of Spain: First, you may speak with confidence, that his majesty, directly nor indirectly, by himself nor by his ministers, did never seek to make that match; much less did never seek it with passion, as the ambassador of France hath assumed the liberty falsely to affirm. True it is, that the ambassador of Spain here resident hath often made that overture; whereunto though his majesty, in reason of state, hath not held it convenient to lend a deaf ear, yet he hath proceeded therein *plumbeis pedibus*; wherein he is so little advanced, that



as yet it neither hath been imparted to his council, neither had my lord Rosse, who extraordinarily was sent into Spain, either charge to speak in it, or instruction to return any answer, if that matter should be propounded unto him, either of purpose, or by chance; and nothing can be more uncertain than what will be the issue of this negotiation. But this in his majesty's name you have charge to assure the states, that if he in his princely wisdom and judgment shall hold it necessary to go forward in this treaty, from time to time he will acquaint them with all the particular passages of his proceedings: Neither will he determine or conclude any thing without their privity, counsel, and advice; for his majesty's purpose is to deal clearly with all his friends and allies, to let them know the state of the cause, and the reasons, which may move him to hearken to this match. He likewise will have patience to hear all exceptions, which may be alledged against this treaty, wherein he will shew himself so impartial and indifferent a judge, that he will be willing to submit his pretensions to be weighed in the balance of reason. And if it shall be found, that the match shall bring with it either prejudice to the religion we now profess, and weaken in any sort the alliances his majesty holdeth, either with the states of the United Provinces, or the princes of the union, or the body of the religion in France, his majesty professeth, though with good-manners he cannot reject the treaty, yet he will forbear ever to conclude it. Within this compass you have free liberty to extend your discourse. As yet the business is but in imagination, and more cannot be spoken of it, than that by some few it is wished, by many more feared, and almost by all men (one or two in our court excepted, of credit and authority) extremely opposed.

A third point there is, wherein you desire some directions. With these you shall receive a letter to the count MAURICE, and withal the copy thereof. His majesty doth advise you to shew the count the copy of it, thereby to prove, whether he shall be willing to have such a letter sent from, or shall think, that that letter may advance the good of the public cause; and as by him you shall be directed, so are you either to deliver it, or suppress it: And withal you are to let him know, that his resolute and constant carriage in the maintenance and protection of the religion hath mightily improved his reputation in his majesty's both gracious and judicious opinion; so that *antea diligere, nunc raro amare videatur*. Here we say, that your broils about religion are, if not extinguished, yet pacified; which we all wish, which wish the prosperity of those countries, which I profess I do most unfeignedly.

I pray you, until you shall receive more ample direction, sound both the count MAURICE and mons. BARNEVELT, how and in what manner they purpose to carry themselves in the troubles of France; whether they will be *otiosi spectatores*, as the baron DU TOUR doth advise his majesty should be; or whether they will declare with force against the princes, as mons. DE LA NOÛE hath exhorted; or whether they will not take the middle course: to which his majesty doth seem to incline; that is, by entremise and intervention to endeavour to pacify and oppose these troubles, and by a friendly mediation to re-unite the princes to the king, and by good counsel and advice to persuade him rather to serve himself in the direction and conduct of his affairs with the princes of the blood, the peers and officers of the crown, and such other men, who long have been versed and practised in the managing of affairs, than by strangers and new upstarts, men unknown, and whose names were never heard of before they

were placed in the highest seat of authority and command. The Baron du TOUR is now going away. In sum this was his message, to justify the present government of that state, and to persuade the king, as before I have said, not to intermeddle in favour of the princes. In the first he hath nothing gained; for against the present government the king doth openly declare. As for the second, his majesty doth let him know, that being, as he is, persuaded, that the princes are willing to render all duty and service to the king, and that they aim at nothing but the good of the public, and at the welfare of that crown, he never can be wanting to do all good offices, that these troubles may be accommodated, the affairs of that crown better settled, and a good understanding fully confirmed between that king and his subjects. Mr. comptroller is the man, who at his return into France, which speedily will be, shall put in execution his majesty's purpose and design; which being so full of honour and justice, his majesty doth hope the states general will give order to their ambassador residing in France to hold the same language with him; and for the better countenance and maintenance of the cause, which is so just and honest (for *vis unita factior*) to accompany him, as occasion shall serve, in his audience, and to second him in his discourse.

The 25th of this month his majesty doth begin his journey towards Scotland. - So for this time I rest, &c.

March 11. O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by HERMAN the post.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Before I come to the answer of your honour's letter of the 1st of this present, which I received the 7th by this bearer, I will with your license acquit myself of what I promised in my last of that day's date, touching a packet of letters intercepted near Paris, which was sent hither by the duke of BOUILLON, to be communicated in secret to his private friends: the chief of which are from these French ambassadors DE LA NOÛE and DU MAURIER to the French king and queen regent, and the new secretary DE LUÇON: Others to them likewise from the extraordinary ambassador DE SCHOMBERG in Germany, and the resident PERICARD at Brussels; and some from the Spanish ambassador in the emperor's court to the duke de Monteleone at Paris, and the French agent there to monf. DE LUÇON. Those from hence, besides the relation of monf. DE LA NOÛE's public audience (whereof your honour hath the copies with my former dispatches) contain both the ambassador's private negotiations, wherein they give large assurances of the absolute adherence of the body of this state to the French king, styling the princes inscarn *les reformateurs*, towards whom they say *il n'y a veine qui tende*. From generalities they come to these particulars: That count MAURICE is a good patriot, chiefly inclined to the interest and preservation of this state, but well-affected likewise *au bien de la France*, and to the king's service: That the princess dowager of Orange hath *une telle passion* for the service of the king, that she deserves better payment of her pension, which hath been kept from her these two or three years: that count HENRY her son is that way so much devoted *envers & contre tous*, that he desires the command of the troops, if any be sent from hence to the king's assistance: that monf. BARNEVELT, *le premier homme d'icy*, *tient entierement pour la France autant que s'il estoit François*, and seeks to make the same impression in the rest of the states.

That his younger son in this respect deserves better payment of his pension (whereof there is two or three years arrearage) which would aid à *conserver la volonté du pere*: that in their demand of succours they have excepted generally against English and Scottish as suspect, and against half the French as those which have *quelque petit grain de reformation*; naming those in a list of whom they are best assured, amongst which are set down all the papists in those regiments. Young AERSENS (who was ambassador for this state in France) in both the ambassadors letters is much decried.

Du MAURIER, being confident of further assistance and of count HENRY as a commander, if it be demanded, adds his opinion, that if this course had been taken in the first troubles, it had disabused those of the religion in France, who stirred the rather upon persuasion, that this state was favourable unto them, *ce qui je sçai tres-bien* (saith he) *n'avoir jamais esté, & cela mesmes eust servy à rabattre les monopoles & menées, que l'ambassadeur d'Angleterre a conduites en faveur de ceux, qui deservoyent leurs majestés.* Wherein I conceive he glanceth at mr. comptroller; which is not to be marveled, since he spareth not monf. DE LA NOÛE, of whom being jealous lest he should supplant him in this employment during his absence, he doth not prevail himself of his leave to go into France, which he pretends now to forbear in regard of the king's service, being stayed before to observe the actions of the prince of Orange and his lady, whilst they were here at the Hague.

The rest of his letters are full of passion, and in one apart he doth particularly dedicate himself to the marshal D'ANCRE.

Those from monf. SCHOMBERG advertise his having been with the prince Palatine, the three electors of Mentz, Treves, and Colen, and the landgrave of Hessen; all which he is so confident that he hath left well edified of the French king's proceedings, though he found them otherwise disposed, that he saith to monf. LUÇON, *je vous assure, monf. que maintenant ceux qui m'ont oui, me croient.* To the duke of Saxe and other princes he goeth not, but negotiates with them by letters, having received order from the king, and 14,000 crowns in money to levy himself 1000 Lanquenets, and to give the count RHINEGRAVE a commission for 1200 Reyfters, which he promised to conduct to France by the way of Mentz in the beginning of spring.

Monf. PERICARD writes how much the principal men at Brussels are satisfied with the king's resolution of establishing his authority *par la force; leur conseil* (saith he) *ayant toujours esté de suivre ceste voye.* He gives large assurance of the readiness of *un formulaire d'hommes* to go from the archdukes countries to the king's service; amongst which he makes tender in particular of captain BLOUNT, an English reformed (little better indeed than a form) who offers a levy in short space of 1500 men.

The letters from the emperor's court of the 11th of February advertise, that the Spanish ambassador, the count OGNATE, had his first audience the day before, which was compliment only. That the count KEFNILLER, ambassador from the emperor into Spain, having one RECH, who is a counsellor aulic (as they call him) for an adjunct,



adjunct, was to set forward the Wednesday following, and to take his way by Bruffels and Paris, being to be present in Spain at the treaty of peace betwixt the archduke FERDINAND and the Venetians; which though the Spanish ministers say is like to proceed, they notwithstanding make levies of 2000 foot and 1000 horse for the reinforcing of the archdukes army. The rest of those letters are in cypher.

MONS. LANGERACK hath advertised the states from Paris, that the baron DU TOUR hath assured the French king by his letters, that his majesty will not interpose himself betwixt the king and princes, but leave them to GOD and their good fortune.

By this it appears, that these extraordinary ambassadors, LA NOÛE, SCHOMBERG, and DU TOUR, do both speak and write in the same stile, from which the residents do little differ. Since therefore the fire, which is now kindled in France by those, who serve as boutefeux about the king's person, is blown from all parts (as if it were by common consent by particular instruction) by the foreign ministers of that crown, his majesty may make the more certain judgment, seeing the poor young prince thus besieged, and all avenues stopt, whereby he might receive succour of good counsel and advice of the desperate resolutions, to which he is carried; and how that state is like to continue the course of violence; which hath made me think these particularities not unworthy the search and advertisement.

Now touching the point of your honour's letters to this purpose (since the receipt whereof I have spoken both with his excellency, mons. BARNEVELT, and others) I do not find the inclination of this state answerable on the one side to these ambassadors desires here, and advertisements into France, either in regard of the generality, or the particulars (the two pensioners only excepted); nor, on the other, to carry that hand, as is fit, in the present affairs of that kingdom; though they generally approve his majesty's princely resolution of interposing himself by way of friendly mediation betwixt the king and the princes; whereof they understood in their full assembly by sir NOEL CARON's last letters; they making a difference betwixt his majesty as an absolute and great monarch, and their state as a small republic, which must be dainty (as they say) in giving offences: and mons. BARNEVELT would seem to fear, that any distaste they should here give the king, and the queen regent, would make France conjoin itself with Spain and the pope to their utter ruin; which he said was the late prince of Orange's greatest apprehension, and that, which he counselled this state chiefly to avoid. The truth is, *qui beneficium accipit, libertatem vendit*; and the money, which they have had since the truce out of France, and the arrearage of a great part, which hath been furnished by this province of Holland to the value of a million and a half of florins, is as great a tie in proportion, to this state, as the king of Spain's debts are to Genoa. At least this consideration, joined to the words of the last contract, wherein they are bound in general terms to assist the French king in his wars, with 5000 men and certain ships paid by this state (though the article be subject to construction of the nature and condition of the war (doth serve as an argument to an usual advice with republics, *star a vedere*, and to take counsel of the events.

MONS. BARNEVELT told me, that sir NOEL CARON had promised from his majesty

jeſty to acquaint them with mr. comptroller's inſtructions, whereupon he ſaid they would adviſe. This cannot be otherwiſe received than as an argument of great confidence, and may make good effects *dum ægritudo eſt recens*; which may appear by one point of the French embaffadors laſt propoſition, wherein they deſired as well to ſtop the ſtates mouths, as to tie their hands from aſſiſting the princes: and the answer thereunto was once compoſed, that they would herein give full ſatisfaction; but upon better advice they changed the ſame, and retained (as I noted to your honour in my laſt) their liberty: by which it appears, that there is diſtraction betwixt the general judgment and the affection of ſome particulars; and even they (as I have obſerved) do *fluctuare* ſometimes upon this occaſion; ſo as this courſe may be to very good purpoſe: only this danger there is, that ſome here may value themſelves the more towards thoſe who have now the authority in France, in ſhewing what invitations they reſuſe in their contemplation.

I may not omit the judgment, which monſ. BARNEVELT made unto me in diſcourſe of thoſe who are now in place about the French king, that he thought the maſhal d'ANCRE Spaniſh, the ſecretary DE LUÇON Romiſh, and in MANGOT (whom he knew here with the duke of BOUILLON) he ſhewed no great ſatisfaction; which made him the more apprehend the danger of their joining the French-king with the king of Spain and the pope, upon any of the leaſt ſhew of conjunction betwixt his majeſty and other princes, in oppoſition to the French king's deſire; and therefore he wiſhed, that the two kings of Denmark and Swede were drawn into union with his majeſty and his other confederates; in which caſe they might ſpeak the more boldly. This laſt diſcourſe of his, I told him, was too long a work for this preſent buſineſs, which required expedition; and the right judgment he made of the diſpoſitions of thoſe about the French king ſhould be an incitement both ſpeedily and ſeriouſly to intend the preſervation of the princes and antient officers of the crown, whoſe counſels and courſes did run always even with the antient allies thereof; and that he might be well aſſured, that the diſaffection he noted in their enemies, as no friends to this ſtate, would be put in execution, when they had ſuppreſſed the princes; and that there would never be wanting pretence, where there was will and power. I added farther, that this conjunction, which we talkt of betwixt his majeſty and this ſtate, was a conjunction of counſels, not of force; and that being grounded upon good reaſon would merit thanks in place of giving offence, and could not but be of great authority, when his majeſty's miniſters and theirs hold not only the ſame language, but ſhould concur in the ſame office; whereas being ſeparate, they would be expoſed to the artifice of theſe new miniſters of that crown, which we ſee daily practiſed, both at home and abroad, of making falſe relations of what is ſaid and answered. Upon much diſcourſe to this ſubject I found he could well have ſaid, *video meliora proboque*; I hope the reſt will not follow.

He ſeemed very glad to receive the aſſurance, of which the ſtates were formerly advertiſed by ſir NOEL CARON, of his majeſty's being hitherto no ways engaged in the match with Spain, and of the care his majeſty hath of the intereſt of this ſtate and the reſt of his allies, which are of the ſame profeſſion in religion; and profeſſed, that the ſpeech, of that match, which was here ſo generally divulged, and had made ſome impreſſion, he believed was *un enfant de Bruffels*, but nourished at Paris.

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The change of resolution in sending commissioners to his majesty upon occasion of our merchants, which I put home to him as an argument of coldness in the wonted amity and alliance on their part betwixt his majesty's crowns and their provinces, and so taken by his majesty, he was very warm in excusing, laying the fault upon the delay of those of Zealand, who made not their answer until this last month of February, when it was too late for them to resolve to send commissioners well instructed, in regard of his majesty's journey into Scotland: but at his return, he saith, there will be no difficulty, in regard Holland and Zealand will defray the charge, which was the point the other provinces stood upon, in that they have interest in the occasion of the embassy.

In all these points I treated with his excellency, and received much satisfaction from him, though he could give me no encouragement of likelihood in this state to concur with his majesty; for in interposing themselves betwixt the king and the princes in France, he remembered, that in the former troubles the like being proposed here by sir HENRY WOTTON, was excused; and yet he said the affairs were since much changed, both here and in France; the pay of the French companies being no longer continued save in words and promise only, and the antient officers of that crown (with whom the chief persons here had then and still hold particular correspondence) being removed, so as there was now much more reason than before.

He desired to know, whether he might publish in their assemblies what I had communicated unto him touching the match with Spain, in conformity to your honour's letters, because he judged it necessary for his majesty's service; wherein I made no difficulty, but left it to his discretion, conceiving it to be written unto me to that effect.

In the delivery of the letters from his majesty to his excellency (which I received with your honour's last dispatch) I took that course which was prescribed me, shewing him first the copy thereof, and using some speech to assure him of his majesty's affection always, and now of as great increase as could possibly be added by the satisfaction he received in his wife, pious, and constant carriage of himself in these questions of religion. He expressed much contentment in finding his majesty so well satisfied in his proceedings; which he should continue (as he said) with much more assurance and alacrity, seeing the cause, wherein he was embarked, not only approved by his majesty's judgment, but supported by his authority: yet took he the liberty I gave him, not to receive the letter itself, because, it being a public business, he could not conceal it; and the divulging thereof, he doubted, would be prejudicial, both to the cause and himself, he being already calumniated in their open assembly of the states of Holland, as if he served himself of this cause to ambitious ends; and that he leaned to foreign princes; which he retorted as an accusation to be justly laid upon his accuser. He therefore would content himself for his own particular with the knowledge he hath of his majesty's mind; but to the end the same might be put to that use, which is requisite in this important occasion, and not remain unprofitable, he fell upon a point, which he had formerly moved unto me as a thing of singular advantage (in his judgment) to the re-establishing of religion and re-union of the state, the one of which he confesseth to be far grown into schism, the other into faction.

He



He thinks this assembly will part this week *re infecta* upon occasion of Easter, which is, according to this style, Sunday next; and that after the holidays they will meet again to put *ultima manus* to their business, which is come to that extremity, that it will suffer no longer delays. He therefore judgeth that to be the fit time, and all that is left for his majesty to shew himself again in this cause, which he wisheth to be done either by express letters, or message accompanied with particular letters of credence both to the states general and those of Holland, to this effect; that whereas here are already in this land two letters of his majesty upon these occasions, the one touching VORSTIUS, wherein he delivers his opinion of ARMINIUS and his erroneous doctrines; the other simply touching the point of predestination and the dependencies thereof, which those of the Arminian faction draw in consequence not only to the five points here controverted, but wrest the same to a farther toleration contrary to his majesty's meaning, as it may appear by GROTIUS's oration at Amsterdam, and all the other books of that faction, wherein they advantage themselves (as they do likewise in their assemblies) of this letter written only provisionally and in general terms; and suppress the mention or memory of the former, wherein his majesty did clearly express his mind, finding the diversity of opinions hereby increased, which proceeds to schism and faction, and cannot there stay without hazarding the eversion of the state, doth in friendly manner advise them not part from the antient doctrine expressed in the confession of Heidelberg, which is received and acknowledged by the unanime consent of all the reformed churches, nor suffer those to be oppressed, which are zealous in professing thereof, in whose contemplation and protection the amities betwixt his majesty's crowns and these provinces were framed, and which are chiefly tied by that bond of religion. But in case these speculations of VORSTIUS, ARMINIUS, and their sectaries, have taken such root in this state, that they cannot be removed without a determinate decision, which of them, either the old or these new opinions, are more agreeable to the word of God, that then his majesty adviseth them to refer the matter to the decision of a synod lawfully called; a course in such accidents put in practice at all times throughout the Christian world, and to resolve of the same with expedition, to prevent the dangers, which may come by delays.

To this purpose the deputies of Friesland and Groningen have order from the whole assembly of those provinces to treat with the states general, and after with those of Holland apart, as have likewise the deputies of Zealand from the council of that province; all which are referred to his excellency, to take the time he will appoint, which he defers until the like order from those of Guelderland and Overysse, who assemble this next week: so as it is to be imagined, that if his majesty's declaration concur at the same time, it will *porter coup*, and the more, if it be made not only with the states general, but with those of Holland in particular; for which mons. DU MAURIER's audience not long since in the assembly in the cause of PAUL RAVOYRE (whereof I advertised your honour) is a precedent; and the less it appears to be *recherché*, but to proceed of his majesty's own princely and religious motives, it will be of greater force.

I cannot without trembling set down the impious opinions, which they have here the boldness to publish in print: one comparing the reformed religion in a table to the Turkish alcoran; but the author is concealed; another, by name VENATOR, a minister

minister of Alcmæer having printed a book intituled *Theologia vera & mera*; which divinity he professeth to have been wanting in the world 1400 years; for which he was this week called to an account before certain committees appointed by the state, and a question put to him, for which his book gave occasion, whether he believed CHRIST was the son of God? Though he took not *diem ad deliberandum*, it was three hours before he would answer; and then seeing them ready to proceed to sentence against him, he confessed that point (as it seemed to his judges) rather out of fear than faith. He is banished by public sentence out of Alcmæer and four leagues circuit, and confined for his habitation to Gravesand, which holds proportion for his framing a new religion with the sentence against VORSTIUS for making a new God: but this is rather to transplant than extirpate heresies.

The greatest part of this assembly hitherto hath been spent in contention about a question of jurisdiction betwixt the high council with the provincial court and the council of Holland, which would take from those courts the knowledge of accidents, which occur upon this occasion; as one had happened within few days at Schonoven, where a house hath been razed by the remonstrants, of which disorder the magistrates themselves were ringleaders.

Other differences they have, touching the election of ministers, elders, and deacons, whether they should be chosen by the magistrates or the people: all which questions do much import the main cause, in that the council of Holland and the magistrates, for the most part of the whole province, are partial to the Arminians.

This ill event, besides many others, they have of these questions, that whilst they dispute these particular points of religion and government, they lay their imperfections open to the world, and make it appear they have no settled estate, either of church or commonwealth; but that their state hath been only supported by the hand of God; and therefore should they with more reason be zealous in that form of doctrine without change or alteration, the fruits whereof appear in their prosperity beyond man's discourse.

Your honour will pardon the trouble I have given you at this present; which proceeds of my desire to render his majesty a full and just account of the affairs of this state, now he is setting forward his long journey; which I beseech almighty God may be *felix & faustum* to his sacred person and kingdoms. So I humbly take leave, &c.

1617. March 31. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by GEORGE MARTEN the post.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Because France is like to be the stage of this next summer's tragedies, I hold it part of my duty to advertise how the ministers of that crown do cover *leurs personages* with this state; which I should have done sooner, if my health would have permitted.

The  $\frac{2}{3}$  of this present, both the embassadors had audience in the assembly of the states general upon letters received a week before by an expresse courier out of France. Monf. DE DA NOÛE began first, and as he is *bebes linguâ*, so he made use of that imperfection to have the matter seconded and urged by DU MAURIER, according as your honour will see by the copies of both their propositions, wherein they speak plain, requiring 5000 men for the king's assistance, by virtue of the late treaties, whereof half they desire to have French, the rest of this country, paid by the states, and commanded by one of their chiefs; for which charge they intimate count HENRY in public, and name him expressly in their private negotiations.

For the present they had only an answer in general terms; and it was a good space before any thing could be further resolved so much as to send the propositions to the provinces, in regard it was required by those of Holland, that the propositions should be sent accompanied with a letter of recommendation from the states general, to put the provinces in mind of their late treaties with France, and other circumstances of consideration to advance the business. But that was strongly opposed by others; so as in conclusion the matter being referred to his excellency and the council of state, whether the propositions should be sent so accompanied with a letter of recommendation, and a project of a letter conceived by monf. BARNEVELT tendered unto them; their advice was, such a letter might be sent; but in case the provinces in conformity thereunto should resolve to send the succour, which is required, into France, that then they must make a new levy of 8000 men to supply them: which advice of the council of state, with the project of the letter from those of Holland, was in the end sent to the provinces in company of the propositions, and a letter only from the states general to the provinces, to desire their answer within the space of a fortnight: which neither can well come so soon, nor when it comes, is thought will be to the contentment of the embassadors.

Monf. LANGERACK, embassador for this state in France, hath written to his masters very earnestly in conformity to these embassadors propositions; adding from himself, that though 5000 men be demanded, he thinks the king will be satisfied with 4000, and conditionally that these men may be presently sent and paid under a good commander. The king's council have assured him, that those French troops shall be always continued in the service of these provinces, and well and truly paid by the French king; but that the king will take a refusal or excuse as an infraction and rupture of alliance; and in that case account himself from henceforward disobliged from suffering the French to remain here any longer, or assisting this state in their necessities.

Mean while that this negotiation is thus carried in public for the king, the princes do receive very important succours from their private friends, the heer VAN OYE (of whom I formerly advertised your honour) being set forward now ten days since with 1500 horse. Most of them, old soldiers, under those commanders, of whom I send your honour a list, take their way through Westphalia, Munsterland, and so through the skirts of Germany, as well to avoid the encountering with the archdukes troops through his provinces, as to put money in their purses by so long a road through a rich and open country: and for their more assured passage, they have 300 musketeers  
upon



upon bidets (whom they term here dragoons) to attend them. It will be yet 15 days before they can arrive at Sedan, where they intend first to render themselves.

I have received a letter from the duke of BOÜILLON, the copy whereof I send your honour, as desirous to give account of all that comes to my hands, though otherwise it contains not much of importance.

Your honour shall likewise receive herewith the copy of a letter from the duke of Savoy to the senator MONTOVE, wherewith he hath acquainted the states; and it is sent in company of his proposition to the provinces to prepare their answer against his return out of Germany.

The king of Swede's embassador hath obtained license for a levy of 1200 foot in the confines of these provinces, and 300 marines, where he can find them. He hath demanded an assistance of shipping, wherein he hath no answer.

The Hans towns have desired of the states certain commanders, which are experienced in the military discipline of this country, upon jealousy of the king of Denmark's preparation both by sea and land, which the common voice saith is designed against them; and the poets sing the same song, as your honour will see by one of their writings. But the advertisements, they have here, do not speak of force sufficient for such an enterprize, though it be more than is needful for a time of peace; the king having put 40 companies only of hundreds into clothes and arms, and rigged as many ships as he hath serviceable, but not furnished them with marines.

Here is a man of war newly come out of the Streights, the captain whereof hath been with the states, and reports, that the Spanish fleet, which attended the coming of the count JOHN's troops for Venice, partly for want of victuals, and partly in opinion, upon their long stay, that their voyage was broken, was retired and separated into several ports; and the land-soldiers dispersed into garrisons; and that within a day's sail he met with the Holland fleet, which had a fair wind for their passage without impediment. This man of war was expressly employed to carry a consul from the merchants of this state to Algier, to make a contract with the pirates of that place and Tunis, not to touch any of the merchant ships of these provinces, which they have consented unto conditionally, that they will strike sail to the pirates, and suffer themselves to be searcht for Spanish goods, which they will only take as good prize.

I have spoken with monf. BARNEVELT at large in conformity to your honour's letters of the 14th of this present, touching the reducing the matter of tare to the same terms as it was at the time of the dissolution of the old company of our merchants, from which I find him not averse. But he desires time to acquaint the province withall now at their next assembly, as a business which concerns their several towns, when he will make answer to your honour's letters; and I will not fail in the mean time of my best endeavours to dispose others to that course, which may give our merchants contentment.

The questions of religion rest at a stay; only they make appear both in this town  
Q 2 and

and other places by many demonstrations, that they expect this next assembly of the states of Holland (which is to begin on Wednesday next) and the issue thereof with much impatience.

I do attend with great devotion his majesty's pleasure upon this occasion, in answer to my last to your honour by HERMAN the post of the 11th of this present. So I humbly take leave, &c.

*April 17.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from York.

My lord embassador,

There hath been information given to his majesty, and from some good place, as it seemeth, that MOY LAMBERT, a commander of ships for the states, hath of late made a composition with the Turkish pirates, who do so much infest the coast of Spain and Afric and the Mediterranean seas, for the quiet passage of the ships of these provinces; and that he hath given to them for consideration a great quantity of powder; a matter, which his majesty doth both find strange, and take in ill part, if it prove true; find strange, that they should arm not only the enemies of Christendom, but of human society, and enable them to do mischief: take ill, because at this time his majesty heard, which they do know \*\*\* how to draw a concurrency between all princes, who are interested in the navigation of those seas, for the suppressing of them, and hath a consultation here in hand at London with all his sea-captains, what is meet to be done in that case, and with the companies of London for contribution; and farther given instruction to sir JOHN DIGBY going into Spain to deal with that king for contribution towards it, and for use of his ports for retreat: for these reasons his majesty can hardly believe, that there is any such thing done by them, yet hath commanded me to write privately to your lordship, and to require you, that if the thing be done by any public warrant, which you may take knowledge of, then to send him word thereof: if it be done secretly and by underhand means, to inquire of it, and to inform him privately, and then your lordship shall receive farther direction. If you do not find it a matter so known there, as that you may take notice of it, his majesty would have you carry your inquisition as privately as you may.

We are thus far onward of our Nothern journey, and are yet, God be thanked, all in health, but meet with foul ways and cold weather; and this place yieldeth no other novelty; for of other things you will hear sooner from London than from hence. So I commend your lordship to God's protection, &c.

*April 17.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by captain PROUDE.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

With your honour's of the first of this present (which came to my hands by mr. HAYMAN the 9th) I received his majesty's letter to the states general touching their present controversies about religion; and the day following did impart to his excellency the copy thereof, wherewith he seemed to be very much satisfied; as likewise with the reasons which did cause his majesty to forbear writing to the states of Holland in particular, and wished me to obtain audience with the soonest, to the end the fruit

fruit of his majesty's good advice and counsel might be reaped before the adverse party were too forward in their harvest, which they labour very earnestly to make in this present assembly.

I did accordingly procure my audience yesterday, but his majesty's letters being so ample and effectual, omitting nothing which may any way concern either the disease, with which we are here too much afflicted, or the proper and accustomed remedies, and containing no words of reference to what should be farther added, I thought not convenient to use much discourse; only for form's sake, both before and after the reading of the letter, somewhat I said to the same effect by way of inducement and conclusion, which I thought not needful to present in writing: and for the present an answer was made me by mons. BARNEVELT, in few but very respectful words to his majesty, referring me to what should be farther deliberated, both there in their general assembly, and likewise in their particular provinces, for the accomplishment of his majesty's counsel and advice, whereof in due time he promised they would give his majesty a good account.

I am well informed, that presently after my departure out of the assembly, he moved the states, that no copies should be published of the letter, save only one sent to every province; and that their clerks should have express order to this purpose; which was accordingly resolved: but this restraint serves only to make it hearkned after with more earnestness; the substance thereof being exceedingly to the satisfaction of the better party, though hitherto they have it only by report, and the temper and moderation, with which it is composed, much approved by all; so as it arriving (as it doth) in a very happy conjuncture, I hope it will work those effects, which shall be answerable to his majesty's princely and pious intention.

There is at this present a difference broken out betwixt the magistrates and people of Harlem, where a minister of the remonstrants side having changed his party, hath this last week made a solemn recantation in the pulpit, as if he had been reclaimed from some notable error, and hath discovered much practice, which is used in gaining of persons to that faction. But their main question is touching their classical assemblies, which the people require to hold with the wonted liberty; but the magistrates will permit no meetings without their knowledge and presence. Both parties having made their complaints two days since in the assembly of Holland by their deputies, those from the magistrates (which came first) were presently sent back with letters to use force, if need were, and constrain the people; which the others understanding, went in all diligence back of themselves with a resolution *vim vi repellere*, so as it is doubted we shall hear of some uproar in that town. The like is expected to succeed in Leyden, Delft, and other chief towns, this being a common cause; so as the disease being grown to such ripeness, the remedy can be no longer deferred; and both parties in their assembly seeing the imminent danger seem to incline to a synod; which makes his majesty's letter much the more seasonable.

They have a project of naming eight temporal persons, and eight ecclesiastical, to prepare matters for a synod; but the difference about the choice of the persons,  
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and the subject they should handle, with other circumstances, makes as much difficulty in the form as the matter. Yet it is thought they would conclude of this course, if they could agree of some provisional order of the interim.

The French ambassadors demanded audience the 15th of this present in the assembly of the states of Holland, where both of them spake to the like effect touching the succours demanded for the king their master against the princes, as your honour hath understood by their propositions to the states general, which went with my last of the 31st of March. And though this course be very unusual, and much disliked by the rest of the provinces, yet the French have their saying, *qui a le profit de la guerre, a l'honneur*; and thus much they have gained, that Holland (though with some opposition) hath resolved in general to send the French king succours, referring the quality thereof, in respect of the number, nation, pay, and commander, to their deputies with the states general.

Your honour, that knows the nature of this government, will soon imagine what advantage this is to them, though the rest of the provinces have no inclination to this course, and half of them (I am well informed, for six only were present) have expressly order against consenting to more than suffering the French to go, in case the king persist to require them. But mons. BARNEVELT's passion in this cause, and diligence is great, urging the accomplishment of their treaties, and the avoiding the reproach of failing of word and promise. And he is said to have put the ambassadors in this way of treating with Holland apart, whereby to hasten the resolution. His excellency hath opposed it all he may, judging it fittest for this state to continue a neutrality, which the right interpretation of their treaties may very well bear. But all he and others of his mind can effect, will be to gain time, which they hope may so change the state of affairs, that this succour may yet be excused; for which they will have subject, if either those of the religion declare themselves in favour of the princes, as mons. LANGERACK, by his last letters of the 9th of this present from Paris, doth advertise, out of the baron DE VIGNOLL's report there newly arrived from Rochelle, that they undoubtedly would, if that the king do serve himself of the Spanish forces, which are levied in the archdukes countries for Italy, which they write from Brussels, are expressly stayed in Luxemburg for that purpose: And these French ambassadors say openly, that unless the king be speedily succoured from hence, he will not refuse that assistance, which is offered him by the Spaniard.

According to the success of this deliberation I will govern myself in that which is his majesty's pleasure, touching the moving the states to a strict intelligence betwixt his majesty's ambassador and theirs at Paris, and concurrence in the same office for the peace and quiet of that kingdom: To which purpose, I have already treated with mons. BARNEVELT in private, who continues very umbrageous; as likewise with others of the states, who seem more inclinable.

I have spoken with mons. BARNEVELT, and his excellency likewise, touching the order his majesty hath given to certain of the lords to consult and determine of some course to suppress the pirates, which molest the trade of the Levant; and his expectation, that the states should join both their advice and strength to his in so necessary a service: which

which they both seemed well nighly to embrace, notwithstanding that the merchants of these provinces have lately made a contract with the pirates of Algier and Tunis (according as I advertised your honour in my last) but they easily apprehend how little they can rely thereupon, since when the question was put to the pirates in the conclusion of the treaty, whether they would unfeignedly keep their word and promise or not, they answered in plain terms, they would not, because (said they) if we should keep our faith, we should be suspected by the Turks for Christians. I believe in this point his majesty will receive full satisfaction of this state, so as he will be pleased to make known unto them his resolution before they take theirs; which is usually in the month of May, for their sea-expeditions of the whole year. The report of those captains, which have been this last year abroad upon this service is, that for the whole year (the four months of winter only excepted, which in those parts is all they allow to that season) it is no hard matter to block up the pirates two principal havens of Tunis and Algier, by lying at anchor continually before them in that manner, as during the war with Spain they were wont to do before Dunkirk; and this they esteem the best course. I send your honour a translated copy of the instructions of the states men of war, which go upon this service, with the list of those they had abroad this last year.

The states of Holland have been moved by mons. BARNEVELT this last week upon your honour's letter; and that which I treated with him in our merchants affairs touching tare, wherein they desire the merchants would depute some of their number hither to treat with theirs; and accordingly the states general have written to Middleburg.

I am informed by SKELTON of Rotterdam, that one JOHN MARSHALL, an English merchant at Berwick, doth usually transport wool and yarn from that place; and that ten days since there arrived in that town from him in a ship (whereof one DANIEL DE WILDE was master, and whose chief lading was coals) 2400 fells, and 1000 dozen of yarn, which they call smallaffe yarn. Your honour in former letters desired to have advertisement of what came to my knowledge in this kind, which makes me not forgetful thereof, seeing the occasion still continues.

I received a letter lately from the right honourable the lords of the council in favour of mr. BOOTHBY, a merchant of London, of which I will give their lordships an account in due time; and mean while not fail of my best endeavours in what their lordships do command.

The letter from his majesty to the duke of Brunswick, which came in your honour's last packet without farther direction, I conceive, requires no more of me than conveyance, which I will not fail to give with the first commodity.

If his majesty's letter to the states find not way to press otherwise, and that speedily, I will take such order, as to send your honour some printed copies by my next.

MONS. BARNEVELT hath obtained the government of Bergen-op-zoom for his younger son, the captain of horse, by resignation of MARCELLUS BAX, who is either dead, or *in articulo mortis*.

Thus for this present I humbly take leave, &c.

April

*April 17.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: sent to Quester.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

By a dispatch of the 13th present (which I sent by captain PROUDE) I advertised your honour what progress the French ambassadors had made in their demand of succour for the French king against the princes, by having obtained the consent of those of Holland. The 14th they had audience again in the assembly of the states general, where they gave a peremptory summons to have a categorical answer to their demand within the space of two days; or else they would take any longer delay for a denial, and advertise the king their master, that he should no longer trust to the alliance of this state, in that they did infringe the treaties. This office was past in a time, when of those deputies, which, I advertised your honour, were then here present, one, who was known to have a negative voice, was casually retired, so as yesterday by plurality of voices the succour was granted to be sent with all convenient diligence, which shall consist of 20 French companies and 20 of this nation, and Walloons, to be paid by the states. The chief commander is not yet named. Count HENRY is still required by the ambassadors, and, in case he fail, count ERNEST. Count JOHN NASSAU, being here at this present with commission out of France to raise a troop of horse, sues for this employment; but it is thought it will light on MARQUET, the lieutenant general of the horse, though he be neither a suitor nor sued for. This resolution of the state, which drives them out of their neutrality, contrary to the minds of most amongst them, but those, who, as it appears by all effects, are less powerful, is of that consequence, that I thought it worth your honour's knowledge. And this serving to no other effect, I humbly take leave, &c.

*April 27.* O.S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by HERMAN the post.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

This packet addressed to your honour from the duke of BOÜILLON, which is earnestly recommended to my safe and speedy conveyance, as containing letters to his majesty, is the chief cause of this dispatch, here being little other subject since the news of the death of marshal D'ANCRE, all being in state, as if after a tempest they had here cast anchor in a safe port.

Here was much distraction touching the succours, which were earnestly pressed by the French ambassadors, and in the end obtained after that manner, as I advertised your honour by my two last of the 13th and 17th of this present; wherein both parties do now much glorify themselves; those, which favoured the sending of the succours, as having shewed a readiness in assisting the king; and those, which were opposite, as having distinguished the interests of the king from those of the marshal D'ANCRE and his creatures. And now to value the endeavours and counsels of the former, a proposition hath been made in the assembly of the states general, at the instance of the ambassador, to frame an account of consenting to the succours in conformity to the last treaties betwixt France and this state, and to antedate the same; which was over-ruled by the opposite party, and order given to their ambassador mons. DE LANGERACK to govern himself with reservedness in acquainting the king's council with the resolution, which



was taken concerning the succours, and to forbear the same, unless he were thereunto urged.

By the same messenger, who brought the news of this change in France (arriving here the Friday after the accident, which happened on Monday the same week) the succours were suspended by a particular letter from monf. VILLEROY to monf. DU MAURIER, which came with the king's letters of declaration of the fact; but by others from monf. DE LANGERACK, were absolutely licensed, with order, as received from the king's council, to recall them, in case they were upon the way. Since that dispatch, there is no news farther out of France, which is much marvelled at.

The messenger, who brought me the packet, which goeth herewith, from the duke of Bouillon, was presently returned back with letters from his excellency and the duke's other friends, accompanied with a trumpet for more safety, they advising to hasten the princes to court, lest the queen should recover her authority in their absence, or the Spanish ministers make some ill impressions on the young king's mind, though for himself they wish him to proceed with good circumspection.

Your honour will receive herewith certain copies of his majesty's letter, which I was forced to have printed at Delft, whereby to correct a false copy, which was first printed by some unknown means, and publicly sold at Amsterdam, with a translation thereof in Dutch; which runs through the whole country, and works many visible good effects, settling some, which were wavering, and confirming others in that sort, that the better cause is thereby very much advantaged.

Here are certain deputies expressly sent from Zealand (whereof monf. MALRE is one) to treat not only with the states general, but particularly likewise with those of Holland, concerning those differences of religion, which they have charge to speak plainly and openly in, as a matter of dangerous consequence to the welfare of the whole state, and to recommend for remedy thereof the course, which is counselled by his majesty, of a national synod. The like will be performed by the deputies of Zealand, Gueiderland, Friesland, Groningen, and Overijssel, and is now only suspended by reason of a recess in the assembly of the states of Holland, who parted on Saturday last under pretence of their private affairs, and meet again on Monday next.

The town of Harlem hath by common consent surceased the question betwixt the magistrates and the burghers, until they see what will be concluded in this assembly; but, in Oudewater, an accident hath lately happened, which your honour will see related in a letter accompanied with a translated copy from one of our captains there in garrison; which shews how the people lose patience by these delays. There are gone from the deputed council of Holland two commissioners and a fiscal to that town to take information of the fact. Here in the Hague the church of the cloister of Woorhoofe (where the artillery was usually made) is putting in readiness for commodity of preaching, which keeps the contra-remonstrants in devotion, hoping the intent is, they shall be there accommodated better than in our small chapel, which is not capable of their number, though as yet there is no certain resolution taken how the same shall be disposed of.

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We have had here the count LEVISTEIN in person to seek commodity for his levy and shipping for the service of the Venetians; but all he can here obtain is that, which was formerly granted, to hire ships at Amsterdam, which shall take in his men at Embden, whither he is now gone, having written to his friends in Germany to send down his men, which will be 3000 in number, at the rate of 18 crowns a man; whereof he is to receive half here, and the rest at their landing at Venice; and for this money he is to discharge the freight, victualling of the ships, and all other expences.

By letters of the  $\frac{2}{19}$  of this present from Heilbron, the place where the princes of the Union are assembled, it appears their resolutions are only for the defensive; and that the instance of the senator DE MONTOU for assistance of the duke of Savoy will be only answered with good words, which this state doth not willingly hear of, they being desirous to continue the wars on the other side of the mountains: and to this effect are very well disposed to give means and encouragement to the heer VAN OYEN with his troops, who is gone to the assistance of the princes to employ themselves in that service. But the backwardness of the princes of Germany, who by reason of neighbourhood are more interested, is like to overturn this purpose.

The states, besides a permission for a levy of a regiment of foot here in their frontiers, and a certain number of mariners for the king of Swede, do furnish him with five ships against the king of Poland, under pretence of securing the trade of those seas.

Here are now arrived the deputy and treasurer of our merchants at Middleburgh at their day appointed by the states to treat with the merchants of Holland, concerning the taring their cloths; the success whereof I will advertise your honour with the first; and mean time humbly take leave, &c.

*March 20.* King JAMES I. to the STATES GENERAL: dated at Hinchbrook.

Hauts & puissants seigneurs nos bons amis & alliez: Lorsque premierement nous recogneusmes le malheur des Schismes & Heresies, qui se glissoient parmy vous, nous fusmes tellement touchés du Zele, que nous avons à l'Eglise de DIEU, & de l'affection particuliere, que nous portons au bien de vostre estat; qu'incontinent nous tendismes la main pour arrester le cours de ce mal, & par nos lettres officieuses vous fismes serieusement entendre, quel estoit nostre sentiment & apprehension d'icelui, vous prians & exhortans d'adviser soigneusement à ne laisser gagner plus avant ceste gangrene en vostre corps, mais plustost d'en estouffer la semence, avant qu'elle vint à pulluler. Et depuis ayans sçeu, qu'aucuns de vos ministres s'adonnaient par curiosité à prescher le point de la predestination en leurs chaires, nous vous escrivismes des secondes lettres sur ce subject, vous remonstrans le peu de fruit, qui provenoit de telles predications, lesquelles, au lieu de l'edification solide, qu'elles devoient administrer à vostre peuple, ne servoyent qu'à chatoüiller & alterer leurs esprits par les puntilles de cest argument trop haut & obscur pour la capacité du commun peuple. Mais depuis n'agueres ayants esté advertis, qu'au lieu du fruit, que nous attendions de nos bons offices & remontrances, l'erreur & le mal a faict de plus forte impression parmy les vostres, & que



que mesmes on veut faire servir nos dites lettres à l'autoriser, les tirant en sens & conséquence toute contraire à nostre intention; nous nous sommes tenus obligez tant pour la gloire de DIEU, que pour la declaration & descharge de nostre conscience, de vous représenter derechef vivement par nos lettres le mal & danger imminent, dont vostre estat est menacé par ces malheureuses divisions, lesquelles nous voyons prestes à esclorre en schisme & faction formée parmi vous; qui sont pestes d'autant plus dangereuses & pernicieuses à vostre estat, que son establissement n'est encore qu'en son enfance, & que le fondement de la subsistence ne consiste qu'en vostre union, premièrement envers DIEU, puis au foy entre vous mesmes. C'est pourquoy, messieurs, nous vous prions & conjurons derechef au nom de DIEU, qui vous a jusques icy heureusement maintenuz, de s'estouffir ces erreurs & partialitez, que le diable par l'artifice de vos ennemis a introduites, & deja tellement autorisés parmy vous, que la ruïne de vostre estat en est apparente & tout prochaine, si promptement vous n'y remediez, en vous attachant entierement, & tenant ferme la vraye & ancienne doctrine, que vous avez toujours professée, & qui est approuvée & receüe par le consentement universel de toutes les eglises reformées, & dont la profession commune à esté comme le premier & principal fondement pour establir aussy l'unique & solide ciment, qui a entretenu l'estroicte amitié & intelligence, qui a regné depuis si long temps entre nos couronnes & vos provinces. Que si desja le mal trouvoit si fort & si enraciné parmy vostre peuple, qu'il n'en peut être si promptement & facilement arraché, nous vous prions au moins d'en arrester le danger, & detenir par vostre autorité les choses en paix, sans permettre, que ceux de la vraye & ancienne profession soyent inquietez jusqu'à ce que vous puissiez d'un commun advis convoquer un synode national pour decider & mettre fin à ces malheureux differents, qui est, à nostre jugement, le meilleur conseil & resolution, que vous puissiez prendre en ce cas la, comme estant le remede ordinaire & le moyen le plus legitime & efficaceux, auquel de tout temps on a eu recours en la Chrétienté sur l'occurrence de tels accidents. Et nous ne doubtons pas, qu'apportants en cela l'affection & disposition requise entre vous, DIEU n'en bénisse le succes à l'avancement de sa gloire, & à la manutention & affermissement de vostre estat. Ainsy nous prions DIEU, H. & P. Signeurs nos bons amys & alliez, de vous tenir en sa sainte garde.

A Hinchinbrook le zome jour  
de Mars, 1617.

*April 1. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall: received the 9th, by mr. HEYMAN.*

My lord,

I send you now his majesty's letters to the states general, which, by the copy, which herewith you shall receive, you will find to be by his majesty's direction written both with judgment and moderation. If they arrive in a seasonable conjuncture, I hope they will produce the effects, which we wish, for the establishment of a general repose in the cause of religion to the contentment of all parties, who either desire the conservation of those provinces, or factiously do not affect, to their private ends, a shameful confusion to fall upon those countries. Whatsoever issue they shall have, the most malicious must confess, that his majesty in the clearness of his conscience in publishing these letters doth testify to the world his zeal and piety to up-



hold and maintain the truth of religion, and his impartial and unfeigned affection to preserve those countries in peace and union: And unless that union be preserved, as well in unanimity of religion as in civil polity, that state, how powerful soever they hold those provinces to be in martial strength by sea or land, I dare with confidence speak, to the grief of their friends, and the glory of their adversaries, will soon be dissolved.

His majesty did hold it improper, particularly to write to the states of Holland; for the cause is general, and concerns the state of this whole body, and no provinces apart. With the United Provinces his majesty is confederate, and with no several provinces; and to treat severally with the states of Holland, were to lay an imputation upon them, as the authors and fautors of this schism and faction; and would breed a jealousy and distrust in the rest, as though Holland were overvalued, or they too basely disesteemed. You may, if you think it convenient, impart to the count MAURICE the copy of this letter, before you present it to the general assembly. You will be careful in the speech you use, to contain yourself within the compass and precincts of this letter; for his majesty hath no purpose further to engage himself than by fair inductions to settle peace and concord amongst them, and, as much as in himself shall lie, to preserve the purity of religion without spot or blemish.

I make no doubt, but the letter will no sooner be published in the assembly, but presently it will come forth in print; whereof I desire to receive some copies from you. Perhaps some, envious of the honour of his majesty, or ambitious still to fish in troubled waters, which they fear the air of this letter may calm and pacify, will take some course to smother and suppress it. But if you find the count MAURICE, and the better party, to approve it, you need not make dainty yourself to print it.

I have acquainted his majesty with the relation you have made to the count MAURICE, and others of the states, concerning the treaty of marriage between our prince and the daughter of Spain; and conformable to those directions which you received from me to that purpose, his majesty's language hath been to sir NOEL CARON; and therefore the states are not to take any alarm, if they shall understand, that sir JOHN DIGBY shall be sent into Spain with commission to treat of that marriage. For how large soever his commission may be, according to the usual forms accustomed in like cases, yet is he so limited by his private and particular instructions, that only he hath liberty to treat, but no power to conclude.

Sir JOHN BENNET, judge of the Prerogative court, is dispatched to the archdukes, to demand reparation of his majesty's honour, which shamefully is wronged by a most infamous libel, intitled, *Isaaci Casauboni corona regia*. If he may find reason for such an unsufferable injury, his majesty and the archdukes will remain good friends: But if PUTEANUS, professor of humanity at Louvain, the undoubted author of this scandalous pasquil, shall not be punished, and that exemplarily, sir JOHN BENNET hath order presently to return, and to bring mr. TRUMBULL along with him.

Sir THOMAS EDMONDES hath taken his leave of the king; yet because we desire to be better informed of the state of the princes before his departure, he doth for a while linger in this town.

His

His majesty doth require you to take all occasions, both private and public, to induce that state, that their minister residing in France might hold good correspondence with his majesty's ambassador; and that they would authorise him to run with him in the self-same course, for the maintenance and support of that monarchy, which now is governed partly by the authority of Rome, and partly by the council and advice of Spain. And you may let monf. BARNEVELT know, that his majesty doth expect this at their hands, both out of respect and out of reason of state, that their ministers abroad should have reference to his ambassadors; and that since his crowns and their provinces are confederated together in those strait bands of amity and alliance, which have the self-same end for the maintenance of the public repose, they should advise, consult, and resolve together, what is most expedient both for the private good of their several masters, and for the public good of all Christendom. But if the ministers of those provinces, either by direction of their superiors, or out of a self-conceited wilfulness, will stand single alone, and take their courses apart, they then must give his majesty leave to provide for his own particular without regard of the welfare of those provinces; which hitherto in all his proceedings he ever hath had in an especial recommendation.

You shall know, that some few days before his majesty's departure from this town, the merchants trading into the Levant presented unto him an humble petition, complaining of the irreparable losses received by the pirates, and craved aid and assistance from him to protect them against the violence of these miscreants. His majesty by word of mouth recommended the consideration of this petition to the lords in general; and since by letters to the particular care of those lords, to whom he hath committed the carriage of his affairs till his return out of Scotland. The matter is of importance both for honour and for charge; and therefore will ask time before the lords can settle their resolution: In the mean time his majesty's pleasure is, that you should confer with the count MAURICE, and with monf. BARNEVELT, and with whom else you shall think convenient, and acquaint them with this design, intimating unto them, that his majesty doth expect, that they should join with him in an enterprise so honourable, and so necessary for the benefit, as of his crowns, so of their provinces; whereof sir NOEL CARON here hath given full assurance: Yet by your next let me understand how you find them affected in this business. And so I rest, &c.

P. S. I have received the watch by sir WILLIAM PAGHNAM, for which the queen will thank you. I have given order for the payment of 15*l.* to mr. SHERBORNE. If you have disbursed more, I will see it discharged.

*March 20.* LORDS of the COUNCIL to the STATES GENERAL in favour of mr. BOOTHBY: dated from Whitehall.

*March 16.* LORDS of the COUNCIL to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from the court at THEOBALDS.

In favour of mr. THOMAS BOOTHBY, an honest and well-deserving merchant of London, in his complaint against one MOY LAMBERT, a captain of the states ships, who, by colour of a licence given by his majesty unto his superiors for prosecuting pirates

pirates into any roads or harbours of his majesty's dominions, had most insolently assaulted not only a pirate within Crook-haven in Ireland, whom his majesty had received long before into his protection, but also committed many outrages upon others his majesty's good subjects in that place, as well upon the land as on the water, killing some, and maiming others: Among which number the said BOOTHBY having a factor employed thither by his master, and by leave from the state here, for recovery of a certain ship and goods taken from him by the pirate afore-mentioned, he was blown up with powder, escaping hardly with his life, which only he saved, leaving both his ship and goods to the spoil of the said LAMBERT.

*May  $\frac{1}{2}$  5.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE: by captain WITCHARD: by way of Rotterdam.

Promises his endeavours to enjoin FAIRFAX.

A Dutch ship, *Moy LAMBERT*, makes a contract with the Turkish pirates to let the ships of the states pass without molestation, and that by public authority.

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON cannot learn, whether, in consideration thereof, he should furnish them with gun-powder.

' The merchants of this country make it a common practice, or rather a set trade, to furnish them with all they want, though thereby they make a rod to beat themselves. And it is impossible to prevent this inconvenience, they having a common phrase in their language, that if money be stirring in hell, they will not fear to fetch it: And the proof thereof they shewed in the siege of Ostend, where the merchants of Amsterdam did furnish the Spaniards with a great part of their munition.'

The Dutch, notwithstanding, glad of the news of king JAMES's purpose to send out ships for the suppression of the pirates; and the chief of them will be ready to concur with his majesty. The states now furnish out six men of war for the assistance of the king of Sweden against the king of Poland, as well to acquit themselves of an obligation of treaty, as to preserve those seas from molestation, where they are jealous the king of Spain doth serve himself of the king of Poland as an instrument to interrupt their trade, which is the seal of their commonwealth.

' The duke of Savoy's agent, the senator DE MONTOU, having been formerly here, and since made a journey to the princes of the Union into Germany, is now returned to receive answer of his proposition, which he left with the states in writing, and is in effect, either to have 400 foot and 400 horse, or money in proportion to pay so many forces, which he expects now upon the dissolving of the two French armies, with a greater supply from the marshal LESDIGUIERES: All the provinces have given their deputies power; and they have a general inclination to assist the duke; so as when their distractions about religion, which are now at their height, will suffer them to meet and take this matter into deliberation, I believe he will have some contentment; though the princes of the Union, (who, by reason of neighbourhood, and other considerations, are more interested in the duke's preservation) have



‘ have not led the way by any good example, save only by expressing their desire of  
 ‘ a common concurrence betwixt his majesty, this state, and themselves, to give the  
 ‘ duke some important succour, by which he might be well sustained. But this will  
 ‘ be long in treaty, and prove no better than *succorso di Pisa*.

‘ There is a treaty in hand to send the baron D’OYEN, who went with 2000 horse  
 ‘ out of these parts to the assistance of the princes, into Piedmont, they being within  
 ‘ fifteen days march, and are entertained as yet for this purpose betwixt Mets in Lor-  
 ‘ rain and Sedan. If this succeed, it will fall out as seasonable for the duke, as ne-  
 ‘ cessary, he being to expect his enemies in the field in the beginning of the next  
 ‘ month, at which time, though their number be much diminished this last winter,  
 ‘ they will be, by the supplies of Spain, Naples, and the archdukes provinces, 25000  
 ‘ foot, and 4000 horse.

‘ Sir JOHN BENNET is, as I hear, much delayed in his business, by reason of the  
 ‘ archduke’s excuses; sometimes upon devotion, otherwhile upon indisposition.

‘ Within few days I shall give his majesty account of the success of our disputes  
 ‘ here; about which the states of Holland are now assembled, and the provinces of  
 ‘ Guelderland, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen, have this last week treated with  
 ‘ them by express deputies to the like effect as his majesty’s late letter. But whether  
 ‘ these good and religious offices for peace and quiet in the church will sort that effect  
 ‘ as is wished, I cannot say; so much are men here, even those who have the most  
 ‘ reputation of wisdom, transported by their passions. But *creat successibus* he, that  
 ‘ measures actions by the event.’

May. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: written in the king’s journey,  
 and received May 25.

S I R,

About two days before I received yours touching the company of sir THOMAS  
 ERSKINE, I had written to you by his majesty’s commandment, and delivered the  
 same to sir WILLIAM FAIRFAX, son of sir THOMAS FAIRFAX of Yorkshire, by whom  
 I had written in his own favour at the suit of his father, as you will perceive by the  
 letters. He told me he would not stay, but go with all expedition over. This I con-  
 vey from hence to mr. SHERBORNE to be sent to you, and is only to advertise you of  
 the receipt of yours, and that I have acquainted his majesty with it, who is pleased,  
 that you have prevailed in that business. My lord FENTON’s letters I was fain to send  
 back to him to London, for he was not come out when I received yours; but is now,  
 I hear, upon the way.

I am sorry to hear of your divisions, though my last was merrily written; for I  
 doubt their grounds of religion do not easily slip out of mens hearts, and we must here  
 be partial of that side, which defendeth the power of the temporal sword in ecclesiasti-  
 cal causes, which I conceive to be the main ground, why that cause hath countenance;  
 for if we do not so, we prejudice our own course, and if we do, *periculum est ab alterâ*  
*parte*. I hope your assembly hath put some temper to it.

The busines of France goeth yet ill with the princes; and your succours, I fear, will come too late. The duke of \*\* beginneth to hearken to treaty, which is not a good sign. We are a little troubled, that, since they entered into this last action, we never heard from them, so as mr. comptroller's journey is in great uncertainty, whether it shall proceed or no. And in this Northern climate and remote we hear of no other matter: so as I will trouble you no longer, but rest, your lordship's to command,

THOMAS LAKE.

May 1. Secretary WINWOOD, to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from St. Bartholomew.

My lord,

Since I wrote to you, I have received three from you, the last the last night, wherein was inclosed a packet from the duke of Boüillon; and within that letters to his majesty; which, being written long since before the execution of the marshal d'ANCRE, are now out of date, and will come to his majesty as unseasonable, as *imbres post tempora frugum*: for by those he writes to me, I find he doth demand assistance, both of men and money, whereof now he hath no need, since that, by the death of the marshal d'ANCRE, not only a general peace throughout all France will be concluded, but the government of affairs better rectified, and the state of that kingdom better established. Methinks what countenance soever your great statesmen do set upon it, when they duly consider the error they have committed, both in private judgment and reason of state, they should be much ashamed to have shewed so much forwardness in advancing the designs of the government of France, as then it stood; for they could not be ignorant, that as the king was young in years, so was he in thralldom and in captivity under the bondage of the queen his mother, and she in subjection to the marshal d'ANCRE, both at the devotion of the king of Spain, who confidently may be said to have had as much power and authority in the management of affairs in the court of France, as the duke of Lerma hath in the court of Spain. And this may be believed, that in our age the king of Spain never received so heavy a blow, and that without noise or bruit; for in honour he may not take notice of it, which so apparently doth recall the proceedings, and rather renverse the very foundations, of his ambitious designs.

Therefore I shall be glad to hear more at large from you (which in your last so sparingly you touched) what censure and judgment your great ones do make, and amongst the rest the good old princeps, who methinks shou'd be somewhat *amused* to see the chance so suddenly turned. No action hath happened amongst us, which so lively hath discovered the passionate affections of our hearts; for all our parasites and pensioners of Spain have lost all patience, and (which is worse) all modesty and moderation, condemning this action as most impious and inhuman, bloody and tyrannical; not considering, that it was at the choice of the king, whether he would neglect the safety of his person, and the preservation of his crown, both which must have fallen, if ANCRE had stood; or proceed, as he did, *sine formâ & figurâ judicii* by martial law against the usurper of his crown and state. But what opinion soever private particular men, who aim at nothing else but at the advancement of their own fortunes, have of this action, his majesty is pleased to approve it: which doth appear not only by the outward demonstration of his exceeding joy and contentment, when

when first he received the news thereof, but also by letters, which with his own hand he hath written to the French king, whereof with these you shall receive a copy. Besides, mr. comptroller, who hath charge in all diligence to return into France, hath expressed order to congratulate with the marshal DE VITRY (for so now he is) that by his hands the king, his master, was delivered out of captivity, *Et mis hors de page*. I have thought it not inconvenient to acquaint you with these particularities, which may direct you in the course of your discourse there, and settle your judgment, both in your private conferences, and, if occasion so require, in public, to speak of this accident, which is of most important consequence, as the affairs of the world now stand. I understand by mr. comptroller, that you have advertised him, that mons. MALRE hath sent out of Zealand a copy of his instructions, which he is to carry with him into France. This doth seem strange to me; for if it be true, either some of my servants (whose ministry I necessarily must use) have dealt falsely with me, underhand to give copies of them, which easily I cannot believe; or mr. comptroller hath been wronged by some of his people; which is less to be believed, they being all strangers, and not acquainted with any man, who hath any reference to mons. MALRE. You cannot do me a greater favour than by your next to advertise me of the truth and certainty of this advertisement; for you easily will judge how nearly it doth concern me to know the truth thereof. If these letters shall come to your hands before the departure of mons. MALRE from the Hague, and that without your trouble you shall fall into his company, I pray you let him know, that complaint hath been made unto me of some uncourteous treatment, that he hath or would have used, to sir JOHN BENNET in his passage from Middleburg to Antwerp, as having opposed against a safe conduct of his passage to free him from molestation at the fort of Lillo. His majesty hath shewed many demonstrations of his affection towards the good of the province of Zealand; and therefore it cannot be but unkindly taken, that his ministers passing that way should be uncivilly and discourteously treated, especially by any of the states of that province, who having been in England have been entertained by his majesty with all honour and favour.

I understand, that certain of ARMINIUS's books translated into English are printed at Hasselt, a town, I think, not far from Utrecht. I pray you inform yourself of the truth thereof; and, if you find it true, prevent the transport of them into England. And so with remembrance of my services to your lady, I am, &c.

May 7. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from St. Bartholomew's.

Recommending sir JOHN THROCKMORTON, having a suit to the states for the reinforcing of his company to a fuller number.

May 12. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the king: by GEORGE MARTEN.

May it please your majesty,

The tender care, which your majesty doth express upon all occasions, of the welfare of these provinces, and particularly since the late differences about religion, of restoring them to their wonted union and tranquillity, requires a diligent account not  
S only



only of the issue of their present disputes (wherein, when time shall serve, I shall not fail of my duty) but likewise of the proceedings.

This last assembly of the states of Holland (which still continues, though with some recesses upon extraordinary occasions) was thought, and so is still, to be the last of many conflicts in this militant church (for so I may term it), wherein the trial will be, which party either of the orthodox or Arminians should prevail; in which regard your majesty's letters to the states general, written in your progress, came very seasonably, not only to explain your intention, but likewise to set them in the way of ending those differences, which is since followed by the provinces of Guelderland, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen, whose deputies being sent expressly upon this occasion have had their several audiences in the assembly of the states of Holland, the two last only as neighbours joining themselves in the self-same office.

Those of Guelderland complain of the inconvenience of these differences, out of the sense they have of finding their own province infested with them. Zealand by conjunction of interest and neighbourhood, though free hitherto in itself, seems the rather moved. *paries cum proximus ardet*. Friesland and Groningen, as provinces more remote, insist upon the breach of the common union, which is tied chiefly by the band of religion. All of them prognosticate the dangers, which will follow both to church and commonwealth, without speedy remedy. And the remedy they propose, is the same recommended by your majesty of a national synod. Overijssel sends not, as was expected, being distracted in their resolution; but the greater part of that province stands well affected.

Hitherto they have had no answer to their propositions, those of Holland being divided in their opinions; the Arminians desiring to avoid the matter by saying, that these disputes about predestination are not new in these provinces, but of forty years continuance; and that it was not now question of religion, but authority. The contrary part protests against this evasion, naming the authors by whom, and the times wherein, these new opinions were introduced, and shewing how this question of authority is superinduced, as an accessory, though now by artifice brought to be the principal of their dispute. So as here they do *herere in limine*, after so long contestation, not yet agreeing upon the state of the question. Mean time the accidents, which happen in particular towns upon this occasion, shew the alteration of the people. In Oudewater (a small but well-peopled and strong place near Utrecht) the magistrates have been forced by the inhabitants to subscribe to an act of admission of a preacher agreeable to their liking. At Huesden, a frontier town upon Brabant, the church-doors have been broken open this last week by the people, and a preacher put into the pulpit contrary to the minds both of the magistrates and the governor likewise, who is of the Arminian faction. The like would happen in most of these towns of Holland, save only that they are kept in devotion upon expectation of the event of this present assembly, the suspicion whereof hath caused Rotterdam to levy a company of 200 soldiers, expressly for the guard of the magistrates; and the like is intended in Leyden, Harlem, and Delft; but hereby they will rather kindle than quench the fire, this novelty serving only to stir jealousies amongst the people, without sufficient strength upon any commotion to suppress them.

In this town *por dar pasto* (as they say) *al popolo*, they prepare a church for their preaching, which notwithstanding is proceeded in so slowly, that they begin to lose patience, and were in question yesterday, being Sunday, to possess themselves of the chief church; which notwithstanding they forbore for the present, but can hardly long be contained.

The consideration of these accidents, joined to your majesty's letter, and the remonstrances of the four provinces, hath driven the states of Holland *volentes nolentes* (for so they are divided) to talk of a synod; which till this last week was never admitted into deliberation amongst them, but still rejected, and without urgent necessity will not yet be proceeded in, the Arminians foreseeing their opinions cannot possibly pass a synod without public censure. Wherefore it is expected, that as they have hitherto done, so they will still continue to cast in the way all imaginable impediments: and first, to gain time, they propose to begin with a provincial synod before the national; which is thought of both parts not unnecessary; but the deputies of the four provinces (who, finding themselves delayed in their answer, meet in common councils) have determined first to treat in the assembly of the states general to the same effect as they have now done with those of Holland; and then in case they discover any indirect proceeding (whereof they are jealous) have a secret intent to confederate themselves apart with the five towns of Holland, and such of Overijssel as stand well affected, and so separately proceed to a national synod: in which resolution if they remain constant, I see not how the opposite party can longer continue their opiniatree and stiffness either with reputation or safety.

Here are many words cast out amongst these free-spoken people, that to end their differences they must follow the example of France in the marshal D'ANCRE, which is meant by those who are chief of each faction: but the best is, the more is said in such cases, the less is commonly put in execution; and wheresoever such a blow should light, could not be without much hurt to their state; on the one side with regard of their army; on the other of their government, neither of which can well spare their heads of such merit and experience.

Much practice is likewise used to separate the two brothers, count MAURICE and count HENRY, by gaining the younger to the Arminian faction. But as the one shews himself to be son of that father, who lost his life in the cause of religion, and a knight of your majesty's order, who is the protector thereof, so I see no likelihood, that the other should degenerate. Thus in all humility I take leave, &c.

May  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Here is again a new recess until the end of this week of the assembly of the states of Holland; so as to expect longer (as I have now done a good while) the conclusion of this business about religion, which doth wholly possess us, were in effect to attend *dum defluat annis*. And therefore I have thought it my duty to advertise his majesty of the proceedings herein by a letter, which I send herewith the copy of, with the translated copies

of the propositions of the four provinces; to which I will presume to refer your honour for as much as belongs to this subject.

Now in answer to your honour's letter of the first of this present, received the 13th by mr. ROSSITER, I am very glad to find thereby the discourse I have held upon occasion of the French affairs both before and since the death of marshal D'ANCRE, doth so well concur with his majesty's mind (which appears by his letter to the French king, wherewith your honour hath favoured me) and the judgment your honour maketh both of their proceedings there and ours here. For in debate about the sending of succours, which casually fell out sometimes, though it was purposely avoided as much as might be, whensoever I was present at our council-table, I made appear how the French king was then governed by the queen-regent, the queen by the marshal D'ANCRE, and D'ANCRE by the ministers of Spain and Rome; so as to assist the French king whilst he was in this state, I concluded, was no other than to give plenty of nourishment to a sick body, which *quo magis nutris, eo magis lœdis*. Since the time that the most peccant humour of that state hath been so well corrected by letting of blood, I have not let slip the occasion to make them sensible here of their errors, which they are enough ready to confess, and withal to point at those by whose practice and importunity they were overruled, contrary to their private, and I may say, the public inclination.

For example, of the violence, with which this business was carried (since your honour can be content to understand more particulars) the question being moved in the assembly of the states general touching the succours, a sufficient gentleman, well known by your honour, discoursed of the present condition, as it then stood, of the affairs of France, and distinguished thereupon betwixt the words and intention of their treaty; wherein he was taken up very sharply \* \* \* saying he never expected so much impudency in any one of that assembly, as to call their treaties so lately concluded into question; which made not only him, but all men else silent, and the resolution past in that form as I advertised.

Since the accident of D'ANCRE's death, those, who most favoured the sending of succours, were the loudest trumpets in publishing the news, and were so far from acknowledging a fault in their former counsels, that on the contrary they endeavoured by antedated letters to engage the whole state in patronising their particular humours; which notwithstanding took no place.

For the fact itself, it is here universally applauded as a subject of much joy, though for the manner of it, some, whose good zeal otherwise may excuse the error of their judgments, howsoever they hold the taking away such a person to be of singular use in this present conjuncture, yet they do condemn it as *rem pessimi exempli*, and think it may be well said to the young king, as a friar counselled one of the house of Florence, who told him in confession he had a purpose to kill the duke, *non ti avvezzare*.

I find none much depressed with this accident but the poor old princess of Orange, who is visibly to every man's observation much changed and decayed therewith. But this proceeds more of her sorrow for the queen regent, in whom she had particular interest,



interest, than for the marshal D'ANCRE, towards whom, and his wife likewise, I have heard her often testify much disaffection.

Our extraordinary French embassador mons. DE LA NOÛE is more disappointed thereby than any else, he having built such castles in the air of the new world, that at his coming hither he neglected so much as to take leave of the old officers, though with mons. VILLEROY he had particular acquaintance; and in a long apology he hath left here in writings, which goeth from hand to hand for his subscribing to the council of Trent, which he made whilst D'ANCRE was then living, one may well observe *ambitionem scriptoris*. He returned towards France on Tuesday last by sea to Dieppe, having a chain of 400l. for a present.

The resident mons. DU MAURIER, though he had more particularly addressed himself to D'ANCRE, yet he continued a correspondency with mons. DE VILLEROY, whereof he now reaped the fruit, having all the king's dispatches addressed to him since D'ANCRE's death, with much neglect of mons. DE LA NOÛE. But his making a bon-fire before his house the first night of the news seemed strange to those who had seen the copies of his letters to D'ANCRE intercepted and sent hither by the princes; as likewise here hath been a subject of some merriment at his double diligence since, he having sent an express messenger with a public order from the state here to Amsterdam, to seize upon certain goods, which were embalmed and sent from Paris to be conveyed to Florence, suspecting them to belong to the marshal D'ANCRE or his wife; but the inventory was returned under the hand of a public notary, of pots and pans and such like massarity, which were packt up by a Florentine merchant and his wife, who are removed by land from Paris to Florence, leaving their goods to be sent by sea; which is the truth of this great treasure, whereof there is much speech, that it should arrive to half a million of crowns.

I have made a more particular inquiry touching an advertisement, which escaped my pen to mr. comptroller, upon what I had then newly understood from an old acquaintance of his and your honour's, and find he borrowed of the truth, as he is charged often to do, there being no more than such advertisements concerning mr. comptroller's instructions as were collected out of common discourse.

Before mons. MALRE departs, I shall let your honour know how he doth answer the small respect hath been shewed sir JOHN BENNET in his passage: of which I have spoken with his excellency for the interest he hath in the province of Zealand, having no opportunity to speak with MALRE himself, unless I should expressly go unto him: which I forbear to do, in that for the space of three weeks and more, which he hath spent in this town, he hath failed of that courtesy towards me in performing so much as a simple visit, whereof he was not wont to be sparing to my predecessor.

I have sent to Hasselt, to take information both there and at Campen (which place I rather suspect, because it is a town full of passionate Arminians, whereas Hasselt is well affected) touching the books, which your honour doth mention; and, in case there be any such, will take the best order with them I may.

The

The deputy of our merchants at Middleburg is returned without obtaining any thing of the states, save only a republication of the placart against interlopers, and a promise of their due execution, without fraud, of their last placart concerning Tare; which there is no means here to obtain to be revoked: and therefore all the help, which is left our merchants, is, by correcting their faults in the \* \* \* of cloths at home, to make it of no use.

They have here made it appear by their taring bills to have lost one whole cloth in ten; which they insist upon as a just excuse for continuing their placart until the abuses be reformed.

The duke of Savoy's agent being returned from the princes of the union pressing for an answer of his proposition, which he left here at his departure concerning succours for his master, to which the states are well inclined, and have order from their provinces, but suspend their resolution until they hear the success of the treaty of peace in Spain, or may be satisfied in the duke's purpose to continue the wars.

The succour for the king of Swede, which is now augmented to six ships of war, is upon setting sail under the command of the heer OPDAM, the admiral of Holland.

By this commodity the states send a commissary to receive their copper of the king of Swede in payment of their last loan of money, who hath a letter likewise to the king of Denmark, partly of complaint, and partly of counsel, to assist in preserving the liberty of the Baltic sea against the Polac. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*June 4.* Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Greenwich.

My lord,

I am sorry to find by your last, that your confusions in matters of religion do rather multiply than diminish; which is the more to be lamented, because there is no present hope of speedy amendment. They most are to be blamed, who carry amongst you the greatest authority, who, if they were governed with reason and discretion, and not transported with passion and animosity, could not but foresee, besides the scandalous imputations of heresy and schism, which are cast upon their state, that it is much to be feared, a dissolution will follow in the union of their provinces: and I cannot but marvel, that seeing almost in every town of Holland daily do arise new opinions and dissensions, to the shame and dishonour of their government, what should be the cause, that your great masters, who sit at the stern, and hold the helm in their hands, are so far from pacifying and appeasing these troubles, that, by the countenance of their authority, they are said to suffer them and maintain them. Howsoever that state long may stand (and that it may long stand I unfeignedly wish and pray), the honour of it is eclipsed, and long it will be before it recover the antient lustre, by this erroneous doctrine of ARMINIUS and VORSTIUS, which now in every town is preached and published, either out of faction, or out of devotion: and whosoever he be, that shall withstand the assembly of a synod, which is the only ordinary means to rectify these misunderstandings, he must give me leave to say, he is neither a good Christian nor a good politician.

I have not spoken with any of our merchants since I received your last, and therefore I cannot tell what satisfaction they receive in the answer from the states concerning the tare: but to me it seems very strange, that, seeing his majesty hath been pleased to restore our Merchant-adventurers to the exercise of their antient trade, and to suspend the execution of the proclamation for dying and dressing of cloths, the states, after serious instance made unto them, should be so froward and perverse, as not to re-establish the merchants *statu quo prius*, that they might resume their trade in the self-same towns, and upon as good conditions, as they left it. I pray you fail not, both in public and in private, upon all occasions, to let them know how distasteful this kind of proceeding is to his majesty, and to the whole state; and that thereupon we build this resolution of the little esteem those provinces make of the continuance of our amity, and of the coldness of their affection longer to hold with us good quarter and correspondence.

I think in some of my former I have written unto you out of the freedom of my nature, and out of the honour I bear to the welfare of that state, how shameful and dishonourable a thing it is, that they should treat and contract any confederation with the pirates of Algier, where I understand they have a consul, who is now imprisoned in the bassa's house: The pirates grow so powerful, that, if present order be not taken to suppress them, our trade must cease in the Mediterranean sea; nay they will shortly grow so insolent and presumptuous, that they will adventure to possess our seas, and assail us in our forts. We have a project to raise a considerable sum of money for the setting forth of a powerful armada; which if it succeed, whereof I make no doubt, I hope the states will join with us in so worthy and important a service. In the meantime I pray you treat with the states, that they give defence to all their men of war, not to furnish the pirates with powder and ammunition; an offence so notorious, that all Christendom speaks shame of it.

Sir JOHN BENNET is upon his return, but brings with him no hope of contentment. With the particularities of his negotiation I will acquaint you by my next.

His majesty being returned from the farthest parts of his journey into Scotland, is now at Edinburgh, where a parliament is shortly to be held. He is, God be thanked, in very good health, and so are the queen and prince here. So I rest, &c.

P. S. The 7th of July I set forward for Scotland. I leave my secretary JOHN MORE to receive and send unto me all letters and packets.

May 18. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Greenwich: received 3 June.

Recommending captain HUNTLEY, that he might have leave from the states to reside in England for a year.

May 6. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Edinburgh: by captain WITCHARD's man: received June 24.

My



My lord embassador,

I received your lordship's letters of the 25th of the last the 4th of this month at Edinburgh, his majesty being newly returned from a hunting journey, which he made fifty miles farther into the country immediately after his arrival here. I have acquainted his majesty with it, who liketh well your part done therein; but thinketh it a strange contradictory, that they should have made their way with the pirates, and yet be willing to concur with his majesty for suppressing of them; for that other nations now receiving hurt, and they prove but their trade being free, his majesty doth scarce believe but they will be willing to let it rest, so little caring for others harms, so as they reap benefit.

For the matter itself of proceeding against the pirates, his majesty hath it in very serious consideration, as a work of honour for him to be the first mover and leader in so Christian an enterprise. Before his coming forth he had conference with some principal persons of his council, and at his departure recommended it to such of them as remained behind, to consider of some solid way of proceeding, upon conference had with the officers of his navy, and other expert captains in marine affairs, who have spent some time in it, and advertised his majesty, that to suppress them utterly will require a war of two or three years continuance: That the king of Spain must be dealt with, for the use of his ports on the coasts as well of Afric as of Spain, for watering, repairing, succour against storms, and all other casualties; and that without that there is great hazard in the attempt. That the charge is to be carried by a contribution of money or shipping from all princes and states, who are interested in the loss sustained by their subjects: That none ought more liberally to contribute than the king of Spain, as being nearer the danger, and having most felt of it. Whereupon instruction is given to sir JOHN DIGBY now going into Spain, to move there, and to press it earnestly, as well for use of the ports, assistance of his people, and contribution of money, which is thought the fittest help to be had from him, for that the shipping of England and the Low Countries is thought more meet for this employment than the shipping of Spain. There is order likewise given to move Venice and Savoy, and to deal with the French king for contribution, and so with you, who being near at hand, it is conceived; when we see others disposition, will be most convenient to urge to you, especially the answer of Spain, which mr. vice-chamberlain is directed to return with all speed, that his majesty may discern what strength is meet to be provided against the time serve: for it is doubted much by the seamen, that it will be late to do much this year.

The Londoners have offered liberal contribution of 20,000*l.* yearly for two years and more, if need be. Whether my lords at London, to whom the matter is committed, have yet been with monf. CARON, I cannot tell you; but they purpose to do, and to send to your lordship also; for so they are directed.

For matter here, there is little to write of from so remote a place. We are fixed for a time in this city till the parliament be passed, which beginneth the 17th of this month. In the mean while his majesty is in consultation by way of preparation towards his ends, which \*\*\*\*\*; that is, to procure better maintenance than the ministry here hath, and some conformity between this church and ours in England  
in

in the public service; whereof of the first it is hard to guess the success, so many great men are interested in the tithes. Towards the other his majesty hath set up his chapel here in like manner of service, as it is in England; which is yet frequented well by the people of the country.

When the parliament is passed, our journey homewards beginning, which we long for, although we have here very kind and magnificent entertainment: But we would fain have some pleasure of our own homes this summer.

I have nothing else to trouble you with, but your old acquaintance Mr. TOBY MATTHEW hath by the favour of my lord of BUCKINGHAM obtained leave to come home for a time; and, if he will take the oath, may, I think, stay longer, as his behaviour shall be.

Sir MAURICE BERKLEY is dead, and sir ROGER GWYN fallen distracted: HERBERT CROFT retired into France, to avoid indicting; so as the lower house will have a great alteration of actors; what of minds, I cannot foresee.

*May 8.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Anwick.

Recommending the cause of WILLIAM CARMICHAEL.

*June 13.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Edinburgh.

We are now towards a parliament, which beginneth on Thursday next, and will not hold above ten days; and that being done about the beginning of next month, we shall begin a progress here, but towards home, and his majesty keepeth his purpose to be at Carlisle the 5th of August.

We do hear, that your controversies do multiply, or at least grow intense; and that the town of Rotterdam standeth upon its guard; and that the sickness groweth in the country, which we are afraid may slip over into England, if it continues.

Things in France are well settled, and they begin to interpose in the matter of Savoy with some countenance. So I rest, &c.

*June  $\frac{2}{3}$ .* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by HERMAN the post.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

I have had this morning large communication with mons. BARNEVELT touching the points contained in your honour's last by DIESTON of the 4th of this present: and first in their order concerning our merchants affairs, and particularly about tare, he saith, that the states have made a diligent collection of those reasons, which have induced them to insist upon their former placart for the good of the trade on both parts; which they will send to their ambassador sir NOEL CARON, and by him inform the lords of his majesty's privy-council, with which he presumes they will rest well satisfied.

T

Touching

Touching the pirates in the Mediterranean sea, he confesseth, that true it is the states by means of their consul now imprisoned at Algier have treated with them at such time as they sent the said consul for the release of certain ships and prisoners taken by the pirates, and held in the nature of slaves, to observe the same capitulation, which the states have contracted with the grand signior. The ships and men were ransomed, but at excessive rates; and the treaty admitted, but with this clause, that the pirates should have liberty to search their merchant ships for Spanish and Portugal goods; which being reported hither, the states have hitherto returned no answer, accounting this condition no ways acceptable: And now he assures me they will proceed no farther herein: but when they may be made acquainted with his majesty's design, they will conjoin their assistance as against a common enemy; and in case this expedition for the aid of the king of Swede proceed not (as there is now likelihood the occasion will cease) that then they intend to send that fleet into the Mediterranean, where they have now no ships. And touching the furnishing the pirates with powder, he saith it is a great wrong done to them in their reputation, that they, who have been the only oppressors of the pirates, should be thought to be the fomenters of them, there being at no time any such thing done by public avow, nor can be done secretly by the captains and officers of their men of war, without peril of their lives.

I thought this a fit time to put him in mind of his majesty's last letter to the states concerning their differences about religion, which, I told him, I presumed, they would neither leave unsatisfied nor unanswered; which they could not longer do without peril to themselves, and distaste to his majesty, in shewing a neglect of his wholesome counsels.

To this he answered, that he held it fit, an answer should be sent his majesty; but that they were in that state, they knew not what to resolve or answer, because of the practice of some amongst them on the one side to take the authority from the magistrate, and put the same wholly into the power of the ecclesiastics; and on the other, to rule all by popular faction, and not by that hand of sovereignty, which belonged to the nobility and states of their province, which he was well assured was not his majesty's mind, knowing, that his majesty did cherish the union of their state, and not the schism and faction into which many would cast them: and therefore when his majesty should be well informed (which point he touched often, as implying the contrary) of the state of their affairs, he doubted not but that he would approve their endeavours, who did stand firm for the maintenance of due authority belonging to superiors.

I told him, he might well make this judgment of his majesty's mind by all his proceedings both in his own kingdoms at home, and with his friends abroad, and particularly by his last letter, wherein he made it appear in what detestation he hath schism and faction; and in that regard how necessary he thought it for the welfare of their state, and prevention of farther mischief, to have them call a national synod; whereby the authority of the magistrate would be preserved, without which a synod would not be lawfully called; and in the execution of what should be resolved in synod, their authority would be again employed, without which the resolutions of synods could have



have no force. I said farther, he might well note, how his majesty in his letter did particularly recommend unto them the use of their authority in protecting the true reformed religion; and not to suffer under that title the same to be oppressed: but seeing their questions of religion and authority were so mixt and multiplied, and even that assembly itself of the states of Holland, which he would have in force, divided within itself, the matter was too far gone to be helped by any ordinary means; and therefore they were to have recourse to this extraordinary, but usual course in such cases, which was recommended by his majesty, and counselled by the greatest part of their provinces.

He replied unto me, that the ecclesiastics of these parts were so prepared, that nothing concerning these questions could be proposed unto them, wherein their judgments were free; and therefore that a synod could not be admitted: and in this argument extended himself so far, and with such heat different from his custom, that I perceive he still remains not only alienate, but opposite to this course; wherein it is very evident, that his private interest doth sway his judgment in the public, in that no eclipse of the authority of the magistrate, of which he is jealous, can succeed without abridging his particular authority, which he hath long executed, and so might still have continued without opposition, if it had not been by this *trop embrasser*, which he now seeth either he must go through withal, or *succumbere*, which is against his nature.

He hath proposed these two days past in the assembly of the states of Holland a forcible course of reducing this church of the Hague again into one congregation, as an example to the other towns, which are in like manner divided; wherein he was seconded by all those of his faction, but opposed by the other five towns. Whereupon he fell into a passion, saying he found they were grown into distaste of his person and service; and therefore desired, in respect of his age, he might retire himself from the farther managing of their affairs; wherein no answer was made any way to discourage him.

In the assembly of the states general the  $\frac{6}{18}$  of this present the four provinces of Guelderland, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen, having had their audiences by their extraordinary deputies concerning a national synod to the same effect, and almost in the same words, of those speeches I sent your honour the 19th of the last, which they used in the assembly of those of Holland, an order was conceived according to a translated copy, which I send herewith; wherein your honour will observe a difference betwixt Guelderland and the rest, the deputies of that province being divided amongst themselves, and therefore speaking more faintly. But now that province hath sent express order by new deputies to conjoin in the same resolution as the three others, both for their meeting in the midst of August next, and calling of a synod, with those circumstances which are contained in the order.

Overijssel hath at this present an assembly to treat of the same point; but it is doubtful what they will resolve; Deventer and Campen being opposite, the first of the contra-remonstrants faction, the other of the remonstrants, and Swoll divided: but howsoever there are four provinces against three. Now if this business must be

carried by plurality of voices, according as the remonstrants do insist in the assembly of the states of Holland, there being four voices against three for a synod in the assembly of the states general, either the plurality there must take place, and oblige them; or else they must no longer insist upon their plurality of voices in the states of Holland, where, the faction of the remonstrants being the stronger, they overway the rest *numerando sententias non ponderando*.

With those of Holland there is sometimes a proposition made of separating themselves, and every town to govern itself after their own manner; in which case the five towns, which stand for the contra-remonstrants, profess they will conjoin themselves to the four provinces, which, if no better can be effected, is like to be the resolution; and those provinces and towns at the time of the next meeting about two months hence to call a synod apart.

Mean while those of Holland draw on their assembly in length, left now in the time of their fairs, which run by course through their chief towns, the people, being *vino plenus & irā*, should fall into fury, from which it is with much difficulty detained: and here in this town it is every Sunday expected the chief church should be seized upon.

On Sunday last there was danger of a new tumult in Oudewater, by catching at a word; LYDIUS there saying in his sermon, that the *Indianen* did worship the devil, which some of his jealous hearers mistook for *Arminianen*.

From Alkmaer we hear, that an Arminian preacher was free from any such danger of being intrapped, he having possession of the chief church, but no audience on a Sunday in the forenoon but some few of the magistrates; and in the afternoon none but his wife. This is made a subject of merriment; and I write it to shew your honour how the people fall daily from that party.

As any thing farther succeed, I will not fail to advertise your honour before your departure into Scotland, and in your absence make use of that address you give me in London.

The French ambassador mons. DU MAURIER hath been put in mind, out of France, of the leave he asked to go thither before the marshal D'ANCRE's death; and is accordingly gone that way yesterday, leaving behind him his wife and family, as gages of his return. Yet here is doubt he shall be no longer continued in this employment.

Some few days before his departure he presented letters of thanks from the French king for the succours, which were intended to be sent the king; and in his speech insisted upon some public resentment to be shewed against the colonel GUENT for aiding the princes.

At his leave-taking he declared the king's intention to assist the duke of Savoy, and persuaded the states to do the like: to which they were before well inclined, and are now so much the more furthered by being freed of a fear, that in giving assistance to  
that

that duke, they should furnish the French with an answer to their pretending necessity for the money, which is due unto him for the pay of the French regiments, when they use liberality to princes so far remote. Yet hitherto nothing is concluded, by reason of a distraction about colonel GUENT's troops, which the states have in deliberation to send and entertain in the duke's service for the space of five months. Mean while they have given quarter to some of them in their towns, and the rest lodge in the marquis of Brandenburg's country; and if they can be induced to go to that service, the states resolve to give them convoy until they are past danger of the count VANDERBERG, who waits upon them with 2000 foot and 800 horse to hinder their passage or lodging in the countries subject either to the archdukes or to the duke of Newburgh.

Here is some hope, that the wars betwixt the kings of Poland and Swede proceed not; of which here have been lately very hot alarms, here being yesterday divers merchants arrived out of those parts, who say there is only a levy of three regiments made by the count of Altem for the king of Poland, but no declaration where those men shall be employed.

The king of Swede's ambassador here resident is now going to the king his master, having a purpose in this journey to endeavour by that king's means to draw into union with this state, and the other united princes, the king of Denmark, wherein he hath had speech with the chief here, and demanded of me how I thought his majesty would approve hereof: wherein I would not discourage him, though I see small appearance of any fruit of his endeavours, since the fear of the common enemy in the Baltic sea doth begin to cease, which, if it had continued, might indeed have been *vinculum amicitiae*. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

June 22. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by DIESTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

The opportunity of a passage, and a fit messenger directly into Scotland within three days after my last dispatch to your honour, which was of the 13th of this present, caused me to give his majesty an account as well of the general occurrents as of the affairs of this state, by a letter, to the copy whereof I presume to refer your honour for as much as succeeded in that small interim.

Since here is advertisement from the states extraordinary ambassador STRICK, who is now in Prussia with the marquis of Brandenburg, that the town of Elbe is again bandited by the king of Poland, in which respect the town for security hath united itself to Tornigen and Dantzick, which together do levy men for the defence thereof.

The king of Poland hath sent his ambassador to the marquis of Brandenburg at Berlin, by whom he demands passage for his soldiers, succours both of men and money for his wars, commodity for the building of four ships, and promise to declare all those of the reformed religion incapable of government in Prussia: Which extravagant demands do shew an intention in that king to make war in those parts; the doubt whereof hath chased away the duke of Courland, who hath left his country to be defended



fended by a gentleman, whom he hath placed there as his deputy. And here a proposition was made on Friday last, at the presentation of these letters of their embassador STRICK to the states general, by the agent of the prince of Brandenburg, to have the ships, which were formerly designed to the Baltic sea, continued in that service, since the occasion, for which they were put in readiness, doth not cease, as was imagined, when their revocation was this last week resolved upon: but herein there is hitherto no new order taken.

The Venetian resident had audience yesterday of the states general, wherein he gave account of such accidents in the Gulph, as shew an increase of rupture betwixt his master and the Spaniard; and concluded with a request in favour of the duke of Savoy, to hasten the resolution of this state for his succours.

In this business concerning Savoy we find the effect of the distractions of this state about religion; which do grow by degrees into a formed faction, that, which one party requires or shews to admit with willingness, being crossed by the other, out of an humour of contradiction only, without further design.

Upon the first proposition, after the senator DE MONTOVE's return out of Germany, the council of state being called before the states general to deliberate thereupon, a general inclination was there declared to assist the duke *nemine contradicente*. Afterwards those of Holland made difficulty, excusing themselves upon their divisions in religion, which hindered their resolutions. And though this, being a business of state, and belonging to a foreign prince far remote, had no imaginable reference to those domestic troubles, yet there was hold laid upon it by those who have the chief sway in the assembly of Holland, to enforce a consent to their particular desires, or else to make it appear, that nothing but what pleased them, should pass concerning the public. But finding, that this could not take place, and likewise perceiving an advantage, which the other provinces took at this backwardness in charging those of Holland therewith, as opposites to that which belonged to the public service, the day before they brake up, they took a resolution more large and liberal than was expected; which being two days since declared by mons. BARNEVELT in the assembly of the states general, those which were most forward before (as the deputies of Guelderland by name) and were now to contribute *pro rata*, flew back, as if they had no such ample authority from their principals. Yet this will be no hindrance, for their consent being already given in general, and Holland having now led the way in particular, the rest will follow. And I believe this next week the senator DE MONTOVE will be dispatched with good satisfaction.

The experience your honour hath of the constitution of this state maketh me descend to those particularities in the carriage of this business, which to any other would be impertinent. And to the end I may hereafter write with more freedom, I send your honour herewith a cypher, which is so much the more necessary, because of the more hazard, which letters may run, when they are to follow you into Scotland.

As yet there hath no alteration happened since the separation of the states of Holland; but I do not see how it can be long avoided in this town of the Hague: And of this most

of the rest are like to take example, the contra-remonstrants having declared themselves, that they will no longer content themselves with the English church, nor with that which is preparing for them in the Voorhoot; but that they will have the use of the great church, with their own deacons and preachers, as resolved no longer to yield to that innovation, by which they have been thus long molested. And it is expected, unless his excellency divert them, that the next communion Sunday they will seize themselves of the great church.

His excellency hath this last week declared himself to monf. BARNEVELT, that he would no longer hear UTENBOGARD, but that he would send for another preacher out of France: with which monf. BARNEVELT was much troubled, as not expecting so much zeal and warmth in this cause from his excellency, whose temper he presumed much upon.

I have heard both from Hassel and Campen, from men upon whom I may rely, and cannot find, that in either of those towns any such book of Arminius translated into English should be there printed, as your honour in your former letters doth mention. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*June 16.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to sir THOMAS LAKE: sent with that to the king by colonel BROGUE.

‘We are not yet here come to that state of quietness and agreement, which were to be wished, though we are in a good way of amendment.’

*July 7.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Since my last to your honour by col. BROGUE of the 16th of June (by whom I sent a dispatch to his majesty under the same date) I have received divers letters from your honour, whereof the most part were commendatory; and those I will satisfy to the best of my power.

Those from your honour of the 16th of May, as on the one side they show his majesty's princely design in suppressing of the pirates in the Mediterranean sea; so on the other they intimate a distrust of the concurrence of this state therein: but as they do here much encourage his majesty in this intention, so have I received good assurance of those who have most authority in this state, that when they be made acquainted particularly with the design, they will be ready to give their assistance, they being as yet no way so far engaged with the pirates of Algier and Tunis, as to abridge their liberty; the treaty, which was made by their consul (whom your honour hath heard is now imprisoned at Algier), having been never ratified from hence in regard of one article, that the pirates should have liberty to search their ships for Spanish goods; the disgrace and difficulty whereof held their consent in suspense: And now I believe (in case his majesty continue his purpose of assailing the pirates) they will rather seek the security of their trade by force of arms, which hath place with all men, than by treaty with those whom no promises can oblige.

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Under correction, I see not how the Spaniard can be induced to contribute towards the maintenance of his majesty's ships, and those of his country, in this service (though the chief benefit of the security of trade will redound to that nation, as they chiefly suffer if the contrary) in regard that by this means we shall have men of war in exercise at their cost; which, according to the change of affairs of this world, may be employed to their prejudice: and hereof it is likely they as reconciled enemies will be jealous.

We have here at this present news out of Spain, that the Spanish fleet in Manillas is utterly defeated by the Hollanders; and by one SPILBERG, who hath conducted two rich ships out of the East-Indies, we have relation of a new discovery of a passage into *mare pacificum*, made by one Lamer [*Le Maire*] of North Holland, who not being of the East-Indian Company (which hath privilege in the straits of Magellan) went two degrees farther, and found that to be sea beyond *Terra del fuogo*, which the globes and maps decypher *terra firma*; so that in one day the passage may be sailed through, it being seven leagues in breadth and seven leagues only in length. Of this by reason of the rarity we must expect more assurance, though it be received here as truth: and in confidence of these good successes they are here in treaty about a company for the West-Indies by example of that for the East: for which here are merchants, which undertake at first for a stock of three millions of florins.

The duke of Savoy hath assistance from hence of 50,000 florins monthly, beginning with August next, for the space of four months, so as the wars of Piedmont continue so long; and his minister the senator DE MONTOU is now going into Germany to solicit the like succours from the princes of the union and the elector of Saxe, with whom that duke hath alliance.

Our differences about religion will yet grow worse before they can be better; and in the end all is like to come to confusion, unless they take the course of synod recommended by his majesty; for which and for other accidents concerning this business the states of Holland meet sooner by a week than they intended, and those of the other provinces hold their appointment the 15th of August next.

TOBY MATTHEW is gone to the Spa for his health before he makes use of his licence to return. Sir HERBERT CROFT lurketh secretly in the archdukes country under the name of WILLIAM EDWARDS. I do much lament your domestic trouble we hear of here in your honour's absence; which cannot choose but molest your honour so much the more, by how much reason you had to promise yourself all comfort in your daughter's match: And the knowledge I have had of my lord her husband, joined to the respect I have always borne both you and yours, makes me participate of the grief, which your honour with your accustomed wisdom must bear, as a worldly accident, and overcome with patience. So I commit your honour to God's blessed protection.

July 7. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by WOODWARD.



R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

By my two last dispatches of the 16th and 22d of June your honour will have seen what delays and alterations a public business concerning the succours of Savoy did suffer by reason of our private distractions; which appears likewise in the conclusion, there being no resolution therein until the 2d of this present; and that, which was then taken, differing both in quality and quantity from the former inclination of the states, they having now thought it best to give the assistance in money only by 50,000 guilders monthly, beginning with August next; and this for the space of four months, but conditionally, that the war of Piedmont continues so long. They account (as will appear to your honour by the copy of their answer) that this sum will pay 4000 foot and 400 horse; which according to the *bon mesnage* of this country may so hold out, but will fail by the one half of the rates of Italy, if they reckon as well the charge of the levy as of the entertainment.

Howsoever this succour in money be not answerable to expectation, the duke of Savoy's minister doth rest satisfied therewith, considering there is no present alliance betwixt his master and this state, nor precedent obligation: And he acknowledgeth to have been assisted herein by his majesty's favour, I having often interceded for him in conformity to the express order I received from your honour by your letters in February last, and was employed herein betwixt the states and him to remove some difficulties.

The troops of baron D'OYEN, which have been long entertained in Nimeguen, and other frontier towns, partly in expectation of their pay from the princes in France, and partly for this service of Savoy, will not be disbanded, they having received from the princes one month's pay only of three, which was promised them, and being out of hope of means to be conducted into Savoy, for which this allowance of the states will not suffice, there having been certain large conditions passed betwixt the count CAMILLO TAFFIN (one employed by the duke of Savoy for this purpose) and the baron D'OYEN; which the senator DE MONTOU, who hath negotiated this business with the states (notwithstanding that he hath been written unto by an express courier from the marquis DE LANZE and other ministers of the duke of Savoy at Paris) is neither willing nor able to perform, he having already disbursed part of his money to one COLLESTEIN, a German colonel, who with the count DE MANSFLET hath undertaken to conduct 3000 foot into Piedmont for the duke's service.

In case these horse had been sent and paid by the states, count HENRY had a desire to have the command of them; which failing, he now pretends to go as a private man to see the duke of Savoy, he having a purpose to absent himself from home for a time, as well in regard of his match with the landgrave's daughter, the crosses whereof do give him *animum peregrinandi*, as for avoiding offence here at home betwixt these partialities, wherein he is not willing to embark himself.

The levy the count LEVESTEIN hath undertaken for the Venetians is at a stay by reason of the difficulty to get shipping at this time of the year, when the seamen apprehend the danger of becalming in the passage of the Straits, whereby they shall be exposed to the danger of the Spanish gallies.

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Here is newly returned out of the East-Indies one SPILBERG of Zealand, who hath conducted thither in safety two ships of great burden laden to the value of two millions and half of florins, this being his third voyage from the East, and having made this last by the West through the straits of Magellan.

He hath brought with him one LA MER, son to a wealthy merchant of North Holland, who not being of the East-India company hath made a voyage in the nature of an interloper with two ships passing by the West-Indies, and so arriving three months before SPILBERG in the East. One of his ships he hath lost by casualty of fire in Brasil: with the other he pretends to have discovered a new passage into the South sea betwixt 60 and 70 leagues beyond the straits of Magellan in the height of 55 degrees and a few minutes, the passage being 7 Dutch miles in breadth and no more in length, so as in less than one day it may be sailed through; whereas the straits of Magellan require betwixt three weeks and a month, by reason of the length of the way and variety of winds.

Your honour will conceive the consequence hereof, if the relation hold true, which is questioned by this East-Indian company, they having arrested LA MER's ship in the East-Indies, for breaking their privilege of the Magellan straits, and pleading this new discovery to be an invention to delude them.

The journal I cannot yet recover by reason of LA MER's controversy with the company; and because he seeks, before he will communicate the same, a privilege of the states *detectionis jure*, to use that passage alone for certain years; but his map I have seen, wherein he makes *Terra del fuego* an island, which hath been hitherto esteemed a continent, and hath given names to two other islands, which he discovered towards the south, the *States*, the other *Barnevelt*.

Here have been certain merchants upon the heat of these accidents to treat with the states touching the framing a company for the West Indies, after the example of the other in the East; in which they undertake for a stock of three millions of florins: and at this present they have news by letters of the 6th and 10th of the last from Seville, that their fleet in the East Indies hath utterly defeated the Spanish armada at the Manillas, to which they give the more credit, because SPILBERG reporteth he left in November last ten men of war well provided at Bantam, and ready to set sail for this purpose.

Upon news of an arrest in Spain, and likewise in Naples and Sicily, of the ships and merchandise belonging to this state, the states have written expostulatory letters to Brussels, which they have sent by our huisier HENDRICKSON, with order to attend four days only for the answer.

The states of Holland assemble a week sooner than was appointed; by reason that the contra-remonstrants here at the Hague have possessed themselves of the church in the Woorholt of their own private motive, without any public order or license; they having now had their sermons therein two several Sundays and one work-day, and are a greater congregation by many than those who frequent the chief church.



It is certain, that they were led by the artifice of the contrary part to seize themselves of this church, whereby to divert them from their design upon the other; and yet the day following their first sermon, the church-doors were shut up, and the minister, that preached, called to an account by the council of Holland, as having committed an offence. The day following the church-doors were opened again for fear of tumult; and so was it intended, when they were shut up: but these demonstrations are used, to make it appear the courses of the contra-remonstrants are guided rather by violence than order, whereby to keep in devotion such spirits, as agreeing with them in opinion, do notwithstanding disallow such kind of proceeding: and if these men now in the Woorholt should be once authoris'd, it is certain the other church would be left very desolate: and of these churches here the rest of Holland would take example, according to the use *propere sequi quæ piget inchoare*.

177 hath been lately in 182 to direct, that 43, 47, 40, 53, 27, 38, 20 from insisting farther upon 7.214. The like diligence hath been used by other means with 180; but they both persist in their former purpose of sending to 189 at the appointed time.

I send your honour an abstract of the freshest letters out of Prussia from the states embassador STICCHIUS, with others from Cleves, touching the affairs of Germany; wherein the chiefeft matter of consideration is the emperor's coming in person to Dresden, which is here thought to be for other designs than is pretended, as particularly by gaining the elector of Saxe to pass the election of the king of the Romans, with other matters of advantage to the house of Austria, without regard of the other electors.

The duke of Savoy's embassador (for so he hath commission to qualify himself in Germany, though here he had no other style than the senator DE MONTOU) hath order from his master to go from hence to the elector of Saxe to demand his assistance, as being of his blood conjointly with the princes of the union, with whom he doth promise himself good success, having had their recommendation to the states, and now returning with this resolution of succours of many as an effect of their counsels.

I am required at this present by letters and a commissioner sent expressly from the count of East-Friesland to assist him here with the states in certain differences newly risen betwixt him and certain of his nobility; wherein I shall readily obey the commandment I received from his majesty in my instructions.

This letter by computation must find your honour about the time of your arrival in Scotland, so as you will be pleased to inform his majesty, if there be any thing therein worth his knowledge.

I presume to convey a letter under your honour's cover to mr. secretary LAKE, in answer of such as I have lately received from him. Thus I humbly take leave; &c.

July 7. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from St. Bartholomew's: by JOHNSON.



My lord,

Were it not for the return of this bearer, the post of the Hague, I should not at this time give you this trouble, for your last letters require no answer; and at this time little occurreth worthy your knowledge.

You are not ignorant what issue sir JOHN BENNET's negotiation hath had: according to his instructions, he hath had audience after his return before the lords, who finding the matter to import no less than the breach of that amity, which long hath continued between the king and the archduke ALBERT, have held this to be the safest course, to dispatch to his majesty one Dr. DUCKE, who attended sir JOHN BENNET in this negotiation; by whose relation when his majesty shall understand the whole state of this business, he may be pleased to determine what in his wisdom he shall hold most convenient both for his honour and his service. It would be but a trouble both to you and to me to send you all the pieces and particularities of this proceeding: the sum of all is contained in his protestation, a copy whereof I send herewith unto you.

The complaints we receive both at home and abroad of the strange and indirect proceedings of the states and their ministers, do make me fear, that if they continue in their peremptory obstinacy, presuming to carry all before them with a high and strong hand, we shall not be able, neither in reason of state, nor in duty to the king's service, nor for the honour of our nation, long to hold good quarter with them. To let pass the business of the tare, whereby tacitly and indirectly they would banish the commerce of our clothing out of their provinces, the grievances, which our merchants of the East-Indian company daily do suffer by the intolerable insolencies of their people trading in those parts, are of that dangerous consequence for the time to come, that if they be not presently remedied, an open breach will ere long ensue between his majesty's kingdoms and their provinces.

As we have not much, so the best news I can send you is, that his majesty in Scotland, and the queen and prince here, are all in good health. Our last letters from thence tell us, that the parliament there is ended; and that the earl of ARUNDEL, the earl of PEMBROKE, and the lord ZOUCH, are lately sworn of the privy council of Scotland.

I am yet uncertain when I shall begin my journey that way; for though I formerly intended to set forward as upon this day, the present constitution of his majesty's affairs will not permit that I should remove from hence until I shall farther understand his majesty's pleasure therein. And so for the present I take my leave, &c.

July 21. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: received by sir EDWARD HARWOOD and captain BURROWS, the 26.

My lord,

These two noble and worthy gentlemen have charge to communicate unto you a business of great honour and of as great importance to the good of Christendom; which as it is to be handled with all secrecy and dexterity, so are you to persist with his excellency

cellency and mons. BARNEVELT with all earnestness, whose coldness, I hear, will require to be warmed with the most powerful reasons you can alledge. At my better leisure I will write more at large. Now I remain, &c.

July 21. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by GEORGE MARTEN.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Here is little for the present worthy of an express dispatch; our greatest and I may say the only business of moment (which is the question about religion) remaining still *in fieri*, and nothing *in facto* to be advertised; yet are the degrees, by which we proceed, somewhat considerable, here being much artifice used by the Arminian faction to avoid the scandal of refusing a synod, and yet as strong a perseverance continued as ever in opposing the same: for this they know to be a rock, on which an ill cause cannot touch without suffering shipwreck, though that, which is good and strong in itself, and can (as we say) hold out water, runs no hazard. They therefore decline whatsoever is proposed to conduce to this end, and make other overtures, specious in shew, but indeed hard, if not impossible, to be effected.

The national synod recommended first by his majesty, and afterwards desired and resolved upon by Guelderland, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen, the major part of the states of Holland now presently assembled (who stand affected as your honour well knows) do utterly reject, under pretence, that it is not for the dignity of this province, which hath so long given the law to the rest, now to yield, and be overruled by them: and even those amongst them, which wish well to the common cause, are not a little drawn the same way with this *punto d'honore*, so as in place hereof they are now in deliberation of a provincial synod, which they would seem to intend as a way to an oecumenical council of all the reformed churches (a thing wherewith they judge his majesty will be well pleased, as formerly wished by him); and this provincial synod they require to be performed by two deputies of every classis with assistance of some of the states: The election of the deputies for the synod to be likewise made in presence of four of the magistrates, and the double number of deputies to be chosen, that is, four for every *classis*, the rejection of two whereof should be in the hands of the magistrates.

The form of this election is opposed by those, who observe the same not only to be different from all former custom, but likewise to carry with it the inconvenience of having all the deputies either declared Arminians, or that way affected, because the magistrate will have so great a hand therein. Wherefore the manner is more stood in than the matter (which few or none do gainsay), a provincial synod being thought necessary, as serving well for a preparative, if not for a perfect remedy to cure these distempers: and herein, by reason of the stiffness on the one side, and jealousies on the other, they are yet far from agreement.

In two other points they have taken a resolution since their last meeting: the one to make a proclamation against speaking ill of the magistrates; the other to admonish their ministers by a letter to forbear invectives in their sermons; both matters of good appearance, yet such as carry with them a tacit condemnation of the contraremonstrants.



remonstrants, as if *scandalum magnatum* & *maledicentia* were justly to be imputed to them.

There hath been lately a question in the town of Nimeguen touching the introducing of a contra-remonstrant preacher, wherein the governor and garrison shewed themselves opposite to the Arminians, threatening to put themselves in arms; and thereof came complaint to the states general, which was a whole forenoon's business, the 10th of this present, his excellency and the council of state being called thereunto by seven of the clock in the morning: but the governor being there present acquitted himself well, and was licensed without so much as a reprimand. The question about the minister was remitted to the province of Guelderland, of which Nimeguen is a part, contrary to the opinion and earnest endeavours of 174 and 213, who would have commissioners sent in the name of the states general to take knowledge of the matter, whereby to draw the same from the states of Guelderland, with whom the party of the contra-remonstrants is the stronger.

This repulse went so far to the heart of 174, that he sickened presently, and so remained for two or three days, when, as if he had recovered new strength, he came to 192, and there beginning with a preface, that though for age and weakness he rather desired to retire himself, yet in such extremities of 181, he would not abandon their service. He then produced a letter from 12, to 25, 27, 35, which contained, that 100 being better informed of those affairs did much condemn the proceedings of 212, as tending to the overthrow of the authority of 192, and hereupon made many inferences to the advantage of his party, and particularly to the discrediting of the 34, 10, 49, 51, 53, 17, 51, 52, 19, 47, from 100 to 190 touching 214, as if it had been drawn from 101 by practice.

Upon what ground 127 hath written this, I cannot say; but of this 197 is well assured, that there is an intention in 174 to procure from 101, if it be possible, some letters or message to 190 in conformity to the former 34, 19, 52, 65, 67, 51, 20, 48, for confirmation of the authority of 192, he ascribing this last, and so hath voiced it through 181, as obtained by the means of 114, and not otherwise agreeing with the mind of 101.

The carriage of things by 190 *de haute luite* both here and abroad (which your honour doth touch in your letters of the 7th of this present) cannot be excused; but by whose natural high spirit this manner of proceeding was first introduced, and is still continued, your honour can well judge; so as the increase of the authority of 192, BARNEVELT states general where 174 hath all power, and by consequence with 190, will augment the inconvenience; and on the contrary it may be hoped, that 174 failing of 26, 29, 50, 17, 38, 16, 20, 49, in the matter now in question, may put water in his wine, and learn more temper and moderation.

Touching the complaints of our merchants in the East-Indies, I would gladly be made acquainted, if your honour so please, with some particularities, to the end I might



might have somewhat to answer to these men here, who lay to our merchants charge the furnishing the Spaniards and Portugals with powder and other munition, besides other courses tending to both our prejudices in that trade for the present, and our ruins for the future.

The archdukes have made a courteous answer to the letter from the states, whereof I advertised your honour in my last touching the arrest of ships of these provinces in Spain and Italy; promising speedily to write into Spain for redress: but since here have been assembled betwixt seventy and eighty of the best merchants of these provinces, with complaint of many more ships of these provinces stayed in those parts to the number of fifty, all of great burden; whereof, when their former letters were written, there was no knowledge; and they require by petition either speedy redress, or thirty sail of men of war to be sent to the coast of Spain; whereby to right themselves: to whom mons. BARNEVELT made answer, that they trading there for their avarice, and having so deeply engaged themselves, must not think so hastily to engage the state: with which hasty answer they remain very ill satisfied.

The count LEVESTEIN hath at length agreed for shipping for the transport of his men for Venice, and obtained of the states Delfzijl in Friesland for the place of their imbarcking, being refused at Embden: as likewise is difficulty made by the count of Embden for their passage through his open country, for which the states and his excellency have written unto him, and have sent an express messenger, whom at the request of the Venetian resident I have accompanied with a letter to the same effect, presuming that it will not be disagreeable to his majesty.

I have lately assisted the count in the assembly of the states general according to his express desire, upon occasion of differences betwixt him and certain of the nobility of his states; which the state here would evoke from thence to be ended by their commissioners; whereas the count requires either to have the matter pass by ordinary course of justice, or else that nothing may be done without knowledge and approbation of his majesty.

Herein the states have hitherto made no answer; but the demand is so reasonable, that howsoever the count's opposite party hath made friends amongst them, though it may be protracted, it cannot well be denied.

Of the count MAURICE's leaving his chapel in the court, and frequenting this new church hereby in the Woorholt, and count HENRY's abstaining from both, because he will displease none, your honour will have heard by common report, they being things of great note; as it is likewise much observed, that in this new church they particularly pray for his majesty's prosperity: with which I will end for the present, and humbly take leave, &c.

July 31. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by a messenger of sir EDWARD VERE's, under cover to mr. JOHN MORE.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

These affairs of religion grow daily to greater disorder, the assembly of the states of Holland being absolutely dissolved, and a resolution taken by plurality of voices (all of the Arminian faction) without consent of the rest, to prescribe a new oath to the soldiers in garrison here within this province, to assist the magistrates, in occasion of any tumult, and particularly in repelling such of the people as would possess themselves either of churches, or any other public places for their sermons. This was immediately put in practice at the Brill, whither the order was sent the 26th of this present being Saturday, under pretence, that the people the next day did intend to set up a contra-remonstrant preacher, against the mind of the magistrate; so as the oath being tendered to three Dutch captains being there in garrison was presently taken: and a speech being suddenly raised, that count MAURICE doth intend to surprize the town, the burghers were all night in arms, and the next day likewise, and the guards of the soldiers doubled, with artillery planted against the place of landing: At all which his excellency being much scandalized, complained himself two days after to the council of state, and they in a whole body with an uniform consent went with him to the states general, shewing the inconvenience, which would come of this new oath, which would put both the soldiers and inhabitants into great jealousies, the one being made the instrument of violence, and the other of being forced in matter of conscience: To which his excellency added his personal complaint, and for conclusion required, that those of Holland should be advised by the states general to desist ministring this new oath, and to content themselves with the antient form of allegiance, by which their officers were sworn to the states general, his excellency, and the towns wheresoever they were quartered. This was long disputed; and besides the reiterated advice of the council of state after new deliberation and a plurality of voices amongst the states general, so concluded. Against which mons<sup>r</sup>. BARNEVELT, in the name of those of Holland, did stiffly oppose himself, saying, that what the states of that province had resolved, those, which were there, the deputies, could not alter; but promised, that they would govern themselves in that manner, that there should be no cause of complaint. Notwithstanding I hear, that they have sent commissioners to minister the oath in other places of Holland, and that their intent is to change their garrisons, and to remove such companies, whose officers are not pliable to their purposes: particularly their aim is to shew some example upon Oudewater, and to prevent the communion in that town; which is intended to be celebrated by the contra-remonstrants on Sunday next. The end of this will prove confusion, and turn that, which hath hitherto been schism, into open faction, the captains and officers being for the most part resolved to refuse the oath. In which case if their pay be detained, which is all wherewith they are treated (for cashier them they cannot without consent of the generality) the five towns of the contra-remonstrants profess they will pay them out of that part, which they pay to the contributions; and to those five which have long declared themselves, three others, Schedam, Medenblick, and Mainchedam, do begin to adhere, they having purposely absented themselves from this last meeting. The provinces, which have consented to a national synod, hold their appointed day of assembly; which these towns will meet by their deputies. The reason alledged by mons<sup>r</sup>. BARNEVELT, why those of Holland do not concur in this resolution of a synod, is, because they will not make that national, which is provincial; and for justification of their proceeding, he pleads an article of the act of the union of Utrecht; wherein those



those of Holland and Zealand have authority apart in matters of religion, the other provinces being left herein to their liberty. But this is condemned for an apparent misconstruction of the sense of that article, which being at that time composed to have power within themselves to maintain the reformed religion, where no other was professed, without imposing this necessity upon other provinces, which were not as then so well settled; that authority, which was then given the two whole provinces for establishing of religion, a part of this one alone (though a major part counting the voices of the magistrates separate from the general inclination of the people) will now convert to the corrupting, if not extirpating thereof, bringing in first by practice, and now settling by force, this novelty of Arminianism; which how odious it is to the people, may appear by an obscure usage of UTENBOGARD, the chief minister of this town, a ring-leader of that sect, who one night this week had the street-door of his house *imbrattata* (a reproach I never heard of but at Venice used to infamous courtisans) and that in that vile manner, that there was a proclamation made by the magistrates of the town with a reward of 100 guilders for discovery of the authors, whereof

Count HENRY,

the greatest fruit hitherto is to have the same divulged. 172, who abstained at first from both churches, hath since been moved by 173 and 176 to follow 178, so as he was in the way to set as 7. 25. 17. 9. 15. 42. 22. 10. 21. 8. 13. 52. 27. 39. 38.

Count MAURICE.

amongst the 49. 42. 33. 15. 30. 17. 47. 50. 5. 67. 68. against 171, whereof the danger to himself and his 25. 40. 55. 17. 3. 4. was represented unto him by 197. Since he hath given 171 an infallible proof of his constancy in 52. 25. 17. 9. 53. 49. 17. and fidelity to 171. Yet he goeth on for a while in his course with 178. but by consent of 171.

The day after the breaking up of the states of Holland, the deputies of those towns, which resolved the conclusion of a national synod, went in a body to his excellency, the count HENRY, and the princess of Orange, desiring them in the name of the states of Holland to hold a hand in the maintenance of the authority of the magistrates. To which his excellency answered he would not fail, so long as it was not used for suppression of religion. The others gave courteous words without restriction. 175 tra-

Count MAURICE, BARNEVELT.

vails betwixt 171 and 174, to accommodate these differences; but they are gone too far to be ended by private mediation.

I have spoken with his excellency and monf. BARNEVELT touching the businesses, which by your honour's letter of the 21st of this present you referred to sir EDWARD HARWOOD and captain BURROWES, who intending to return into England at the appointed time, shall carry with them more particulars than is now necessary to be advertised. In general I can only say, here is a good inclination discovered; but in effect *conversis ad civiles discordias armis externa sine curâ habentur*. Thus for the present I humbly take leave, &c.

July 10. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Falkland: received the 6th of August.



My lord embassador,

The secretary of Venice, according as your lordship advertised me by col. BROGUE, came hither to Edinburgh the night before his majesty's remove from thence, having had in his passage a shrewd fall, which kept him in bed three or four days. His proposition was, that upon this rupture between Spain and Venice, it would please his majesty to declare himself in their favour, according to some promise, as he saith, made some years since upon another occasion. His majesty thereupon asked him some questions: one, why his majesty heard not of this motion by his own embassador sir HENRY WOTTON? the other, whether they had not still an embassador in Spain, and Spain one with them unrevoked? He confessed both. Whereupon his majesty answered, that he thought this proceeding a little strange, first, that they should not impart themselves to his own embassador: Secondly, that if they have mutually embassadors residing each with either, which are the ministers of peace, how they did move his majesty to declare himself, when themselves had not done it. But yet hereupon his majesty hath made a dispatch to his embassador going into Spain, who is now at Plymouth, warranting him to deal with the king of Spain concerning that business, and to let him know, that if he do not frame his ministers and courses there to ways of peace, his majesty must and will do that which his honour requireth, and that which he seeth other Christian princes do. And for his open declaration hath desired to publish it till he meet with his council, where he may with their approbations determine of the manner of his declaration, and how to maintain it, if there be cause.

These dispatches I sent away from Stirling; but the secretary, by whose means I conveyed that to sir HENRY WOTTON, whereby he was directed to deliver thus much to the state at Venice, was not contented, because he knew not the particulars, and so came hither yesternight, and this morning to me, to understand what the dispatch contained: Which when he was told, he was not satisfied, because the declaration was not present; and after some altercation he came to this, that his majesty would be pleased to signify to you what course he had taken, and what his intentions, in case he received not satisfaction from Spain, that you might further the determination of the states to send them aid either of men or money; for the same being yet in suspense, and not resolved, he thought, that by that means they might be sooner brought to a resolution, and to give that aid which was in question. Wherein I moved his majesty this day, and he was well pleased that I should let your lordship know both the secretary's proposition, his majesty's answer, and his purpose, that he doth wish you to use all the best means you can to further the resolution of that state, to aid either Savoy or them; but Savoy first, which is now most in need, and about which it seemeth by your lordship's letters they have consulted already, and are near a conclusion, which time requireth they should take.

Colonel BROGUE came hither in eight days, so as your lordship's letters were timely, and brought the first news of that you write of: since the election of FERDINANDO to Bohemia hath been confirmed. So I leave further to trouble your lordship, &c.

*July*

*July 12.* King JAMES to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: received 6 *Aug.*

JAMES R.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. You have by former directions sufficiently known our desire to appease the controversies raised in those provinces in matters of religion, and therefore we shall need to say the less to you now. But our son the elector Palatine having written to us of his desire to send an express minister thither to travail to the same end, and craved therein our advice, and that he might be seconded by you in his godly purpose; we have both encouraged him to proceed therein, and assured him, that you shall not only assist the person by him sent with your best advice and help, but also further the same in our name by the best means and credit we have amongst them; which we require you to do with all diligence and earnestness according to that which you know already of our mind therein. Given under our signet at our palace of St. Andrew's the 12th day of July in the fifteenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the 50th.

*July 26.* Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from St. Bartholomew's: received the 6th of August by Mr. ASHLEY of the Temple.

My lord,

I lately received the letters, which accompany these, out of Scotland, with directions to send them unto you with the first conveniency. They proceed, as you see, from a motion of the elector Palatine, who, as I now understand, is or hath been at Sedan. His zeal for the advancement of religion, and the care he hath of the welfare of those provinces, are much to be commended, and both deserve to be cherished in a prince of his young years. Therefore to encourage his virtuous endeavours, that the success may answer to his desires, the states shall do that which best will become them in honour and reason of state, to treat those his ministers who shall be sent unto them not only with kindness and courtesy; in which point I presume they will not be defective, but also to lend them a favourable and attentive ear; and so far to yield unto them, that the world may take notice, that the intercession of that prince hath had power with both parties, to make them relent from those peremptory positions, which with so much obstinacy hitherto they have so strictly maintained. What success you will have in this negotiation you will not forget to advertise: but I fear the humours are too violently stirred, suddenly to be calmed or appeased.

Sir EDWARD HARWOOD and capt. BURROWES have been with you, and you understand of what importance that service is which they do propound. Therefore I should but wrong mine own judgment to persuade or advise you to embrace the business with fervency and affection, and to give it by your carriage and countenance that advancement, as the nature of such an action doth deserve.

My journey into Scotland is stayed. His majesty was pleased to refer it to my discretion to go or stay, as the good of his service should require. But when I had made choice to go, and was resolved within three days after to set forward, the lords commanded my attendance here; and for my better discharge, signified to his majesty by their letters, how necessary the presence of a secretary is in this place in the absence



both of himself and of the lords, for they are now all disperfed every one unto his feveral home.

Your old acquaintance TOBY MATTHEW is returned, and gone into the country with my lord keeper. He once came to vifit me, and to intreat my favour; which if he receive not in that plentiful manner as perhaps he may expect, it is not to be imputed to want of kindnefs in affection in me, for I love his perfon, and the good parts that are in him; but I muft not be falfe to that duty I owe to the fervice of the king, and to that trust the ftate doth repose in me; to both which nothing can be more dangerous than that fuch men, who professedly refufe the oath of allegiance, fhould be cockered or countenanced. And fo I commit you to the protection of the Almighty, and reft, &c.

*Aug. 4.* The lords of the council with the king in Scotland to the lords of the council in England, dated at Dumfries and figned by LENOX, HAMILTON, PEMBROKE, MAR, G. BUCKINGHAM, BINNING, THO. LAKE.

We do by his majesty's commandment write this letter to your lordships to acquaint you with an infolence and affront offered by the ftates of Holland fifhing upon this coast. The caufe is this: I the duke of LENOX, as admiral of Scotland, knowing, that there was an antient duty payable by the fifhermen using their trade upon this coast to his majesty as in right of his crown of Scotland, called the fize-herring, did the laft year, by direction of his council and his majesty's commandment, fend one JOHN BROWNE to the fifhermen, to acquaint them with that duty, and to demand the fame, which was peaceably paid. And becaufe I heard, that the payment was mifliked in Holland, I did this year fend the fame JOHN BROWNE again, with his majesty's fhip which attended this coast, to make the like demand in his majesty's behalf, but gave him inftructions to avoid all offence and violence; only to make his demand, and, if the duty were paid, to receive it; if not, to take witnefs of the denial, and fo to return. Which BROWNE accordingly performed his charge, and coming aboard one of the fhips, and making his demand, he was answered by the mafter, that they had order from Holland not to pay it: to which he replied, he had no more to fay, but to take notice of the refusal in writing. And while he was occupied thereabouts in that fhip, there came aboard the mafter of another fhip of Holland, and feeing him, demanded his name: which when BROWNE had told him, the other replied, "If you be he, I have order from Holland to feize upon you, and to carry you prifoner thither." BROWNE fpake to him very difcreetly; told him what his errand was; and wifhed him to be advifed what he did. Notwithstanding the mafter infifted ftill, that he had order to arrest him, and keep him prifoner. Whereupon BROWNE wrote prefently to the mafter of his majesty's fhip, advertifing him of his cafe, but wifhing him withal to offer no violence for his refcue, but only to certify, as foon as he might, his majesty of it. This affront his majesty is very fenfible of; and having acquainted us of his council of both kingdoms, who were here prefent, therewith, he delivered likewise this direction, that your lordships there fhould prefently inquire, if there were any fhips of the United Provinces in the river of Thames; and, if there be, to arrest the mafters of two or three of them, or as many as your lordships fhall think meet, and commit them prifoners: and that your lordships fend for fir NOEL CARON, and acquaint him with



with the case, and the direction his majesty hath given, letting him understand it in a round manner, and requiring him to advertise the states of the matter, and to let them know, that his majesty expecteth a reparation of his honour from them. And his majesty's farther pleasure is, that your lordships do likewise by your letters to his embassador in Holland signify what the case is; what direction his majesty hath given here; what you have done with sir NOEL CARON; and to require him to do the like in his majesty's name with the states general, and to demand satisfaction from them for this insolence offered to his majesty. And so we recommend your lordships to the protection of almighty God.

From the court at Dumfries,  
this 4th of August, 1617.

Your lordships loving friends, &c.

*Aug. 4.* Secretary LAKE to the lords of the council in England.

My duty to your lordships most humbly remembered. After the signing of this letter by my lords, mr. secretary and I speaking with captain MURRAY, who was captain of the ship, found by him some particulars, which we thought fit to be made known to your lordships: as that the captain of the admiral of the Hollanders, whose name is ANDREW CLIFFE, after the refusal of the payment, would have sent BROWNE back again: but JOHN ALBERTSON, captain of a ship of Enchuyfen, who was the man that came aboard, inquiring if this man were JOHN BROWNE, and the same who the last year received the duty, being told it was, he said he had a warrant from the states, which he produced there, to arrest him, and carry him prisoner into Holland: which we take to be very material, for we were doubtful at first whether the ships had not done it of themselves, and might be disavowed by the states. But this speech of the captain doth clear it, for that he saith, it was done in their name, and a warrant produced for it. So I most humbly take my leave.

At Dumfries, this 4th  
of August, 1617.

Your lordships most humble to command,

THOMAS LAKE.

*Aug. 13.* Lords of the council in England to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: received the 22d by WOODWARD.

After our very hearty commendations. By the copies of the two letters which herewith you shall receive, you will understand, first with what audacious boldness and insolency (authorized, as they pretend, by their superiors) the captains of certain ships upon the coast of Scotland lately have proceeded against a servant and public minister of his majesty's, whom, in a fair and civil fashion demanding such dues as in right appertained to the crown of Scotland, they have arrested and violently carried prisoner into Holland. Then you will see the directions we have received from his majesty, and the charge we are commanded to impose upon you; for performance whereof diligent inquiry hath been made what ships of those provinces are in the port of London; and by report of those who have been employed, being men of credit

dit and experience, there are no ships of Holland at all in that port, notwithstanding the lord high admiral hath order, so soon as any ship of merchandise out of Holland shall arrive in this port, to arrest and seize upon two of the masters, and to detain them prisoners.

Sir NOEL CARON, upon our instance, presented himself this day in the assembly of council, to whom we declared first the fact; then remonstrated the indignity of this disgraceful affront; lastly required him to advertise his superiors, how sensible his majesty is of this their injurious and scornful carriage; with this assurance, that he expecteth a present reparation of his honour, both by acknowledgment of the offence committed, and for satisfaction of the parties so unjustly aggrieved. Sir NOEL CARON returned us this discreet and modest answer, that he should be exceeding sorry, if the states general, his superiors, or any particular province, should carry themselves towards his majesty, or any of his subjects, otherwise than should become them in duty and respect. For this particular fact he pleaded ignorance, and persisted he was not acquainted with any such warrant for the apprehension of that man, who now is prisoner; promiseth presently to dispatch a messenger with advertisement of the particularities of this proceeding; and presumeth, that his majesty shall receive with all diligence speedy satisfaction to his full contentment. Howbeit he insisted long, that, before his majesty's departure into Scotland, he did move his majesty, that for this year there might be a forbearance of that right of taking the size-herring; and that all differences in question might rest until the moving of the commissioners, which only do attend the return of his majesty. The charge, which we are to impose upon you, is this; that though this offence proceed from the states of Holland, if they have given any warrant for such an exorbitant attempt, which we are not easily willing to believe, or from their subordinate ministers, whose fact is theirs until they disavow it; and disavow it they do not, until they punish it exemplarily, and in so public and open a fashion as that the world may take notice of it: yet because the states general are the representative body of all the United Provinces, and are they with whom his majesty hath treated and contracted amity and alliance; you, upon receipt of this, with the first convenience, shall demand audience in the assembly of the states general: to whom having represented the indignity of this fact (too shameful and scornful with connivance to be passed over, much less with patience to be digested) you shall require in his majesty's name satisfaction, which you may say he expecteth to be such, as may hold a just proportion with the insolency of the grievance. This moreover we add, that you shall do well to repair to the count MAURICE, who is high admiral of those provinces, and so likewise to the principal ministers, who carry the greatest stroke in the management of the affairs, especially of Holland, and in fair and moderate terms treat with them to employ their best and most powerful endeavours, not only that satisfactory reparation may be made for cancelling this error, which his majesty hath reason the more grievously to exaggerate, because it seemeth to proceed rather *en gayeté de cœur*, out of bravery and presumption, than out of any ground of pretended reason; but also that hereafter their affairs in this kind may be carried with that moderation, that the like insolencies be not committed, to the disturbance of that good correspondence, which by experience they have found (the fruit whereof they all do enjoy to their present comfort) his majesty  
ever



ever hath been careful to preserve between his crowns and their provinces. And so we bid you very heartily farewell.

From Whitehall this  
13th of August, 1617.

Your very loving friends,

G. CANTERBURY, F. BACON, T. SUFFOLK, E. WORCESTER, NOTTINGHAM,  
W. WALLINGFORD, G. CAREW, JAMES HAY, RALPH WINWOOD, T. EDMONDES.

Aug. 14. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from St. Bartholomew's: received by WOODWARD the 22d.

My lord,

No man can be more sorry than myself of the occasion of this dispatch, which now you shall receive from the lords: for as my endeavours ever have aimed at this end, to preserve and maintain all good correspondence between his majesty's crowns and those provinces; so when unhappily any thing hath happened to cross or thwart this good understanding, my studies have been to remove those obstacles, or at least to qualify them. For I know how much it concerneth the good of those provinces, how strong soever they are, and powerful by themselves, perpetually to be seconded and reinforced by the supports and countenance of the king of Great Britain: and withal I confess, that so long as the crown of Great Britain doth stand in good terms of amity and alliance with the United Provinces, there is no cause it should have to fear the proud attempts of any incroaching enemy. Upon these considerations both parties should be careful and wary not to give just cause of offence the one to the other; but ought to cherish and nourish all good occasions, which may maintain and increase mutual amity. Which makes me the more marvel, that the states of Holland, who in all their other proceedings are so wary and cautelous, should in this action be so precipitate and adventurous; which must argue a great confidence they have of their own worth and valour, or a great neglect and contempt they have of our weakness. For had it not been sufficient for them to have given charge to the masters of their ships to have refused the payment of this tribute? Or, if they had held, by the demand of it, their sovereignty to be abridged, could not they, either by remonstrance from their ambassador, or by extraordinary legation, or commission, have demanded reason or reparation of this grievance? Hath the friendship of England been so fruitless unto them, that it doth deserve no longer to be entertained? Or are we become so contemptible, or are they so powerful, that, without cognizance of cause, they will be their own carvers, and so suddenly take fire, that upon any slight pretext there is no more but a word and a blow? *Tempora mutantur*. I have known the time, when there was more stayedness and advisedness in their proceedings; and when *la charrue de saint Bernard* (to use their own proverb) was in more respect and esteem amongst them. What shall I say, *Deus, quos vult perdere, prius dementat*? For if it be true, as is averred, that the states of Holland did give warrant to the masters of the ship to arrest the party mentioned in the lords letter; give me leave to say, never any thing was done by them more indiscreetly, or more presumptuously. And where pride goeth before, shame ever will follow after. *Tantumne otii ab re sua*? Have they not enough to do to accommodate their own differences at home, but that they



they must fall into quarrels and questions with their friends abroad; yea with their best friends, to make themselves a scorn and a reproach to their adversaries? but *manum de tabulâ*: I will say no more. You will see the charge you have received from the lords; and I doubt not but you will put it in execution with your accustomed diligence and dexterity.

This day I received your letters of the last month, and am glad your endeavours were so worthily and happily employed to rectify the misunderstanding between the two brethren.

My last (if I forget not) were by Mr. ROBERT ASHLEY of the Inner Temple, some time fellow of Magdalen college in Oxford, of whom I pray you to take notice, as also of one Mr. BERRY, who is now at Spa, but in his return from thence will pass through the Hague, where he shall have occasion to make use of your favour for the recovery of certain debts due at Amsterdam. And so for this time I rest, &c.

I pray you commend my best services to your lady. Her friends at Eton are in good health, and were assembled together at the election.

Aug.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

I was of opinion to reserve the business of 10, 33, 23, 29, 20, 47, 65, 67, to the relation of Sir EDWARD HARWOOD and Captain BURROWES, without giving your honour the trouble of my letters in that subject. But understanding by them upon farther discourse, that in confidence this state will concur willingly and readily with his majesty in the design, it may be farther proceeded in than it otherwise would be, I have thought best to advertise your honour in general what we have done therein, leaving the particularities unto these gentlemen, when they shall return to your honour.

Upon their first arrival, and divers times since, I failed not to represent to his excellency and mons. BARNEVELT the justice, honour, utility, and necessity of the enterprise, leaving the facility thereof to Sir EDWARD HARWOOD and Captain BURROWES, which they expressed in my hearing to mons. BARNEVELT to very good purpose, in so much that he seemed to rest well satisfied; and with his excellency they treated at large by themselves. But in conclusion we find them to insist upon certain difficulties, first in regard of the place that is to be assailed, the design being to take it by famine; and in short space, any misinformation of the store of the town, or any small ship, which should enter by sea, would overthrow it: and next in respect of this state, which being a commonwealth, and so composed as your honour best knows, they cannot undertake such a matter without communicating the same to the provinces, both in consideration of their trade in the Levant, which being so lately settled, they cannot so suddenly break off, and revoke their merchants with their goods, without their first acquainting the towns; as likewise of the charge, which each province must agree to contribute. Now in these two things the consent of the provinces cannot be had without communicating the design; and the communication of a matter of such

such secrecy cannot pass so generally, as it must do, without giving advertisement to the enemy.

In answer of the first of these objections concerning the magazine within the town, and the victualling it from abroad, the credit, which is to be given to those which were upon the place, and the good guard, which would be kept by the multitude of our shipping during the siege, was all I could alledge. But touching the communication of the design to the provinces, I remembered many extraordinary enterprizes, both of great cost and hazard, which, unless they had been resolved of and executed with secrecy, could never have taken place; and in participating matters of this nature I said there *magis & minus*, so as with some intelligent and confident persons, I thought his majesty would be content it should be communicated, that discretion being therein used which is requisite.

In this case I demanded of monf. BARNEVELT his opinion of the disposition of the states, adding farther, that though they did communicate the secret to confident persons, it was not needful to discover more in general, than that were to concur with his majesty for the suppression of the pirates: wherein that, which they now spend without fruit in three or four years, would be requited to very good purpose in one; and either the town would be taken, which would fully defray the charge, or, that failing, the pirates shipping would be undoubtedly burnt and consumed: which in three or four years should not be raised again to that strength at which they now are. And it was not to be questioned, but that in all events his majesty would from that time forward maintain an equal rate of shipping with them; whereby the one half of the charge, which they have been at for these late years, they would be freed of hereafter.

To this monf. BARNEVELT answered, that he could promise or undertake nothing, because he doubted first the provinces would stick much at the breaking of their trade in the Levant: and next, that they would be terrified with the greatness of the enterprize by example of CHARLES V. who failed thereof. His excellency told me plainly, that having talked with monf. BARNEVELT of this business, he found small appearance, in this time of distraction and domestic troubles, to obtain a consent of the provinces to concur in so great a foreign business: and therefore he wished his majesty would be pleased to defer the same until another year, when there might be hope of a better union amongst them. Mean time they here resolve to continue their wonted preparations against the pirates, to which they now return these five ships, which were ordained for the assistance of the king of Swede, with addition of one more (which make twelve in all with these which are already abroad) and these are now setting sail towards the Straits, with order to use all manner of hostility against the pirates, wheresoever they can encounter them. This shews the disposition of this state in general, howsoever that for this particular enterprize I do not find, either by his excellency or monf. BARNEVELT, how they can for the present be any ways induced to embrace it. If your honour can like well that I should sound some other of the states in this business, I may deal with such, as have their heads less amused than those who are heads of factions; and by that means may make more certain judgment against the time of these gentlemen's return of what may be expected of the states, in case his majesty should allow of having the matter farther communicated to the

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provinces. So referring your honour to other letters under this date for other affairs, I rest, &c.

*August  $\frac{1}{2}$ .* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE: addressed to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I find by your honour's letters of the 10th of July (which came not to my hands till now within these three days) how well his majesty doth understand the disposition of the Venetians: First, in their reservedness to foreign ministers in their state, which makes them commit many errors, in leaving them unacquainted with that which should proceed from their own masters, whereby they are the worse seconded in their affairs; and next in an old trick of policy, which their neighbour princes and states of Italy note in them, *pigliar la castagna con la zampa del gatto*: And therefore nothing could be more proper than his majesty's demands to LIONELLI, first, why they had not acquainted sir HENRY WOTTON with the business? and next, why they should expect a declaration of his majesty in their quarrel with Spain, when they had not declared themselves? But their natural umbrageousness and fear makes them sparing in communicating a secret with one public minister, for doubt of giving jealousy to the rest: And then they flush themselves with a conceit, that LA VENITIA is so much loved and esteemed of others, that like, a signora \* \* \* \*, she may sit and look on, whilst others like bravos fight her quarrels. But they cannot rest otherwise than very well satisfied with the course his majesty takes in their behalf by the commission he hath given on the one side to sir JOHN DREBY to persuade the king of Spain to peace; and on the other by that I have received by your honour's letters, in case their wars proceed, to dispose this state to their assistance. Wherewith having acquainted this Venetian resident SORIAN, he confesseth, that more cannot be in reason demanded by his masters, nor granted by his majesty: and if at his majesty's meeting with his council (by which time it will be seen which way those affairs do bend) he shall think fit to proceed any farther, I believe he will find a ready concurrence in this state and the princes of the union in Germany, who do well apprehend how much the preservation of the Venetian commonwealth doth import theirs.

By former letters your honour will have understood what resolution hath been taken for assistance of the duke of Savoy, wherein his minister will acknowledge, that the use I have made of his majesty's name in his behalf, hath not a little availed him; and as occasions serve for the Venetians, I fail not to give (according to his majesty's pleasure) my best help to their resident, having lately added a letter at his request to those of the states general and his excellency to the count of East Friesland for the passage of the count LEVESTEIN's troops through this country, wherein he made difficulty before, but hath now granted upon this instance, and I may believe, more in contemplation of his majesty than for any other regard, he being at this present very ill satisfied both of the states and count MAURICE by reason of certain differences betwixt him and some of his subjects, wherein he conceives his subjects to be countenanced from hence against him.

It



It will be the end of this month before the count LEVESTEIN can be in state to set forward, he intending to go by sea with his troops to Venice, and in an intire fleet: whereas those, which were sent thither by count JOHN ERNEST of Nassau, went scattering, and he himself took his way by land, but all arrived safely, though since through misgovernment they are come to nothing, the general through discontent having *animum revertendi*, from which he cannot be removed by any inducement of the Venetians; and his men for the most part consumed by the sword or sickness, or fled to the enemy; so as above 3000, which they were at landing, it is advertised they are not now above 500; by which the opinion is confirmed, that Tramontans do not so well in the wars of Italy as Italians on this side the mountains.

The plague is general over this country, and in some places hot. In my house I have some sick, which I was in doubt of; but whilst I am writing, they tell me it is broken out into the small pox. My apprehension was the greater, because one, that supped with me the last week at my table, died within two days after of the plague at Dort.

Aug.  $\frac{1}{2}$   $\frac{3}{5}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I conceive, that my last of the 31st of July will put your honour in expectation of the news of our proceedings in these controversies about religion; the beginning of which were so hasty and precipitate, suddenly upon the breaking up the last assembly of the states of Holland; which gives me occasion of this dispatch; and the more to make answer to your honour’s letters of the 26th of July, which accompanied those from his majesty out of Scotland; as likewise to give your honour some account of the business committed to sir EDWARD HARWOOD and captain BURROWES, which you shall have in a letter apart.

The oath, whereof I made mention, was not proceeded in, the soldiers, upon news of what was done at the Brill, being prepared to refuse it, and the people to oppose it, in that sort, that commissaries being sent to pass a general muster, upon suspicion that they came to prescribe the oath, hardly escaped violence, until they protested they had no such commission: only at Schoneven some English officers, that are there in garrison, were called into the stadthouse, and a promise was taken of them, in place of the oath, to be assistant to the magistrates.

For other circumstances concerning this business, I will make bold to refer your honour to the copy of my letters to his majesty; which upon occasion of my answer to his majesty’s pleasure concerning my joining with such ministers as shall be sent hither from the elector Palatine, I have enlarged the more, whereby to give his majesty a clear view of the state of this business, to the end that, coming disguised with the mask of public authority, it may not be made to appear other than in truth and reality it is; which is a schism in the church countenanced and maintained by faction in the state.

One of the chief brouïllons, GROTIUS the pensioner of Rotterdam, with another of the states of Holland, went immediately after the dissolution of the last assembly, in the name of the rest, to dissuade those of Zealand from sending their extraordinary deputy

to this meeting here at the Hague of those provinces which stand for a synod; wherein all they effected was to hold those of that province longer in consultation; so as their deputies are not yet arrived, but are hourly expected; those of the other provinces having been here these three or four days. But for GROTIUS and his colleague, though they were civilly entertained by the magistrates in Zealand, they might find their welcome by the people, who at Middleburg flocked about the *stadt-house*, whilst they had audience, in such assemblies, that they were fain to go from thence by stealth; and at their taking ship at Tervere, to return, they were forced to march *plus que le pas*, or they had been in danger to be thrown into the water; and at their setting sail, there was a cry of the people from the shore, as if they had been relieved from a siege by an enemy.

MONSIEUR BARNEVELT, now at the meeting of the states, is retired to Viana and his possessions about Amersford, under pretence of changing air for his health. The other states of Holland do the like; so as there is none left of that province in the assembly of the states general; which is done purposely to avoid their consenting to what shall be now resolved upon, touching a synod, or opposing the plurality of voices, by which it will be determined.

Upon occasion of an officer of my lord duke of LENOX being taken upon the north coast of Scotland, and conducted hither into Holland, according as your honour will perceive by his own information, I spake with monsieur BARNEVELT the day before his departure, remembering him of the complaints of our merchants against their men in the East-Indies; of the violences, which were used by MOY LAMBERT in Ireland, the loss whereof to MR. BOOTHBY remains yet unsatisfied; of the taking of the soldiers of the Derry last summer; and bringing them to Rotterdam, where they were uncivilly used; and now lastly of bringing away a public officer by force from the side of one of his majesty's ships, in which he was expressly conducted, having his majesty's letters patents, which he shewed to make his quality known, and could not be mistaken by a pretence of ignorance: These wrongs, I told him, were so general, and of so high a nature, that in no part nor no port his majesty's subjects could be free from the incursions of their men; and therefore was no longer to be supported. Wherefore I desired him, as he tendered the preservation of the amity betwixt his majesty and this state, not to remit us (as usually they do in such cases) to their East Indian company with their admiralities and fisheries, but to take that course, as was fit for reparation of honour to his majesty, and of damage to those which were interested.

Touching our merchants complaints in the East Indies, since I said nothing in particular, he made no particular answer.

That of the Derry he hoped had been forgotten. For BOOTHBY, he doubted not but satisfaction would be given of such commissioners as have it in charge, and we are indeed upon the point of agreement.

Concerning the last accident of taking MR. BROWNE, and conducting him into Holland, he knew not what to say more than it was ill done; and desired me with his hat in his hand (much differing from his use) to make a report thereof to his majesty.

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I told him, it was a matter that did no ways depend upon my relation, in that his majesty would undoubtedly be particularly advertised from the place where prize was made of his officer. Wherefore it behoved them to seek the means of satisfaction of his majesty, and contentment of the party they had in their hands.

He cast out a word in discourse, as if they had here a particular exemption from his majesty of paying any rights for that fishing; which point I did not dispute with him, but stood upon the personal wrong done unto his majesty's officer: Which, if it be his majesty's pleasure, that I should complain of further in the assembly of the states general, it is a matter of that ill sound, that it cannot but make much impression in them. And upon this occasion I should think it (under correction) very expedient to remember unto them in public those things which I repeated to mons. BARNEVELT in private, with addition of the insatisfaction of his majesty about their placart concerning dying and dressing of cloths, and of our merchants touching tare, whereby they will be quickened in sending over commissioners to his majesty; which otherwise they may be content to forget; and those that go, having these remembrances, cannot pretend to come uninstructed in any thing, which should tend to the removing these distastes, and re-establishing of good correspondence. If his majesty approve of this office, I will then put your honour in mind of a former request I made in answer to a letter of your honour's in this subject, that you would be pleased to acquaint me with some particulars of our merchants complaints in the East Indies, which in all event is needful for me, whereby to encounter what they alledge against our men in those parts.

I have omitted to let your honour know, how the placart, which was resolved by the states of Holland in general against those which speak ill of the magistrates, is extended by the composers of it to a deduction of the state of these controversies in religion *usque ab ovo*, with the reasons of requiring a provincial synod, and refusing a national. We look daily to have it printed in Latin, with an answer unto it by these towns of Holland, against whose consent it is published; both which I will send your honour with the first.

Your honour's favour to mr. TOBY MATTHEW, I made no doubt, will not fail him, if he do not fail himself. And though I cannot but wish him well for antient friendship, it goeth no farther than *usque ad aras*. And if he cannot submit himself to the oath of allegiance, I should think any place fitter for him than his majesty's dominions.

I should have desired your honour to have excused the plainness and oldness of the clock I sent her majesty, but that your appointment was to have been then upon your way to Scotland, and I conceived you were gone. Touching the watch (which I am sorry your honour calls to mind) I beseech you to forget all that belongs to it, save only the humble affection of him that sent it, who doth ever rest, &c.

P. S. The plague being risen in this town, and the small pox in my house, makes me look after some place of retreat for this vacation; but it shall be no where out of the way of his majesty's service,

Aug.



Aug.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the king.

May it please your majesty,

The commandment I have received from your majesty by letters of the 12th of July from St. Andrew's to assist the prince elector Palatine's minister, when he should send any such hither to appease the controversies in religion, which are raised in these provinces, and therein to use likewise your majesty's name and authority, I shall, when time serves, very readily obey, as I have not failed hitherto of my duty in this business, either in private or public, according to apt occasions. But such is the nature of this dispute and these people, that an unreasonable office is *oleum camino*; and therefore it is wished by count MAURICE (to whom I have made known your majesty's continual care of this cause) that the prince Palatine would forbear sending until such time, as his highness shall be desired from hence to employ some learned persons well studied in divinity for this purpose, it being here conceived his intent to be to send men of that quality; and then their assistance being required will have more grace, and be of greater authority than when it is proffered.

I have been demanded upon this occasion by count MAURICE, what belief I had of your majesty's inclination, in case your majesty should be desired by these four provinces (which do now assemble by their extraordinary deputies to determine of a national synod) to employ some learned ecclesiastical persons jointly with the prince Palatine's ministers to assist at the said synod, wherein he said your majesty's consenting to their desire would much import the cause; whereas any difficulty, which should be made, would work a contrary effect. Herein I neither could nor did make any determinate answer, because I would not take upon me to prescribe to your majesty what should proceed of your own princely pleasure: but I told him for his encouragement, that, a national synod being the thing which your majesty had recommended to these provinces, as the proper and accustomed course in such cases, he might in his own judgment make the less doubt of your majesty's willingness in giving all convenient assistance thereunto; especially if your majesty be desired in the name of the states general, and not of the four distinct provinces: for in that case the other three would lay a charge upon your majesty, as if you should foment the separation of their union, which is endangered by these present distractions.

His excellency replied unto me, that they would endeavour to procure herein (if it were possible) a resolution of the states general; but in case that cannot be effected by reason of the opposition of those of Holland, and that the four provinces should proceed with the synod, they would not only take fit time, but leave place to Holland and the other provinces, to enter likewise, with order to reiterate their former offices with them to that purpose; and using this due form of proceeding, he hoped, that in all event the wilful obstinacy of some should not deprive the rest of the benefit of your majesty's countenance and assistance, the rather, because the opposition to this course of synod is made by the Arminian faction only; which, exceeding the rest in their assembly by plurality of voices, use the name of the states of Holland and West-Friesland in all their placarts and proceedings concerning these present controversies, though they have the chief towns of Amsterdam and Dort, with some others, which protest against them, and the people are hardly kept in devotion from tumult.

To give your majesty farther light of the nature of their assembly and resolutions, you may please to understand one accident, which happened at the very breaking up of their last meeting, when there came deputies to the number of fifteen or more, in the name of the whole province, to count MAURICE, count HENRY, and the prince's dowager of Orange, desiring them severally to assist the magistrates in maintenance of their authority. To which count HENRY and his mother made present answers in general terms; but his excellency said, that, to understand their minds more in particular, he would come the next day to their assembly; which he accordingly did, and there told them the intent of his coming was to be better instructed in a matter of so great consequence, as that which concerned the repose of their consciences, and safety of their persons: wherein mons. BARNEVELT took upon him presently to declare the mind of the assembly, that they expected at his hands, as governor of the province, to assist the magistrates in execution of their authority, and particularly in those things they had determined at this last meeting: whereof he began to make the recital, but being in the midst of his speech, he was interrupted by the burgomaster of Amsterdam, who said, that this indeed was the advocate's desire with some others; but that his excellency must not take it as the consent of them all. This crossing put mons. BARNEVELT into distemper, and the burgomaster was no whit more calm; so as leaving the matter, they fell to comparing of lineages and other contestations, which his excellency was fain to moderate, and to end the strife told them, that when he first took his oath as governor of the province, they were all good friends, and at agreement, especially in this one point, to which he was sworn, that he should to his last drop of blood maintain and preserve the true reformed religion. Now they were so divided (as was there manifest) he would not, in obedience to one part, do any thing, which might either directly or indirectly contrary the oath made to them all; with which protestation he departed the assembly.

Since it appears to what this tended, which was to tie the soldiers by an oath to assist the magistrates: which began at the Brill, and was there taken unadvisedly, but was forborn in other towns for fear of tumult, the people apprehending (and not without just cause) that, under this pretence, upon any *que elle d'Allemand*, they should be oppressed by violence, and have their churches and preaching places taken from them, unless they would consent to reconjoin with the Arminians, which they stiffly refuse, until the points in controversy be determined by synod.

The reason they alledge for their perseverance in this separation, is, that not only by the Arminians introducing new opinions in the church, but by blaming and defaming the reformed religion, they are so scandalized, that they cannot in charity communicate with them.

Of the four provinces, which concur in the resolution of a national synod, Guelderland, Friesland, and Groningen, have already sent their extraordinary deputies to this place, according to their former appointment. Zealand hath protracted sending, by reason of two deputies (GROTIUS of Rotterdam, with another of Holland) sent thither expressly to dissuade them: but they failed of their intent, and hardly escaped the fury of the people, both in Middleburg and Tervere; so as the deferring is no breach of the purpose of those of Zealand, and we expect their deputies here this night or to-morrow.

I will



I will not fail with diligence to advertise your majesty of the success of this meeting.

Here is one unexpected accident of another nature, wherein your majesty's honour is much interested, here being an officer of my lord duke of Lenox, one JOHN BROWNE, brought unwillingly by a man of war of Enchuyfen from the coast of Scotland hither into Holland, he going there on board to collect your majesty's due for the size-herring: and notwithstanding he produced your majesty's letters patents under the great seal of Scotland, and governed himself with all modesty in execution of his charge, he could not free himself from this detention.

On Saturday last he came unto me, and the next day I expostulated the matter with mons. BARNEVELT in those terms which appertained to such an injury; as I have likewise done with count MAURICE, who both of them do much condemn the fact; and if the punishment of the captain of the man of war (who, having set mr. BROWNE on land at Enchuyfen, went back immediately to his fleet of fishermen) will give your majesty satisfaction, there will be no doubt of it at his return. For mr. BROWNE, they use him very courteously; and having made that complaint, which belongs to your majesty's interest in honour, for his part in the point of profit (wherein he is much endamaged by being hindered of his collections of the affize from all nations, which were then present upon that coast, and busy about their fishing) I expect to see what contentment they will give him. Thus in all humility I take leave, &c.

*Aug. 27.* Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from St. Bartholomew's: received by mr. PORIE the 16th of September.

My lord,

To those letters, which you wrote to his majesty of the 12th of August, I am commanded to return you this answer, that his majesty cannot but marvel, that when as the first union of Utrecht is grounded upon the unity of religion, which then without schism or faction unanimously was preached and professed in those parts, and upon the preservation and propagation thereof, there should be such obstinacy in any of them, that they should sever or disunite themselves, and not concur jointly all in one opinion, how the true reformed religion may be continued and maintained amongst them: which separation of theirs cannot but tend, as to their shame and dishonour, so sooner or later to the ruin and subversion of their state. Therefore his majesty out of his tender care of the preservation of those provinces (which, I speak not without grief, if these differences amongst them in point of religion be not presently accommodated, will fall into a sudden and certain confusion) doth require you to employ your best endeavours with the principal ministers of that state, that the three provinces, which at this present seem to dissent from the assembly of a national synod, should range themselves so much to reason, as, for the good of the state, the repose of the church, and the honour of religion, whereof they make profession, to join with the other four, and suffer themselves in so laudable a work, tending only to the public good, to be over-ruled: where they shall shew themselves to be faithful and loyal patriots, to be of peaceable and moderate humours, and free themselves from  
that



that scandal, wherewith now they are charged, of faction and the headstrong presumption. But if they shall persist in their peremptory wilfulness, yet his majesty's pleasure is, that you encourage the four provinces to proceed in the course which they intend for the assembly of this synod; for the better countenance whereof, and for the assistance of them who shall be employed in that service, when his majesty shall be advertised by your letters that the time shall be proper for that purpose, he will send over some grave and learned persons to assist at that synod, who shall be men of judgment and moderation, void of malice or factious passion. In the mean time I have order, in his majesty's name, to write unto the elector Palatine, to forbear the sending of his people, until he shall be called upon by the count MAURICE, or some other principal man in that state, upon those reasons which are alledged in your letters.

This I write of myself; and leave it to your discretion, whether it would not carry a better grace with it, that his majesty should be moved by letters from the count MAURICE, or rather from the four provinces who hold the synod, to send these ministers, which he resolveth to do, than that they should be sent by his majesty's voluntary accord, and not from any motion from them: for it holdeth in my judgment, as *ad consilium*, so *ad concilium*, *non accefferis antequam voceris*.

Concerning JOHN BROWNE, you have received, I presume, long since your instruction; but to the point of your letter, his majesty answereth, that he will take no satisfaction, but to have the captain and chief officers of that ship to be sent over prisoners; and I could wish the states would be so well advised to satisfy his majesty in that particular with contentment.

Your good friend my lord Roos, upon what reasons I cannot judge, only with his D. Diego, hath secretly conveyed himself out of England, and left his estate and family, which was great, at six and seven. This morning I hear he is at St. Denys in France, whither by order of his majesty the lords have sent to him to require him to return. So with the remembrance of my service to your lady, I am, &c.

Aug. 27. Proposition of sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the states general, with relation to the seizing JOHN BROWNE, and demanding satisfaction.

Aug. 28. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Tixfal in Staffordshire.

My lord ambassador,

Your letters, written to me in answer to that which I had signified to you from Falkland touching the proposition of LIONELLI, the secretary of Venice, came in a good time hither, and met with a good occasion to confirm your opinion of his majesty's answer, and likewise his majesty's judgment in giving it. For the same day I received letters from sir HENRY WOTTON, in answer of his majesty's to him, wherein he doth find the like fault with their manner of proceeding, and signifieth, that he hath expostulated the same with them, and drawn them to a kind of acknowledgment of their error; and that they professed his majesty had answered as well and as much as could be expected from him.

It seemeth also by his letters, which bear date of the first of this month, that there are certain articles of a peace agreed on, and sent out of Spain; but proposed by the French embassador, and allowed at Venice, with two only cautions, that all towns taken on either part be restored; and that likewise the goods and money taken from them by sea by the duke of Ossuna be restored. This proposition was made before the taking of Vercelli, and so their approbation; but after the taking of it, they began to doubt what Spain would do; and I do much doubt, that he will hardly be drawn to a restitution of Vercelli, but upon very good terms; and of the other restitution, that he will never do it.

I differ from many in opinion about those wars of Italy. I see care taken to quench them in all parts; and if the French could be drawn to do that which their state requireth, I would rather look on the continuance, for fear lest, if the flame be out there, it break forth nearer hand, especially if you prove not wise enough to appease your divisions in religion; whereof I doubt there is a deeper root than is discerned by every [one], and that the prince MAURICE's carriage doth make a jealousy of affecting a party under the pretence of supporting one side; and that the states fear his ends and aims, knowing his power with the men of war; and that, howsoever all be shadowed under the name of religion, there is on either part a civil end, of the one seeking a step of higher authority, of the other a preservation of liberty.

In the matter of sir HENRY LEVINGSTON and captain HAMILTON, his majesty saith, that you have so much mistaken him, as he was fain to call for the letters he wrote for HAMILTON for his own satisfaction, and findeth they contain no other matter than what his intention was, that if by the course of the discipline there it be due to HAMILTON, his majesty would not prejudice him; if to LEVINGSTON, not him; if it be at liberty for either, then to LEVINGSTON, because the other's years have made him unserviceable, and so he willed me to write to your lordship.

I doubt not but that by this time your lordship hath heard of the lord Roos's going suddenly beyond sea, the cause being known now; his pretence given out was to send a cartel to ARTHUR my son; but the rumour was carried a week before the matter came, and so written hither by mr. secretary: it came after left by a base fellow at my house at London, my wife being in the country. By him it was delivered to my butler, where my wife by chance coming in found it, so as she first lighted on it, and sent it hither. Four days before the challenge is dated he met my son on the high way going towards Carlisle to meet me. It is dated at Calais the 2d of this month, when by some circumstances it should seem he was in London. We cannot hear that he is landed at Calais, or in any certain place yet. Some talk of Delft. If your lordship hear any thing of his passage, you shall do well to let us know it. His majesty hath given commandment to have him sent for. So I leave farther to trouble you, &c.

*Sept. 1. O. S.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the lords of the privy council.

May it please your lordships,

Your lordships letters of the 13th of August from Whitehall, together with the  
copies



copies of those from the lords which attended his majesty at Dumfries in Scotland, with one in particular from mr. secretary LAKE, concerning the taking of mr. JOHN BROWNE a servant and officer of his majesty by certain the captains of the states ships, which convoy their fishers on the coast of Scotland, and his being brought away forcibly as a prisoner from thence hither into Holland, I received the 22d of the same month: and, in conformity to them all, framed a complaint in the assembly of the states general the 27th, there being no fit opportunity sooner by reason of the absence of most of the states; adding thereunto such circumstances, as I understood to be most material of mr. BROWNE himself (who was brought to this place some 14 days before) and concluding upon the whole matter with a demand in his majesty's name of reparation of honour and satisfaction of damages.

The making of the answer for the present was (in monf. BARNEVELT's absence, whose charge it is commonly) referred to mr. GROTIUS pensioner of Rotterdam, who said, the states were very sorry for the accident, of which in that assembly they had understood nothing until that present: and because it was a thing which depended on a society apart (that of their fishers), he desired me to set down my proposition in writing, to the end they might communicate the same to the parties interested; and upon their answer give his majesty all due satisfaction: which I failed not to do the same day, according to the copy which I send your lordships herewith, letting them know, that though the superintendants of the fishery had discharged mr. BROWNE, I had detained him here (which, under your honour's correction, I have presumed to do) whereby to give them full satisfaction, in case they made doubt of any thing contained in my proposition.

Your lordships will observe therein, amongst other circumstances, a particularity touched, which happened since mr. BROWNE's arrival here, which was an insolent boasting speech concerning their strength at sea, and his majesty's weakness, proceeding from one of their chief officers of their fishery at Delft in mr. BROWNE's presence: which was presently excused after the manner of this country, as spoken by one who came newly from a feast. I thought not fit to follow by a personal complaint, nor to omit the matter, lest it should be taken as admitted.

I thought it likewise necessary for his majesty's service to intimate upon this occasion, that there were other distresses and grievances, whereof his majesty and his subjects had just cause to complain; though now I passed them over in silence, whereby to make them call to mind an intention they declared before his majesty's going into Scotland; of sending over commissioners to rectify what is amiss, and settle a better correspondence.

What answer they will make to my proposition, I will not fail with all diligence to advertise your lordships. Mean time your lordships may please to understand, that having, according to your commands, treated apart with count MAURICE, and the principal ministers of this state, particularly with those of Holland, concerning this subject, as, before the receipt of your lordships letters, upon mr. BROWNE's first coming unto me I had already done *ex officio*. I find them all to disavow the fact, as done without commission or discretion. Count MAURICE doth likewise disdain the male-



factors themselves, CLIFF and ALBERSON, as unknown persons to him as admiral; and not captains in service of the states, but such as are expressly hired and employed by their fishers for their convoy

I must likewise advertise your lordships, that ALBERSON, upon his first coming to Enchuyfen, when he brought mr. BROWNE thither, was there sharply reproved by the magistrates of the town; and mr. BROWNE well treated, being there defrayed, and from thence conducted to this place by one of the chief of them: and here he hath no cause to complain; having had *esculenta* & *poculenta* sufficient, and seventy double Jacobus pieces presented unto him by these masters of the fishers for a viaticum; which he refused not, because count MAURICE advised him to accept it, as being in lieu of the charge of a ship, which otherwise they must furnish to reconduct him into Scotland.

I do not find by mr. BROWNE, that at such time as ALBERSON staid him upon CLIFF's ship, there was any warrant shewed for this apprehension, according as capt. MURRAY doth inform; but that only ALBERSON said, they had warrant for what they did, and that it was contained in their commission, which they produced, but did not read the same.

In a case of this nature I would not omit any circumstances, which may give light to your lordships judgments. So in all humility I take leave, &c.

Sept. 1. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Upon occasion of the return of mr. ROBERT ASHLEY, who brought me your honour's former letters, and of whom I find favourable mention in your last of the 24th of August, which accompanied those from the lords of the 23d, I would not fail by express letters, as likewise by the copy of my proposition in the assembly of the states general, to give their lordships an account what I had done in obedience to their commandments concerning the complaint of the affront offered his majesty in the wrongful apprehension of mr. BROWNE, and demand of satisfaction: which when I shall receive, at least what answer soever I shall have concerning this subject, I will speedily advertise their lordships. Mean time finding the sense their lordships and your honour in particular hath of this accident, which in itself is very ill, but would be of far worse digestion if it were any ways authorized from hence, I must again confirm what I advertised your honour by my last of the 13th of August, that it is not only here disavowed, but, by as many as I have spoken with concerning the subject, generally condemned: and if to their profession I may add my private opinion, I believe it was done without commission, either by word or writing: for not only here, but likewise at Rotterdam and Enchuyfen, upon the first news thereof, those, who had committed the fact, were much blamed. But this will appear more by the satisfaction they give his majesty, in their exemplary punishment. The delay of their answer your honour will soon answer, when you know, that monf. BARNEVELT is absent, from whom they fetch the chief light of their counsels: but now they know his majesty hath taken the right way of reprisal (which they understand from sir NOEL

CARON)

CARON) there is no doubt but his opinion will be here before his person, he remaining at Utrecht and those parts, where he hath friends and possessions, for this whole vacation.

There hath been an assembly about ten days since of the chief of the Arminian faction at Utrecht, as well of church as laymen, there being fifteen of the first sort, and amongst those 178. and 179. and of the latter 174. 176. 177. 215. 32. 10. 51. 52. 29. 37. 17. 45. 50. 19. one of the 190. 216. 25. 39. 23. 20. 47. 12. 19. 51. 63. one of the 195. with some others, and the chief of 184. who are all for the most part that way affected. The secret of their consultation is not yet known; but this I understand, that they had in debate what answer such ministers of Guelderland should make to what is enjoined them in that province, and a precise day appointed, concerning the five points here so much debated, and of the dependencies on them: And for the rest, how they shall maintain such resolutions as go here under the name of Holland.

The last, which was taken by plurality of voices in their late assembly, I send your honour herewith, with a placart, which was immediately published thereupon, and some particular exceptions which are taken against the same, there being five towns, whereof Amsterdam and Dort are the chief, which do openly protest against the resolution and placart: And four, Gorcum, Medenblick, Menichedam, and Schendam, which hold themselves neutral without avowing or disclaiming the same.

The extraordinary deputies of Zealand arrived not here till Friday last. The day following they went into the council of Holland, to second an office made the beginning of the week by mr. JOACHIMI, one of the ordinary deputies of that province, in the name of his principals; which was, that for important causes they would reassemble the states of Holland: to which the answer they made to JOACHIMI was, that their number was not sufficient, in the absence of the advocate and others, to resolve of calling an assembly: And to these extraordinary deputies, that if they had any new matter to propose, when they knew the same, they would then consult whether it deserved an assembly of the states or not, and accordingly take a resolution: But if it were the same which they had treated formerly concerning a national synod, that therein the resolution of the states was already known and published. In case they persist therein not to admit of any further treaty, the four provinces will infallibly proceed with a synod apart; in which the five towns of Holland will join with them; but hitherto they forbear to send their deputies hither for that purpose, until they see whether the states of Holland will assemble or not. And this upon very good counsel, not to make any shew of separation from the rest of the provinces, until they are driven unto it by necessity. In Leyden, according to their last resolution, they are now raising 400 men, to be there in garrison for the service of the magistrates. There was this last week in Delft an uproar in the church, where an Arminian preacher by order of the magistrates stepped into the pulpit; but upon the first sight of him, in place of a psalm, he was cried down by the voice of the people, and hardly escaped their fury. The like accident happened not long before in a village near Rotterdam, where the magistrates of that town came as judges to hear two ministers dispute; and about 1000 people were there assembled as auditors: But before they could agree upon the question, or upon the form of their argumentation, the fray was parted, as they



they do in Fleet-street, with clubs, the people falling together by the ears, some with daggers and others with knives, and happy was he, even of the magistrates themselves, that could save his skin. Things being actually in this disorder, and likely day by day rather to grow worse than better, and now the other provinces being sensible of the danger, having here extraordinary deputies, men of great ability, to consult of a remedy in that which the public and every man's particular hath so much interest in, it is much marvelled how mons. BARNEVELT, notwithstanding that his presence hath been here much and often required, doth only upon excuse of change of air absent himself. Some conceive it is with a purpose wholly to retire himself from the managing of public affairs: Others, that he doth *reculer pour mieux sauter*, when in such weighty occasions, as are now in handling, he hath valued himself *magis carendo quam fruendo*. But I conceive his intent to be to see the uttermost of this difference, which he will have persisted in according to the last resolution of those of Holland by 176 and 177, with the rest of the 211; and according to the event will then return, as one not interested, to give such form to the business, as the matter will bear *per saluar*, as they say, *la cause & i canoli*: and against this time he hath so procured, that 196, who is now presently in 270, shall be returned to 189, to use the name of 270, being no fit arbitrator in questions of religion; yet under the public pretences of the union of the state, and authority of the magistrate, there may be much said (as the business hath been artificially carried) in favour of 213, and so much more to purpose, because in all occasions, which concern 196, goeth directly to their assembly, without taking the

states general.

course of other public ministers in the assembly of 190, where whatsoever is proposed

BARNEVELT.

contrary to the mind of 174, is either absolutely smothered (as I well know some of

for DUDLEY CARLETON.

the propositions of 197 in this subject have been) or so disguised, that it is much altered in the report. It were to very good purpose, that the intention of 246 to send

states general.

an ambassador to 190 were put in execution against this time; for whatsoever that prince wants in the greatness of the other, is supplied by his zeal in religion, and his true profession thereof, which is the cause here in question.

Mr. ASHLEY can relate unto your honour, as having been an eye-witness, how much here in the Hague the number of those, which make profession of the old religion in the new church, exceeds that likewise of the new religion in the old church; as likewise the compliment, with which his excellency entertained us, as we both met yesterday (for so our ways lie) coming from morning service, that though we had contrary ways to church, yet that it was *la mesme voye de salut*.

I may not omit an important advertisement concerning another subject of two deputies, which are here at this present from the archduke, the one a burgomaster, the other a pensioner of that part in Flanders called *la France*, who have had audience of the states general this last week, to require, that certain deputies may be appointed by the states to meet with others, that the archduke shall name, to treat concerning the limits of Flanders, which the archduke complains are incroached upon by the subjects of these provinces by such purchases of land as they have made in these parts since the truce. These deputies having been founded by some of the states expressly employed



ployed for that purpose, have given this much farther knowledge of the archduke's purpose, that one of his commissioners shall be PECCHIUS, and the place of treaty he desires may be either Colen or Liege: Which circumstances make the states proceed with more deliberation in their answer, conceiving, that the small occasions for so solemn a conference, the person of PECCHIUS, and the places named for the meeting so unfit for a view of confines in Flanders, have some farther aspect, which yet they rove at only in conjecture without any certainty.

Here are at present deputies from the count of Aldenburg, who have required my assistance in their master's affairs, wherein I do not forget the charge I have from his majesty, both in my instructions, as likewise by express letters from your honour. Thus I most humbly take leave, &c.

*September 13.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the lords of the COUNCIL: sent by mr. BROWNE.

May it please your lordships,

I gave your lordships an account by letters of the first of this present, and by the copy of my proposition annexed, what I had then performed in the assembly of the states general, in conformity to your lordships letters of the 13th of August, with such other circumstances as I thought material, touching the taking mr. BROWNE on the coast of Scotland, his conducting hither, and treatment since his arrival. He now returns charged with those to your lordships, which are accompanied with the states answer to my proposition, the information of the chief officers of their fishery, and certain attestations of some several persons taken under oath to extenuate the quality of the offence; which (according as I advertised your lordships) will appear both by the states answer, as likewise by the information of those of the fishery, to be disavowed; and the deputies of the states (one of Holland, and another of Zealand) who this day brought me these papers, did deliver the same unto me, with solemn protestations in that particular, with much other speech to the same effect as their answer in writing; adding, that the time, when his majesty did revoke a placart concerning the payment of tribute by the fishers on the coast of Scotland, at the instance of the states (which is specified in their answer, but no time named), was in the year 1610; and concluding with a request, that his majesty would be pleased to take in good part their answer to set at liberty such of their subjects as are restrained upon this occasion, and that for the time to come those of the provinces may be permitted, as heretofore, to continue their fishing without molestation.

To this I answered, touching the first of discovering the fact as done without theirs or any other public commission, that his majesty and your lordships, in confidence both of their friendship and wisdom, did believe as much, notwithstanding the captains of their ships, at such time as they made stay of mr. BROWNE, had averred the contrary; and now upon this assurance both by message and writing would (I made no doubt) rest so much the better satisfied. Howsoever I told them, that I understood their men of war had a commission in general terms, to make stay of any which troubled their fishers, and to bring them hither to answer their doings: which with men so rude and uncivil, as they decyphered their fisher captains to be, might serve always for

for as good a quarrel at sea, as *Æsop's* wolf pickt against the lamb for troubling his fountain: and therefore I told them it was fit they should renew their commission, and limit it in that sort, as to prevent hereafter the like subject of offence.

To this they replied, that their commission was indeed the same as antiently, during the time of the war, without change or alteration: and though it were in general terms not to suffer their fishers to be molested, it could not serve their captains for excuse of such a violence as this, committed on his majesty's officer.

Concerning the promise they pretend to be made by his majesty *anno* 1610 of freedom from that payment; I asked them first, whether they had any such thing in writing: which they said they had not. I then told them, there was small appearance of any such thing, since no more was required of them than of other strangers and of his majesty's own subjects; all particular exemptions in such cases being usually granted by letters patents; and that sir NOEL CARON had no such thing to alledge to your lordships at his being lately at your council-table upon this subject: only, I said, he insisted, that before his majesty's departure into Scotland, he did move his majesty, that for this year there might be a forbearance of taking that right of the affize-herring; and that all differences might rest until the coming of commissioners (whom I said his majesty did now expect at his return out of Scotland) they would send them so instructed, that they might not pretend we have no order in this particular.

Touching their request of procuring by good offices his majesty's satisfaction, and by consequence the release of such as are imprisoned upon this occasion, I told them, the same did depend upon their farther proceeding in this business; wherein hitherto nothing was actually done, but much said for disavowing the fact. And since they had brought mr. BROWNE into these parts, whom they had examined at Enchuyfen, and afterwards at Delft, I told them, they could do no less than send CLIFF and ALBERSON as prisoners into England to be examined there, since they used recrimination; and that upon the validity of the informations their farther punishment or release should depend upon his majesty's justice and pleasure; according as they made themselves there judges of BROWNE's proceedings, by conducting him personally hither, who, I told them, was yet here to answer what was to be said against him, and was then ready in my house, if they would hear him. This course of sending these captains over, I said, was such, as the nature of the cause did require, being a public satisfaction for a public affront, and such a one as would stop the mouths of those, as make this accident an argument of ill correspondence betwixt his majesty and this state. But this I desired them to take as my private advice, not that I had any order to put them in this way, to which they should be led by their own discretions.

For mr. BROWNE, they said, that, having no commission to reply, they found it not necessary to hear him; and for this course of satisfaction, which I had proposed unto them, they promised to relate the same to the states, and to resolve of that which might give his majesty best contentment.

The deputy of Holland concluded with an humble desire, that his majesty would be pleased



pleased in the mean time, now mr. BROWNE is returned, to release such of this province, as are imprisoned by way of reprisal, they being merchants, and therefore should not in equity suffer for others transgressions.

Herein your lordships may be pleased (if it so seem good to your wisdoms) to be intercessors to his majesty, to the end, as the offence given is not common with the rest of this province, but only proceeds from those of the fishery; so the discontentment, which will be here conceived upon longer retention of those who are innocent, may not be common to the whole province, the nature of this people being (as your lordships best know) sooner alienated in their affections upon such occasions, than may be easily recovered; and the present conjuncture is such, by reason of their great distractions well known to your lordships, that *paulo momento* they will sway *buc & illuc*; which your lordships may please to take into consideration.

It pleased your lordships by letters of the 16th of March last past to command my assistance with the states in behalf of one mr. BOOTHBY, a merchant of London, and by others of the last of April, 1616, for one WILLIAM SMYTH, an officer of the admiralty in Ireland, both to the same effect, to procure them reparation, the one of the loss of goods, and the other of his limbs, by a violent attempt of one MOY LAMBERT, a commander of certain of the states men of war in Crook-haven in Ireland, committed more than three years since. Which business, having received many crosses, by references one while to the ordinary course of justice, and then by resumption upon my earnest instance into the hands of the states, as likewise by the question, who should be liable to this satisfaction, either the captain, who had committed the fact, or the states, whose servant he was, and so still continues, in the end is brought to this issue, that without insisting farther *de modo* the states, by the same deputies who treated with me concerning mr. BROWNE, have thus answered me *de re*, that they are content mr. BOOTHBY shall have a thousand pounds sterling (with which he hath formerly signified unto me by letter, that he would rest well satisfied) and WILLIAM SMYTH shall have for his part 200 pounds; but this conditionally, that sir NOEL CARON may receive satisfaction from your lordships, that, this money being paid, they shall be no more molested by farther demands of reparation of damages for that fact. Touching the which sir NOEL CARON hath charge to move your lordships; and to bring this long business to conclusion (which depends upon your lordships answer), I have assured them, that your lordships will consent to as much in this behalf, as in reason may be demanded, or as they in the like case would do: which they took as an encouragement, but is no engagement farther than may seem good to your lordships.

I may not omit to advertise your lordships, that one mr. BELL, a merchant of London, doth pretend to reparation of a considerable loss received by the same pirate: but whether he hath the like interest in the conducting the pirate, as hath mr. BOOTHBY, and thereupon the like right of demanding satisfaction, your lordships can best judge.

Other pretenders I have not heard of; but the states apprehend, that this satisfaction given to SMYTH will stir up others which were hurt, or the friends of such as were slain in that attempt, to seek the like; and they acknowledging his majesty's great

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benignity



benignity in passing over the criminal part of this offence, do hold their hands close from parting with any money until they be well assured thereby to purchase their peace.

The importance of these causes, whereof your lordships letters do shew how much you are sensible, must excuse the length of mine, being studious to omit nothing, which may serve for your lordships information, and his majesty's service. So in all humility I take leave, &c.

Sept.  $\frac{1}{2}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by mr. BROWNE.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

This packet by mr. JOHN BROWNE contains the states answer touching his apprehension by their herring-fishers, to which and other papers adjoined with my letters to the lords of the council, I presume to refer your honour for as much as concerns this subject; as likewise for what belongs to the business of mr. BOOTHBY and one SMYTH, touching whom I had several letters long since from your lordships, and from your honour in particular. The answers to all which instances were delivered me at the same time by the same deputies from the states: and herewith go two several dispatches from the states to sir NOEL CARON upon these occasions, which are recommended to my conveyance.

As I find the states very desirous to give his majesty all satisfaction, so I make no doubt but your honour will continue your accustomed good offices with his majesty to have the sum received, as well for the public respects as this in private, that it may

states general

appear to 190, the accommodating such harsh businesses abroad doth not depend

BARNEVELT

(as some here would persuade themselves and others) upon 174 for dexterity in the managing of them, as here we find by the effects of these resolutions (in some of which both my predecessor and myself, ever since my coming to this charge, have laboured, as if they were *partus elephantis*) that in his absence we are freed from many artificeous delays.

I was instructed in your honour's last letters of the 27th of August, received the 6th of this present by mr. PORIE, what satisfaction his majesty doth expect of the wrong concerning mr. BROWNE, which I have remembered to the states, in answer of their deputies, by way of advice from myself, and not of demand from his majesty, to the end they may know what is expected; and if they have inclination thereunto, will be performed without hazarding a refusal in a matter of that nature: wherein having tasted some, I find them very tender in this point of remitting, though others think the same upon this occasion both just and requisite. This proceeding of mine doth no way prejudice the demand I may make in his majesty's name of these persons to be sent as prisoners, in case by way of reply to the states answer his majesty command to have it insisted upon.

Touching the former part, which is the chief subject of your honour's letter concerning our affairs of religion, I will give your honour a more particular account

count by the ordinary post of the Hague, who parts from this place to-morrow or next day.

In mr. BOOTHBY's and SMYTH's business, I will remember to your honour, that having had a letter from your honour in behalf of mr. BELL to join his suit with theirs for reparation of losses received by the pirates, I found those new pretensions (whereof the states had knowledge from other hands) much to cross my endeavours for BOOTHBY: whereof your honour being advertised, I received in December last a letter from your honour's secretary, mr. JOHN MORE, as written by your order, to proceed, as I had done before, without hindering the one by mixing their suits, and not profiting the other: but until I did give the states some light, that BELL could not well make the same claim as BOOTHBY, I could not draw from them any resolution; and until likewise I told them my private opinion, that, giving contentment to BOOTHBY and SMYTH, this matter would so end. Whereupon they took the resolution to give BOOTHBY 1000*l.* whereas before they stuck upon 700*l.* and now lately to SMYTH 200*l.* in place of 100*l.* which was the most I could draw them to until this last day, offering to pay me the whole sum of 1200*l.* for them two, so as I would give them assurance under my hand, that in this subject they should be no more molested: both which I refused, as well to touch any money, as to give that warrantise, which depends not on me; and therefore for that point I left it to their ambassador to procure them satisfaction from the lords of his majesty's council, as I undertook to advertise the parties interested of their resolution. Here is no appearance to win any thing for mr. BELL, unless he had as good cards to shew as mr. BOOTHBY. And for BOOTHBY and SMYTH I cannot expect to obtain more contentment than this, to which the business is now brought. Wherefore to free his majesty from farther importunity in this cause, and themselves from longer suit, it may here well end: with which I will end to trouble your honour any farther for the present, and humbly take leave, &c.

Sept. 20. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by JOHNSON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I advertised your honour at large the first of this present by mr. ASHLEY touching our church differences, and the 15th by mr. BROWNE concerning himself, who carried the states answer to my complaint about his apprehension. Since whose departure the captain of the ship of war, who brought him to Enchuysen, absenting himself, is displaced, and another put into his charge by the states of Holland. Which course will be taken with the other of Rotterdam, when he shall return; and such other resentment shewed, as may give his majesty satisfaction; for so have some of the chief of Holland assured me to be their intention, with whom I have spoken since mr. BROWNE's departure, and shewed out of his answers the small appearance of truth in those discourses, which were delivered upon this.

Now in answer to your honour's letters of the 27th of August I have dealt particularly with some of the chief of those three provinces, which oppose the national synod, without shewing myself openly in the other part, to the end it might appear, that the course they take is by their own motive, not by the instigation of others: and I



find them all to come as well *pro* as *contra* with limited instructions from their principals. So in conclusion of our discourse, what reason soever is alledged, they remain divided in their purposes; the four provinces, Guelderland, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen, having yesterday (after much debate) resolved of a national synod; and the other three, Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel, protesting against it.

Amongst the deputies of Guelderland, who stood for the affirmative, two of them gave a contrary voice to the rest; but it was made appear, that what they said was their private opinions, without charge from their province.

Against those of Holland a contra-protest was made by express deputies of Amsterdam, Dort, Enchuyfen, Edam, and Purmerynde, shewing, that the deputies of Holland having no commission from their principals to make such a protest, howsoever they might be authorized not to proceed with the national synod, the protest was not to be admitted: so as the business is now in this state, the four provinces have taken a determinate resolution for a national synod, and are accordingly upon nominating deputies to appoint time and place, with other circumstances: and the other three are in question, whether their opposite protests shall be admitted or not.

I have remembered to some of the chief of the four provinces to have a regard of the time of their synod, to appoint it in that sort, that the other provinces may have both day to deliberate and to conjoin with them, if they so think good upon better advice: whereof they will have care, and the time is like to be appointed in April next. They, on the other side, have moved me, under pretence of calling for an answer to his majesty's letter, written unto the states general in April last, in commendation of a synod, to pass an office in their assembly to the same effect, to the end it may appear his majesty continues still of the same mind; which, when they are to depart to their several provinces, they judge very necessary, as well for encouraging those which are well affected, as for inducing others to the same resolution; wherein, as occasions shall minister subject, I shall not fail to satisfy them, presuming it will not be disagreeable to his majesty.

COUNT MAURICE

I have only acquainted 171 of the purpose of 100 to send 7. 50. 49. 27. 50. 52. 9. 37. 51. 49. to the 214: which gives him much life in the business; and when time serves, either 100 will be sought unto this purpose by the 43. 47. 42. 53. 28. 38. 14. 19. 50. themselves, or by 171 in their names.

MAURICE

How necessary this course of synod is, may appear by the want of all other remedy for this division in church and state; the separation in the one being every day greater than other, and with more animosity; and in the other many disorders growing, which bring all into confusion.

The levy of a company of 300, which I advertised your honour to be made at Leyden, was soon followed with six other companies raised at Utrecht, which being complained of by his excellency in the council of state, and by them in the assembly  
of



of the states general, four of the council were expressly sent to persuade the states of Utrecht to desist from this course, as a thing, which would charge their finances, and disorder their army, when they have men in their service under several oaths, as these newly raised in Holland, and now in Utrecht, do neither secure allegiance to the generality, nor obedience to the general. The deputies are returned from thence, but have not yet made their report, which I understand is nothing satisfactory, those new companies being armed and in guard, and the states of that province resolve so to continue them.

There hath been a decree of the provincial court in a matter, which hath dependence upon these deputies resisted by the magistrates of Harlem, they grounding themselves upon the last resolution of the states of Holland, which gave subject to the high and the provincial courts to assemble together on Friday and Saturday last; to which meeting they called his excellency, where he was never before; and there by common consent (though not without opposition of some of the Arminian faction, which were amongst them) they made a protest against the foresaid resolution, for as much as concerns the jurisdiction of their courts; in regard the states of Holland, which framed the same, were but one part of the body of that assembly, and those without instruction in this particular from their principals, without oath, and unlearned in the laws.

This their protest they send in a large discourse grounded upon the laws of every town in Holland.

The deputies of Amsterdam, and those other towns of North-Holland, have order likewise to visit all the towns severally, with a long deduction of their carriage of themselves, and the reasons of their demanding a national synod: wherein they insert his majesty's last letter at large; and hereof they gave me an abridgement according to the copy I send your honour.

The contra-remonstrant ministers have likewise published a book (which I send your honour) wherein the state of that question is very perspicuously set down, in answer of a remonstrance of the contrary party.

Thus your honour seeth what industries are used on both sides; and because his excellency will not be wanting on his part, he is gone this last night about midnight to the Brill, accompanied with his brother the prince HENRY and some English and French captains, with some of his guard, to prevent by his presence a levy of two companies, which the burghers of that town were making by example of Utrecht, and some other towns of Holland; he being unwilling to suffer such an inconvenience in a port-town of so great consideration, howsoever he did not oppose the like in other places. He entered the town at the port's opening, and doth now intend to assure it by a stronger garrison. The news hereof makes the Arminian faction in this town hang down the head.

Monf. BARNEVELT doth still absent himself about Utrecht, upon pretence of indisposition, notwithstanding that his return hath been often solicited by letters  
and.

and exprefs deputies from the committee-council of Holland. By private letters to his friends he feeks to avoid the blame of this levy of Utrecht, as refolved before he came there, though put in execution fince: but his excellency in full council laid it to his charge, as done by his advice; and therefore will excufe this proceeding *de facto* in the Brill by the others example at Utrecht.

The charges are great, which are laid on both of them upon thefe occasions by the voice of the people, that the one doth affect the fovereignty of the country to himfelf and his houfe; and the other the oppreffion of the liberty thereof, by bringing in the pope and the Spaniard: for which there is an inhabitant of Rotterdam now imprifoned at Sluce for ftriking on both fides, faying openly, that count MAURICE had a design to make himfelf count of Holland; but that he would rather take part with thofe who would bring in the king of Spain their natural prince.

Thefe rumours make impreffion according to mens affections in the caufe of religion: but howfoever count MAURICE is much beloved and followed both of foldiers and people. He is a man *innocent popularitatis*, fo as this jealousy cannot be well faftened upon him; and in this caufe of religion he ftrived not until within thefe few months, that either he faw he muft declare himfelf for the defensive, or fuffer the better party to be overborn.

Monf. BARNEVELT is encountered with thefe prejudices, that ever fince the firft entrance into the truce he hath been a proteCTOR of thefe fchifmatics and opposites to the true reformed religion: that during the truce he hath much laboured to avoid all difgufts with Spain, but not fo with the beft and moft antient friends of the ftate: that he ran a courfe with the marfhal D'ANCRE and his faction in France, lending a deaf ear to all reafon alledged to the contrary: that he lately oppofed the fatisfaction, which was demanded by the fubjects of this ftate by way of reprisal for their fhips, which are ftill under arreft in Spain and Italy: and that even now at his departure from the Hague, he overthrew the project of the Weft-Indian company, which otherwife had proceeded.

This is the difcourfe of many: but why a man of fo much merit in the ftate, full of wealth, authority, and years, fhould feek change, and thereby adventure not only his own ruin, but that likewise of his pofterity, I fee no reafon, unlefs it be, that COMMINES gives upon the like fubject, *quand l'orgueil marche devant, honte & damage fuivent pres*; and fome of his beft friends confeff in this caufe, that if not pride, opinatretie doth blind his judgement.

In his abfence from hence, GROTIUS is his deputy for the managing of all affairs. The long difcourfe I had with him and with the deputies of Utrecht and Overyffel, to induce their confents to a fynod, upon the reafons contained in your honour's laft letter, with others I obferve upon the place, and their answers, I do not trouble your honour withal. Upon the whole matter I obferve for the Arminian faction in Holland, and the whole province of Utrecht, that they will never admit of any courfe willingly, but fuch as may authorife thefe new opinions in their churches, by way of toleration, if they cannot obtain to have them pafs generally as orthodox. The deputies



puties of Overysfel shewed a better inclination to perswade their province to accommodate itself to the other four in the resolution of a synod, which will now proceed, unless, upon these levies in many places, and surprize of the Brill, they fall to determine the quarrel by force.

The committee-council of Holland have sent two deputies to the Brill, one of Delft, and another of Harlem, to advise his excellency to return to the Hague, and to leave the magistrates of that town to their liberty: but I now understand he hath sent for count HENRY's company from Delft to settle in that town. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*Sept. 29.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by captain LINDLEY's lieutenant.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

I have given your honour much trouble of late, by long dispatches of the 7th, 15th, and 20th of this present, sent by mr. ASHLEY, mr. BROWNE, and JOHNSON the post. Yet to the end his majesty should be advertised how these affairs proceed, which will be blown abroad by divers reports, I omit no writing, which meets with opportunity of sending; and this, which is now offered (which is chiefly to find a translated extract, which I have recovered since my last out of the registers of the states general) I more willingly embrace, because his majesty will perfectly know thereby the disposition of every province, with the affection of some particular towns, in this debate about a national synod. By plurality of voices the matter being resolved, the manner was presently put in practice, and two deputies named of each of the four provinces, which require the synod, to travel about it, in which they are now busied.

The endeavours and practices have been great of the Arminian faction to hinder or delay this proceeding; for which, amongst many evidences, they have recovered out of France from some of their correspondents of the religion, and other reformed churches, by way of answer to their letters, according as they disguised the state of the business, they produce certain letters out of England from some, whom because I cannot name, I will not adventure to wrong any by conjecture, wherein this matter of the synod is much slighted, and a promise made, that at his majesty's coming to London his mind should be otherwise signified hither, than in his last letters written in the beginning of his journey into Scotland.

This letter was shewed by 176 to 177, but the name concealed; and the same  
count MAUR. Sir DUD. CARL.

being related by 171 to 197 with a desire to have the answer to his majesty's letter  
states general  
required at that time, and so judged necessary by 190 of 180. 182. 183. and 186. with those of 187. &c. for the advantage of their affairs, I made my proposition on Friday last, expressing as much then, as I had order for at such time as I presented his majesty's letters: but the letters speaking so well for themselves, I conceived it then less necessary than now it was requisite to refresh their memory of them with addition of other considerations to induce them to the resolution his majesty doth advise,  
grounded



grounded upon such accidents, as have happened since: whereof the most part your honour hath in my former letters: And now at this present here is one of much moment, the dispute being come to blood, which was shed this last week at Leyden betwixt the new levied soldiers and the people, upon a quarrel begun by the boys in the streets; wherein a wealthy burgher was slain with a shot, as he stood in his window in an upper room of his house; another was killed the night following in the streets; one of the soldiers beaten to death likewise with stones, and divers hurt. For appeasing of this tumult the trained bands, which they call the *scutterie* of the town, were put in arms by the magistrate; which being done, and all in appearance quiet, there was then no power left in the magistrate to make the *scutterie* lay down arms again, who require for the peace of the town and university to have the new levies dissolved, and so they still persist armed in that demand, the magistrates having barricadoed the *stadt-houfe*, and flanked the streets with two pieces of artillery, and with their new levies make that place good.

COUNT MAURICE hath been persuaded by many to lay hold on the occasion, and to depose the new levies; as likewise to dispose otherwise of the magistracy in that town by casting himself into it, which he might do without much difficulty: but (howsoever that town is the fountain of these dissensions, as Utrecht is the stream) he forbears it out of respect of the alarm the other towns would take. Yet if the troubles there continue, and that his presence be required by the inhabitants, he will then make no scruple.

At the Brill he carried himself with so much temper, only putting two old companies in place of the new levies that town intended to make by example of Leyden, without meddling with the government of the town, that he was both commended and thanked by an express letter from the states general for taking so much care for the public security; howsoever that by a letter from mons. BARNEVELT to the committee-council of Holland a great fear was at the first stricken into the towns, whereof they were soon freed by particular letters written from his excellency to the committee-council of Holland, and every town in particular.

His care of securing that place, and his temper in suffering these people to play their prizes in other towns without stirring, are both to very good purpose: the first in not preferring *rumores ante salutem*, the importance of the cause consisting very much in the possession of that place (as the other chief port-towns of Holland, Amsterdam and Enchuyfen be well assured:) and the latter in not contemning the aspersion his enemies would cast upon him of affecting the sovereignty of the provinces; which he could not avoid, without giving them the bridle, though they are, if they stop not the sooner, in a full course to the perdition of the state.

Those of Utrecht, in place of giving the states general satisfaction touching their new levies (about which the treasurer DE BYE and three other deputies were sent expressly) returned an answer to justify their doings, as absolute lords; and to condemn both the states general and council of state, with his excellency in particular, for interposing in their affairs; the reasons of their actions being best known to themselves, as they say, and the authority in their own hands.

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In this answer they alledge the union of Utrecht, wherein the 13th article gives liberty to each province to dispose of matters of religion by itself, without reference to the generality; and this is chiefly insisted upon by those of Holland likewise, that oppose the national synod; which notwithstanding the states general do not rest satisfied withal, but have written a reply to their answer, still requiring the licensing of the new levies, as a thing of ill use, and worse consequence,

They have likewise written to sir JOHN OGLE the governor, to look to the repose and quiet of the town, and to admit of no novelties without first giving knowledge to the states general and his excellency; which word *novelties* was much disputed before it could be admitted, because of the large extent it hath: but the reason thereof is, because it is known mons. BARNEVELT hath a warrant dormant by him to take an oath of the officers in chief, who are of the repartition of Holland, and lie in that town in garrison, to be at the disposal of those of Utrecht; which is thought prejudicial to the state, as favouring of a league.

The particularity will appear to your honour by a translated copy of his forementioned letter to the committee-council of Holland; and the answer of those of Utrecht, by the tartness of the style, is judged to proceed from his pen. He remains still in that town somewhat dejected in mind (as I hear) and weak in body; but those of his faction, especially 176 and 215, speak high language, threatening to call likewise a national synod of this province, Utrecht, and Overysse: but they will hardly obtain a resolution of Overysse to join therein, two of the chief towns, Deventer and Hasselt, having sent hither express deputies (like the six towns of Holland) to join with the contra-remonstrants. Swoll remains divided; but Campen doth use great rigour in favour of the Arminians, having placed preachers generally through the town of that doctrine, and imposed a heavy tax of 125 florins upon every man's head, that goeth out of the town either to sermon or communion.

The like extremity is used in Utrecht, and in some villages in Holland, which is a matter of as ill found amongst these free people as an inquisition.

The Venetian embassador CONTARINI passed on Saturday last from hence by the way of Zealand towards his majesty, very slenderly attended, having no more than two waggons for himself, stuff and family. He stayed but one day in this place, wherein he received and rendered the ordinary visits, and paid an office with the states general, the morning before he departed, of ordinary complements.

I have omitted in my former letters to advertise your honour of the departure of the archdukes deputies without other answer, than that when the states may receive in writing what subject there is for the meeting of commissioners, they will then consider thereof, and resolve accordingly.

The deputies for the count of Oldenburgh are departed well satisfied in their desire of letters of safeguard and neutrality for their master, in case the war should be renewed in these countries, wherein they found some difficulty by reason of the pretension of Holland to the feignory of Jeureu; but it is salved by provisos.



The levies raised about Colen under the emperor's title, and with Spanish money, to the number of 1500 horse and three regiments of foot, are part of them marched into Elfas, where their rendezvous is appointed. The rest are yet in the land of Gulick, whither there is speech, that upon the peace in Italy they all shall return. We here take no greater alarm thereat than only to write to the horse captains to have their troops ready to march upon the first warning.

The king of Swede hath gained certain places in Lithuania against the Polack, and is offered assistance from the king of Denmark for the siege of Riga, which he is counselled to undertake now he hath gained Donemond, a place adjoining, by corrupting the governor.

The Polish-embassadors are returned out of Prussia without effecting their desire in fouldrating the people against the elector of Brandenburg.

STICCHIUS, the ambassador of the states to the elector of Brandenburg, is upon his way hither, having an overture recommended unto him by the Polish ambassadors of confederation betwixt that king and this state; which though it be accounted ridiculous, and a stratagem only to enjealous the king of Swede, yet because it is done by exprefs order of the king of Poland, and the project set down in writing, I could not omit the advertisement. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*Off.* 3. Secretary WINWOOD to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from St. Bartholomew's: received by JOHNSON the 9th.

My lord,

I have received your last packet; and the letters you sent the lords, publicly were read at the council-table, with the substance whereof his majesty hath been acquainted, but is nothing satisfied with the answer of the states: neither, to deal plainly with you, will he be satisfied, unless the parties, who are the delinquents, be sent over hither; and until then the merchants, which are arrested prisoners, both here and in Scotland, will still be detained. You therefore cannot do a better office, which best will become you, for the conservation of the good understanding between these crowns and those provinces, than in direct terms to persuade the states, for his majesty's full satisfaction, and the expiation of this offence, to send the offenders over into England to submit themselves to his majesty's mercy, which they shall find most propitious to pardon the error: for it is not to be believed, that his majesty doth purpose to inflict any punishment upon them: and by the laws of all nations, both antient and modern, the transgressor against the treaties of amity and alliance, if so it be required, is to be delivered into the hands of him who is offended. Yet perhaps the states will alledge, that this is against the privileges or prerogatives of their countries: but they are to consider the nature of the fact; which was most insolent; the prince, whom they have offended, who is, and hath been, their dearest friend; the consequence, which is of a dangerous sequel; and the hazard to embroil the repose of their affairs, which by the rendering of these men, men of no note, quality, or esteem, for ever will be established. You cannot employ your time or travail to better purpose than to accommodate this difference, which cannot be determined but by the sending



sending over the offenders, whose punishment will be their pains and travel to pass the seas, and to repass again into Holland.

For BOOTHBY and the other party, I think you have done well, and they have cause to rest satisfied.

These I write in haste. At more leisure you shall hear more largely from me. And so I commit you to the protection of the Almighty, and rest, &c.

I pray you send a perfect relation of the discovery of the passage into the East-Indies, whereof your letters of the 7th of July make mention.

Octob. 11. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by HERMAN.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I have received your honour's letters of the 3d of October, and have already shewed unto his excellency and to one chief person of every province (whom I visited expressly at their houses, and this in monf. BARNEVELT's absence is the way now opened for dispatch of business) the small satisfaction his majesty doth receive in the states answer concerning the taking of mr. BROWNE, and bringing him prisoner into these parts, unless it be accompanied with farther effects, of acknowledgment of the offence and reparation of honour by sending the delinquents prisoners to his majesty to submit themselves to his mercy, adding these reasons of the justness of the demand, of the easy accommodation of this harsh business by this means, and of the fearful consequence of a refusal, whereby to induce them to this resolution; and advising them to take the occasion of monf. CARON's letter to deliberate and determine thereof; which would make the matter so much more gracious and acceptable to his majesty, when it should proceed of their own accord without being prest hereunto by a public demand: and yet in case they took not this course of themselves, I told them, I had then charge to require these prisoners publicly in their assembly. I found them diversely affected herein; his excellency and some others being of opinion it was fit to have them sent over to make their excuses, and submit themselves to his majesty: but the most part insisting upon their privileges, stood upon this point, that *jus remissionis* was against the liberty of their state; and that in the time of their subjection to their princes, having been demanded by them to send prisoners to Brussels, they always refused it; referring the trial and punishment of the offenders to the use and laws of their own country; which they offered should be severely put in execution, if his majesty so pleased.

I told them his majesty did not so much require to have the parties punished, as to have his honour repaired; which by sending them into England would be done to his majesty's contentment, and without their farther punishment than to go and return; his majesty's grace being always propitious to those who craved the same with due humiliation; and the action of these persons being disavowed by the states general (upon which they all insisted), by these of Holland, and by the masters of the fishery themselves, they had the more reason to send them, as those who (as much as in them lay) made a breach into the common alliance.

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This I shewed them to be agreeable to the laws of all nations both antient and modern, against which they could not plead privilege, unless in their amities and alliances they would have a privilege apart different from all others, as well kings as commonwealths. And for the example of their own princes in times past, I remembered unto them, that it held not in this case, because privileges were only to be pleaded with those, of whom they received their privileges.

The business chiefly concerning those of Holland (of whom there are at this present few or none in effect in the assembly of the states general) they have forborn hitherto to take it into deliberation: And I find by them it will be referred first to the assembly of the states of Holland, which is like to be held the beginning of this next month; and knowing, that, in case I should now make the demand publicly in the assembly of the states general, I should have no answer for the present, but by way of reference to those of Holland, I forbear the same until that time of their meeting. Mean while I shall omit no endeavours to dispose them to give his majesty full contentment in this business; and seeing the difficulties they make (from which they will hardly be removed) if his majesty notwithstanding judge it to be for his service to have the demand of sending these prisoners publicly made in the assembly of the states general, I desire herein your honour will be pleased to send me his majesty's commandment, which shall be readily executed. So I humbly take leave, &c.

*October 6.* N. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's propositions to the STATES GENERAL \*.

*October 13.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by HERMAN.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Our businesses concerning the synod do proceed slowly, but so much the more surely, the selected deputies out of the extraordinaries of the four well-affected provinces having framed a project of a national synod (whereof I send your honour a translated copy) and the same is sent now by some of the said deputies expressly to the several provinces to be there ratified by their principals, with the addition of three other particularities; the first concerning the answer to his majesty's letters in this business of synod; the second touching the maintenance of his excellency's authority against his opposites; and the third about the laying down arms now lately raised in Utrecht, and some particular towns in Holland: The answer to all which, with the return of the aforesaid deputies, we expect by the end of this week at the furthest.

If, upon view of these heads in the project of the synod, his majesty judge it fitting to have any thing added or altered, upon knowledge of his pleasure, there will be means left to frame it accordingly, it being very likely the orders from the provinces will not be so strict, as to leave nothing to the discretion of the deputies.

The committee-council of Holland with much difficulty have been induced at the length to promise the assembling of the states of that province, which they say shall be the first week of the next month; until which time monf. BARNEVELT resolves to absent himself, to the end that being solemnly required by the states of this province

\* See *Mercure François*, tom. v. p. 14.

he may return with greater authority and reputation. But whether the assembly shall be held in this town, or elsewhere, is yet doubtful, as likewise upon what heads the deputies, which come thereunto, shall be requited to bring the resolutions of their

BARNEVELT

principals, they not being yet set down; but by advice of 174 are moulding betwixt 176 and 177, who are now together at 188 with certain of the chief 213. For this purpose 179 doth often repair to that place to spend his venom. 184 doth *faire mau-*

states general.

*vais* in all occasions, great and little, running a course opposite to 190.

Upon the first news of sir BARNARD DEWHURST's death, the states of Utrecht did immediately give the company to a young gentleman, nephew to sir JOHN OGLE, who never as yet bore office, and hath scarce borne arms, save only that he hath for two years space been in that town, sometimes in sir JOHN OGLE's, and sometimes in a French company. This being without example, that companies of our nation or any strangers in formed regiments should be given without recommendation or assent of his excellency and the colonel, the matter was referred by the council of state (of whom the commission was demanded by an express letter from those of Utrecht in behalf of young mr. OGLE) to the pleasure of the states general, who hold the matter as yet in suspense.

This is a matter of much consequence, in that it will serve as a precedent to other provinces to cast companies upon particular favourites, without respect of merit or long service, and thereby weaken the authority of his excellency, and the respect of the colonels, whose recommendations will have no more place; besides the distaste, which will be bred hereby betwixt the colonels themselves in having the dependents of the one thrust upon the other.

Sir JOHN OGLE did excuse himself, that he was no suiter for his nephew, but that he accepts this benefit of those of Utrecht as a recompence of his seven years service; which is not so here construed, but rather as an engagement to continue that course, which he ran with that town these seven years past, wherein he hath given small contentment to the states general and his excellency, first in permitting the levy of the six companies, for which his absence at Dort was thought to be of design to give way thereunto: next, in suffering the said companies to enter into guard, and their captains and officers to assist at the court of war, with those of the garrison, though they have taken a several oath: and lastly in permitting the burghers to guard the parts and the stadthouse; which was heretofore the duty and charge of the garrison, and most of this since such time, as he had express letters from the states general to hold good correspondence with those of Utrecht, but to give way to no novelties.

I have endeavoured, both by letters and messengers, to make him sensible of the wrong course he runs, but all in vain; he having framed to himself a false idea of

BARNEVELT

the state of those affairs, according to the lustre is set upon them by 174 and those of Utrecht, and believing upon certain correspondencies he holds in 119, that what

king JAMES

he doth is agreeable to 101. Wherefore your honour, knowing to whom he doth chiefly



chiefly address himself, may under correction perform a good work in procuring him from hence some friendly admonition, without taking farther note of this advertisement, than your honour shall think necessary.

These differences grow to that height, that no care for the advancement of the better cause may be well omitted; which hath made me thus long insist upon sir JOHN OGLE in particular, because he is in an eminent and (as it falls out) an active place, and no man of our nation on this side the seas hath that note upon him to be affected to the 213.

MONS. DU MAURIER's return is prolonged until it be seen what ply these affairs will take, he not knowing in the absence of <sup>BARNEVELT,</sup> 174 to what faint to vow himself; and therefore expects the time of his return. Here is speech of an extraordinary ambassador to be designed out of France, upon these occasions, for which mons. DE REFUGES was once named; but he hath his refuge to the other world, and being of the religion, of which he made profession, it seems strange how he should be thought fit for this business.

It hath fallen out casually, but very remarkably, that from sir NOEL CARON, mons. LANGERACK, and mons. BREDERODE, letters of the same date should arrive with the states general, and be read in their assembly the same day, all to the same effect, to shew into what disreputation their state is fallen in the several courts, where they are resident, by reason of these differences and debates in church and state.

The money for the payment of the French troops being still answered out of France with excuses, those of Holland (who have entertained them at their charge for these twenty-six months past) have lately proposed to have them licensed, unless that speedy satisfaction for the arrearages and settled assignation for the future come out of France: and to this effect they pressed much to have a letter written in express terms to the French king. But the other provinces conceiving on the one side, that the peace of Italy will breed the wars in these parts, and on the other, that the licensing of those troops would infringe the amity of that crown, choose rather to take upon them the payment of them, according to their several quotas: which notwithstanding they do not absolutely determine, lest their payment being in that sort once settled, the French king will cast off all farther care of them.

It is strongly here apprehended the intention of the <sup>Arminians</sup> 213, to be to cashier in time as many of the other nations as these they have now raised, whereby to withdraw the dependance of the soldiers from the states general and his excellency, to whom the antient troops are sworn, and by example of these will proceed to greater numbers.

There is a new course taken of arming of burghers; and settling them with double <sup>Arminians</sup> guards at the ports of such towns of the 213, where they have no new levied soldiers, giving them powder and munition, which was never yet done in the time of war.

His

His excellency hath of late assembled the noblesse of Holland (who have all but one voice in the states of the provinces) and shewed them the many inconveniencies, into which they for their particulars were running by those divisions; whereof they were very \* \* \*, but to small effect, since the advocate is their mouth, and this is the first time of many years since that body hath been assembled, without the advocate. In deliberation of these proceedings, wherein all men now, ecclesiastics, politics, soldiers, and people grow warmly affected, there are divers, who have endeavoured, and so continued, to thrust his excellency upon violent courses of entering into towns, changing the magistrates, and some degrees farther, as the most speedy and certain course, whereby to have the plurality of voices in the assembly of the states of Holland; which would give law to the other two adverse provinces. And though I cannot deny this to be feasible, yet as he hath communicated such overtures to me (as therein he doth use me with much confidence) I have hitherto dissuaded them upon good probabilities, that proceeding as they do *pas a pas*, they will come in their end to their intent of reducing the state to the wonted settledness both in church and commonwealth, with less hazard and obloquy: whereof, with God's blessing and his majesty's countenance, they rest well assured, and proceed with much alacrity.

COUNT WILLIAM of Nassau is come newly hither; and for his good affection in religion, judgment in affairs, reputation in the state, and correspondency with his excellency, his presence is of great use.

We have had here for this six weeks past the countess of Hainault with two of her young sons and her two daughters, whom she brought with her upon a visit of kindness to his excellency. They are now gone in company of the princess of Orange to perform the like at Breda with the prince of Orange, from whence they come back hither within two days, and after a week they return into Germany.

I can yet give your honour no farther account of the new discovery of the passage near the straits of Magellan, by reason that LA MAIRE's papers (as well as his maps and journals) remain under arrest by the East-Indian company, who sue him for infringing their privileges; and he is as earnest a suiter to the states for an octroy in recompence of his discovery.

Here is a small pinnace newly arrived at Delft haven, which was employed expressly for discovery in *Fretum Davis*, where it went 25 degrees, and there encountered with small boats and little mariners about the stature of tall pigmies, with whom the adventures are the most remarkable things of the journal.

As I shall be able to recover this or the other (of both which I have promise) I will not fail to send them to your honour. So for the present I humbly take leave, &c.

*Octob. 13.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE: by HERMAN.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Your honour's letter of the 28th of August from Tixal in Staffordshire required rather a due acknowledgment for the favour than any particular answer; and therefore I

deferred the same in hope to have given your honour some good account of my endeavours in behalf of sir HENRY LEVINGSTON, who hath since changed his purpose from the place of lieutenant colonel, which he aimed at, to a troop of horse now vacant, in which he is more likely to speed; for the other place I find to be, both by his excellency and the chief of the states, designed to sir WILLIAM BALFOUR, in regard of his particular merit and some debts owing by the state upon his father's account (who was here a colonel) and this they will pay in his preferment.

The opinion your honour hath, that the peace on the other side of the mountains will transport the heat of the war into these parts, is here strongly apprehended; and that the quarrel will begin in Juliers and Cleve. But we are like to have leisure until the next spring: and in this interim all possible diligence is used to compose these differences in religion, which in a state composed of several sovereignties, and these of divers towns, every one of which hath a voice in the chapter, a motion of so many wheels is very slow, but so much the more sure, when a good resolution is taken; about which they now travel, and in conformity to his majesty's advice given the states by his letter in the beginning of his journey into Scotland, they are upon the point of ordaining a national synod against May next, and to establish in the interim some such good order, as may keep the country in quiet.

All men here of judgment have the like conceit with your honour, that all is not religion, that carries that name; but that there is a mixture of worldly ends and designs with these disputes in divinity: each party lays this charge to his opposite; but if, as an indifferent man, I can observe any thing, count MAURICE stands in this case only upon the defensive; and this appears, because he is supported by the major part of the states against certain powerful persons, who have for a long space undermined his authority, and left him nothing in effect but the bare title of governor of the country.

Here is at this present count WILLIAM of Nassau, governor of Friesland and Groningen, come expressly to lend him his countenance and assistance in these occasions.

His sister the countess dowager of Hainault is here likewise at this present upon a visit of kindness.

Count JOHN of Nassau is come in post from Paris to sue for the regiment of Walloons, which is void in the states service upon the death of Count JOHN ERNEST, his elder brother, at Venice. But he being a professed papist, the charge is given from him in that respect, and conferred this day upon one FAMA the lieutenant colonel.

I failed not, according to your honour's desires, to lay wait for my lord Roos in these parts, but I hear he is passed through France toward Lyons. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*Off.* 17. Secretary WINWOOD to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from St. Bartholomew's: received by MURRAY Nov. 4.



My lord,

Sir NOEL CARON hath carefully and laboriously treated both with his majesty and the lords of the council, that the poor mariners imprisoned in this town for the infolency committed upon JOHN BROWNE, might be released and set at liberty. And the better to induce his majesty and the lords to hearken to his request, having first made it appear, that the states general, the states of Holland, and the brotherhood of the *Pescherie* do disavow this fact, as not authorised by them beforehand, nor approved *post factum*, he hath made this fair offer, that the delinquents shall be called in question in your presence, and receive such punishment, as the nature of so high an offence duly doth require. He doth alledge, that the privileges of those countries directly do forbid, that the natives and burghers should be transported for any offence they have committed, to receive punishment in a foreign country. But his majesty doth persist *fort & ferme*, that these delinquents should be delivered into his hands. And I could wish the states would so well understand the good of their own affairs, not to make any scruple to satisfy his pleasure therein. But if they stiffly shall stand upon their punctilios, that in regard of their privileges they may not permit these men to be sent over to receive punishment at his majesty's discretion (if he shall think fit to inflict any upon them) the best issue can be expected hereof is this, that there will be continually nourished a heart-burning and discontents between his majesty and the states, which ill-affected persons (to the good correspondence and alliance, which long have been between these kingdoms and those provinces, whereof the number is great, and daily will grow greater) will employ their base endeavours (and think therein they do God and their country good service) to multiply and increase. Now, if they shall send these men over, all the punishment or penance they can expect, is to make their humble submission, and crave pardon for their offence. Hereby they should accordingly please and give contentment to his majesty, shew their respect they bear to his person, and the desire they have, that the good amity and understanding, which is between him and them, his kingdoms and their countries, continually may be entertained and preserved. Therefore, as in some of my former I have signified, it shall be in you a master-piece of service, if you can prevail with the states not to stand in their own light; and, as the case now standeth with them, *tempori & necessitati parere*. The states pretend, that they had some patent or lease under the great seal of Scotland for this liberty of fishing granted unto them at the time when prince HENRY, of famous memory, was christened. His majesty hath commanded me to write unto you, that you should require of them a copy of this grant, if any such they have, and send it over with all possible expedition. If they shall refuse to give you this copy, they will add unkindness to unkindness, and make the world believe, that they make pretence of a grant, when the truth is they have none at all.

I pray you by your next, in a private and particular letter apart, advertise me at large what is become of monf. BARNEVELT, and what the opinion is, that he intendeth to do. I know him well, and know, that he hath great powers and abilities; and malice itself must confess, that never man hath done more faithful and powerful service to his country than he. But *finis coronat opus*, and *il di lodi lacera; oportet imperatorem stantem mori*: and for him, that hath lived in so great honour, that hath managed the affairs of that state forty years together, and that with a

most happy and fortunate success, now being *aux derniers abois*, even as it were at the last gasp to breath out his own shame and disgrace, cannot but make him the subject of much sorrow to his friends, and of scorn to his enemies. So I leave you to the tuition of almighty God, and am, &c. \*

Octob. 30. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary WINWOOD: by JOHNSON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Since my last of the 13th of this present by HERMAN the post, I have not failed of all fit endeavours to dispose the states to give his majesty satisfaction in sending over into England the two captains of their ships, CLIFF and ALBERSON, to submit themselves to his majesty's mercy for the insolence they lately committed on the coast of Scotland: to which I find upon better consideration some to be well inclined, who at the first made much difficulty; those of Rotterdam (of which town CLIFF is an inhabitant) having consulted the matter in their assembly of magistrates, and found it reasonable; and I expect the like for ALBERSON of those of Enchuyfen, with whom their neighbours of Amsterdam have promised me to deal seriously; so as these towns, which are chiefly interested, having once consented to this course, I shall then hope a resolution will be taken herein to his majesty's contentment; and the rather, because mons. BARNEVELT, who is newly returned hither, and with whom I have already spoken concerning this business, shews no alienation from it.

In the question about a national synod (touching the which I treated likewise with him at large) he continues the same averfeness as ever; and now picks new argument out of the forwardness of the other provinces, as if they would give the law to Holland, which he professeth he cannot give way unto; and disputing out of his long experience and knowledge the power of particular provinces, even from before the pacification of Ghent, he takes all authority from the states general in affairs of religion, so much as calling a synod; which he makes matter of distinct sovereignty for every province to dispose therein *ad libitum*: which is (and so I told both him and GROTIUS, who maintains the same opinion) to dispute questions of their state with the same subtilty, as their ministers do their points in religion, and will breed in the end as great disunion in the one, as there is distraction in the other.

He excepted much both against the substance of a proposition I last made upon occasion of calling for an answer to his majesty's letter; and likewise the publishing thereof in print: the latter of which was much against my mind, and proceeded not from me, but from the states themselves, of whom I desired him to demand an account thereof, and to prevent the like hereafter, as an ill practice and a great inconvenience to the state. The former I defended as well as I might; and though not to his contentment, nor those of that party, which continue passionate and stiff in their opinions, I have had good allowance thereof, and express thanks from all the well-affected towns and provinces, who are now returned by their extraordinary deputies; and the project of the synod (whereof I sent your honour a copy with my last) is by them all ratified, with change of some words only, but no considerable circumstances.

\* Secretary WINWOOD died on the 27th of October, 1617.



On Monday last they proposed the same in the assembly of the states general against which GROTIUS, in the name of the states of Holland, made a vehement protest, which stayed the conclusion for the present: but they continue to proceed, leaving liberty to each province to enter into the same national synod, and saving to every one their rights and privileges, which is a course without just exception; and in those towns (notwithstanding all opposition) it is likely to be concluded.

The professed Arminian towns of Holland (Harlem, Leyden, Tergow, Rotterdam, Schonoven, Brill, Alcmæer, and Horne) taking knowledge of the long abode of their opposites (Dort, Amsterdam, Enchuyfen, Edam, and Purmerend) here in the Hague, sent hither their deputies about ten days since, under pretence to require copies of such writings, as had been presented by these five towns to the states general, and the council of Holland, but in effect to strengthen their combination; into which they could not draw Delft, Gorcum, Schedam, Munichedam, and Medenblich; which, though they formerly concurred with them, now matters come to declaration, profess neutrality.

Mons. DU MAURIER returned hither by post through Brabant on the 23d of this present, and the day following had audience in the assembly of the states general; which consisted of complaints for the king his master; excuses for not payment of the French troops; declaration of the peace of Italy by his master's mediation, which he made an obligation to this state for easing them thereby of the assistance they give in money to the duke of Savoy; and admonishment in their present differences to return to their former union and good correspondence *des parties avec le tout & du tout avec les parties.*

He forbears frequenting the French church, to which he was wont to repair; which the contra-remonstrants esteem as a great countenance to their cause.

Here arrived the 25th of this present an extraordinary ambassador from the king of Swede, who is principally designed to his majesty, being a counsellor to that king, named JOHANNES SKITTIVS, who hath been formerly employed to his majesty. The 27th he had audience in the assembly of the states general, wherein he recited the state of the quarrel betwixt his master and the king of Poland, the first ground whereof he imputes to the protection, that king gives to the duke of Courland, and therein he requires the states assistance.

The Venetian resident newly returned from Delfziel, where he hath been long about the mustering and shipping of the count LEVESTIN and his troops, was yesterday in the assembly of the states general, where he acquainted them with news received by an express courier the night before, that his masters being advertised out of Spain from their ambassador GRITTI of the peace there concluded, had at the same time their state assailed about Crema by the governor of Milan, and their privilege of the gulf violated by the viceroy of Naples, who entered into the same under colour of assisting the Ragusans with all his fleet of ships and gallies. With this advice he had dispatched one into England to signior CONTARINI, having sent unto him but few days before advertisements of a contrary tenor, which he received by an express



courier likewise from Venice, of the conclusion of the peace, with order thereupon to make stay of the count LEVESTIN; which came too late, he being two days before put to sea with eleven good ships; whereof the greater part are well laden with artillery, and fitted for fight; so as going (as they do) *in conserva*, they will be able to make good resistance, if they be met with in the Straits, where they are laid for, and where they are esteemed to be near approached, they having had ten days very good wind. They are their full number of 3000 men with addition of 400 for recruits.

There hath been (as we understand from Colen) a great part of the soldiers, which were lately levied in those parts, and had orders upon the treaty in France to be licensed, still entertained in Elfas (where they had their rendezvous) under colour of want of satisfaction, they pretending to three months pay, of which two was offered them. This is now judged to be done of design, whereby to have men in readiness against the Venetians.

Here hath been a motion in the assembly of the states general made this week past, to have a letter written, according unto a yearly use, to the king of France, to have succours of these three French regiments continued in the service of this state: which, by the opposition of those of Holland, was laid aside: and this seems a mystery to many, that they, who have been always best affected to the French, should (as they lately insisted) desire to have them licensed. But it is thought to have aspect to their domestic factions; the Arminians, who have the ruling voice in the committee-council of Holland, having a design (as is suspected) to change by degrees the whole form of their malice, and by cashiering part of the strangers they have in their service, to bring those into the pay of the state, which they have already levied at Utrecht and in some towns of Holland, and to minister unto the rest the like oath unto particular towns and provinces, as is taken by them, without obedience either to the general or generality.

Here is a book lately come out in this vulgar language in conformity to the discourse monf. BARNEVELT held with me, that religion is no ground either of the union of those provinces, or of their quarrel against the king of Spain; the chief subject whereof is a particular examination of the actions of the late prince of Orange and of his first entrance into the war, which the book concludes was for civil respects only, without regard of religion: and herein they seek to wound count MAURICE through his father's sides, who in defence of his father and himself saith they have both the same quarrel, his father having three grounds of his discontentment with Spain; the first, the inquisition; the second, the making of citadels; and the third, the denial of justice: all which he saith are now again practised by the Arminian faction, they using a kind of inquisition for corrupting, if not suppressing the reformed religion; they making citadels of the towns themselves by these new levies; and withstanding the ordinary course of justice both of the high and provincial council in all places where they have authority. The author of this book is said to be 177, and it doth concur much with his discourse, though he disavow it.

MONS. BARNEVELT, before his return from Utrecht, procured of that town an augmentation of the allowance of certain women, which are there continued in their profession of popery, after the form of a convent, from 70 to 100 florins yearly pension. The

The English company lately void by the death of sir BERNARD DEWHURST, and given upon the first news by those of Utrecht to a young gentleman, nephew to sir JOHN OGLE, was much disputed in the assembly of the states general and council of state; but in the end the commission was given him, upon the undertaking of the states of Utrecht, that they knew sir EDWARD CECIL would be well contented with what they had done.

MONS. MALRE, who hath resided here all this time since the first coming of the extraordinary deputies, is now retired, as it is thought, to his last home; he being sick of age and weakness.

In mons. BARNEVELT I observe small change either in mind or body, save only, that he goeth with a staff.

I have recovered the journal of the new discovery of the passage into the South sea, of which I am promised the map; and the one shall accompany the other with my next. Mean time I humbly take leave, &c.

*Octob. 20.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Charing-Cross: by way of Zealand.

My lord embassador,

I received yesterday your lordship's letters; and for that which concerneth your divisions there, I am not glad, that my conjecture is so well grounded, as I fear it is, that there be some civil humours intermixed or concurred with the \*\* of religion; for I doubt it will make the breach longer to continue; and if that be not pieced before the synod begin, I look for little fruit of it.

Your synods there may be more happy than former synods in Germany have been for matter of controversy; for hitherto they have wrought no other effect, but that men may have gone asunder more exasperated than when they came together; and except your ministers there can be content to choose the judgment of some third church not engaged into the opinion of either of the sides there, to which they will stand in such points wherein upon their own conference they shall differ, I shall not believe they will come well out; for animosity and vain-glory and reputation of victory do so transport disputants, \*\*\* for the more part, as charity taketh not place. I wish it better than I fear.

The distrust of the success of these divisions, and the fear of the sickness of Amsterdam, hath wrought a conceit, and an intimation to some here, that divers merchants of good ability, now dwelling in that city, would retire and reside here in London, if they thought they should have good way given them. Whereupon his majesty willed me to give your lordship some advertisement privately, that although he do not wish any such thing, in regard of the common good; yet if ill accidents there do cause such a disposition in any, he could be content, that underhand, and without any public shew, they were encouraged rather to come hither than to any other place; which I leave to your lordship's discretion to handle as you see cause.

For

For my lord Roos, we can hear no certainty of him. He hath been at Orleans, at Lyons, at Avignon; but where he is, no man can tell. He passeth privately where he goeth; is accompanied only with DIEGO, but here he hath left a most confused and torn estate.

All my lords are here behind his majesty busied about money matters, but find no issue. A parliament is obscurely spoken of, but left to his majesty's own breast to determine. So I leave farther to trouble your lordship, &c.

*Octob. 31.* Earl of BUCKINGHAM to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall.

My lord,

Upon the receipt of your dispatches of the 11th and 13th of this month, which were both imparted to his majesty, he was pleased, for answer thereunto, to send directions to Mr. secretary WINWOOD, who being then sick, and now since departed this world (whose unexpected death his majesty, myself, and all those who knew his worth, do much lament) his majesty hath commanded me, to signify his pleasure unto you as followeth:

First concerning BROWNE, his majesty liketh well, that you have deferred to make the demand publicly in the assembly of the states general, until those of Holland shall meet, which, you say, will be shortly: but when you find the time proper, that then you proceed according to his majesty's pleasure formerly signified unto you, and in the mean time that you assure the count MAURICE, and whom else you shall think fit, that his majesty is resolved to take no other satisfaction than that, which he hath already demanded. And as for the *jus remissionis*, which they stand so much upon, his majesty holdeth it to be quite from the purpose, being only meant of sending back to a prince his own subject, fled for some offence into the dominions of another. But this, which we demand, hath been often practised in all kingdoms and estates, and of fresh memory offered by the French king, touching the governor of Dieppe. It hath been done by the Venetians, and was an ordinary course held between his majesty and the late queen ELIZABETH.

As for the advice you have given count MAURICE, his majesty doth approve of your temperance and moderation, being himself ever inclined that way: yet, on the other side, he would have you so temper your counsels, that if the count MAURICE shall see any occasion of advantage, and possibility of taking it, that then you leave him to his own judgment, and neither encourage him, nor dissuade him from it; for his majesty is of opinion, that those burghers, who so much oppose the professors of the truth, when they shall see him enter into action, will lose their courage, and be the better brought to reason.

Concerning sir JOHN OGLE, his majesty is sorry, that he should be the first of his subjects there, that should favour the Arminians: and hath willed me to assure you, that what hopes soever he may frame to himself there, he hath no hopes at all here, neither in his majesty nor any about him. And therefore you shall do well to advise him in time to conform himself to the course, which he seeth his majesty doth take, unless



he will adventure the loss of his favour. I have written unto him, which I send you inclosed.

His majesty hath perused the articles about the synod, and doth altogether dislike of Utrecht for the place of meeting, as a town, which hath been always given to sedition and mutiny, is now wholly inclined to the Arminian faction, and lately encouraged therein by the presence of mons. BARNEVELT; and therefore would like better of a place of more indifferency. And whereas in one of the articles it is set down, that the deputies shall only search the word of God, his majesty's opinion is, that nothing can more strongly foment and strengthen the schism or division amongst them than this article in those bare terms as it is set down; for the Arminians, Vortians, and all other heretics, fly unto the word of God; if their interpretation thereof may be accepted; and therefore these words would be tempered with this clause following, that they shall diligently search the word of God, and in case they differ upon the interpretation, that they shall have recourse unto the interpretation given thereunto by the general consent of the antient church and councils, and approved doctors thereof, before the time of the church's defection to popery, joining thereunto the most learned and best divines of our religion.

As for the other articles, his majesty findeth nothing for the present to be disliked in them: but if upon a second review he shall see occasion to alter any thing, there will be time enough for you to receive his farther directions.

His majesty's pleasure is, that, until you shall have farther order from him, you direct your letters to mr. secretary LAKE; and when you have any extraordinary secrecy, that then you direct your letters to himself. And so I commit you to the Almighty, and rest

your loving friend to command,

Whitehall, this last of October 1617.

G. BUCKINGHAM.

*Octob. 30.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall.

My lord embassador,

I have received commandment from his majesty to advertise you of mr. secretary WINWOOD's death, who departed on Tuesday morning last; and withal to let you understand, that his majesty's pleasure is, that you shall intermit nothing, that may concern his service upon this change, but continue your addresses unto me, and I will acquaint his majesty therewith from time to time, and make answer unto them according as his majesty shall be pleased to direct me. And so I rest, &c.

*Nov. 8.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE.

That the countess of Hanau, sister of count MAURICE, having spent some time in Holland with her brothers, and being returned towards Germany in the beginning of this week, had desired him at taking leave, to move, that, after the example of the king of France and the states general (who each of them give several stipends  
of

of 100*l.* yearly to two of her young sons) to do the like to the youngest, which bears his name, being christened by his majesty. That she is a noble and virtuous lady, and very dear to his excellency, who would find himself obliged by his majesty's favour to his sister. Sir D. sends a memorial given him upon this occasion.

Nov. 8. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by MURRAY.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

His Majesty's commandment touching the address of my dispatches to your honour upon the decease of mr. secretary WINWOOD met with my intention, in case I had received no such express order; and I presume they will meet with a good disposition in your honour to excuse their imperfections and mine, which I humbly recommend to your wonted favour.

In the particularity concerning Amsterdam I will govern myself in conformity to his majesty's pleasure, which I understand by your former letters of the 20th of the last; and in other proceedings concerning these affairs, according to a dispatch of the 31st signed by my lord of BUCKINGHAM.

It is now seven days since the national synod was resolved of by plurality of voices in the assembly of the states general, against which a public protest was made by GROTIUS the pensioner of Rotterdam, in the name of three provinces, Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel. But this being different from all custom, in that the deputies of each province speak apart always in that assembly, and, in such cases of importance, with express order from their principals (which he had not), it was rather registered (as he desired it should be) as a mark of his temerity and indiscretion, than as a thing which can be of validity, until it be avowed by the provinces; whereof he cannot be well assured, since some towns of Holland, which were formerly accounted of the Arminian faction, begin to change party.

This week (in which we yet are) those of Utrecht presiding did make a new overture in the assembly of the states general, that every province apart should frame *statum quaestionis*, and reporting the same to the assembly, they should then proceed by uniform consent to take that course, which was best in these differences: which being understood as an artifice to gain time, mixt with a worse intent of raising the same disputes in the other provinces, as are here in Holland, was rejected.

The assembly of Holland hath been hitherto protracted, upon several occasions, and so is now farther for ten days, when we shall see more clear into this business, whither it will tend; and until then the satisfaction, which his majesty doth expect touching the taking of JOHN BROWNE, cannot be taken into debate, because the matter doth chiefly concern the province. But I am promised by those that have most power amongst them, it shall be their first business: and though in these disturbances nothing can be built upon good ground, my hope is it will succeed to his majesty's contentment.

I have demanded of mons<sup>r</sup>. BARNEVELT, in conformity to a dispatch from mr. secretary WINWOOD of the 17th of the last, a copy of the grant (if such they have

have any) which they pretend to have under the great seal of Scotland, as given them at the time when prince HENRY of famous memory was christened; which he confessed unto me was no other but a confirmation of former treaties, wherein he said somewhat is specified to that purpose, and thereof he hath promised me an extract, which I will send your honour, when I can recover the same.

Herewith I send a copy of the proposition of the embassador of the king of Swede, made in the assembly of the states general the 6th of this present, which I conceive his majesty will be pleased to see, because it is that, *mutatis mutandis*, which his majesty is to expect shortly from him: he intending to cross the seas upon the same errand towards his majesty this next week. He hath used some small liberalities in distributing certain chains of gold in Leyden, and in this town, amongst particular persons, and one HEINSIUS he hath entertained at Leyden with a yearly stipend for historiographer to the king his master.

The count of East-Friesland hath three deputies here at this present to treat with the states touching certain of his subjects, which stand out against him, and with whom he would proceed by way of justice in the imperial court. But the states insist to end the difference by accommodation. I am desired by letters from the count and message of his deputies, to assist him in his affairs, in which I will not fail, having had former order from his majesty to this effect.

Here is an embassador, in absence of the prince of Brandenburg, dispatched to the states by his council of Cleve, to complain of a violence used by the archdukes men in entering a church in an open village near Juliers, where the states have garrison, at high-mass time, when it was least suspected; and maintaining the possession of the church against the garrison, and other of the states troops, which are since joined unto them. This succeeding the 8th of this present *stilo novo* we have had no news thereof since the first, and therefore take no resolution until a second advertisement.

The states have after much contradiction (without which, in case as they stand, nothing can pass, be it never so necessary) resolved of a letter to the French king, to desire the continuance of the three French regiments of foot and two troops of horse in their service; with some good order for reimbursement of the arrearages of their entertainment and provision for the same hereafter.

They have written likewise to the French king to have a release of a restraint made at Roan against expecting French commodities in Holland's ships; for which purpose they have given their embassador order to follow the king to Roan.

Monf. MALRE, who was deputy for his excellency in Zealand, and hath lived long there in much authority, died at Middleburg on Tuesday last.

Monf. BARNEVELT doth not come out of his house since his return from Utrecht by reason of his indisposition; but he doth no whit spare himself in pains, nor faint in his resolution; wherein notwithstanding he will in all appearance *succumbere* before

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long, having the disadvantages of a weak body, a weak party, and a weak cause. Thus I most humbly take leave, &c.

*Octob. 9.* SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by MURRAY.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

I have detained this bearer after the closing my dispatch, to inform myself, and advertise his majesty, what yesterday would produce; which being the last of Utrecht's presiding, we expected *aliquid monstri*, and divers tentatives were made in the assembly of the states general to gain time, whereby to prolong the summons of the synod: but the states persisted in their resolution of the last week, which this, that now comes in, will be put in execution.

Those of Holland, upon jealousy of the affection of their towns, do unwillingly consent to an assembly of the states of the province: but the necessity of their contributions and other affairs of course permit no longer delay than to-morrow fortnight, at which time their meeting is resolved. In this interim count MAURICE is determined (unless he have some unexpected diversion) to visit the Arminian towns severally in person, and to remonstrate to their common council the state of these affairs, wherein they are thought to be abused by some few of the magistrates, who are said to spend their voices in the assembly of the states without their consent, and at their return make false report of the proceedings.

The delay of this meeting doth no way hinder, though it doth protract, the satisfaction his majesty doth demand for the wrong done to JOHN BROWNE, which I hope will in the end succeed to his majesty's liking.

There is no farther difficulty made in the business of MOY LAMBERT and BOOTHBY, since the states have had the extract out of the register of the lords of the council touching the same, with which they are well satisfied.

Yesterday order was taken by the states for answer to the embassador of Swede to be in general terms of compliment, without engaging themselves farther than they are already by treaties. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*Nov. 11.* KING JAMES to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from the court at Theobalds.

In favour of sir THOMAS DALE, sometime servant of prince HENRY, who had a company in the Low Countries, and had been commended by the prince to attend the plantation in Virginia, for which sir THOMAS had obtained leave of absence from the states general; that he might be paid his arrears, and continued in pay and favour of the states general.

*Nov. 21.* SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by HERMAN the post.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

In conformity to my last by MURRAY the post of the 9th of this present (which accompanied others by the same bearer of the 8th) the states general by plurality of  

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voices overcame those difficulties this week past, which were cast in the way the week before by those of Utrecht concerning the synod; and accordingly resolved to hold the same at the time appointed, of the project whereof his majesty formerly hath a copy, and for the place it shall be held either at Dort or this town; the reasons his majesty alledgeth against Utrecht being of so great weight, that they are here very apprehensive of them. There are letters drawn and ratified by the states general to his majesty and other princes, in whose dominions the reformed religion is professed, to desire the assistance of some learned and judicious persons at their synod; the dispatch of which is stayed till the beginning of February next, whereby to give commodity to those of Holland (who are now within these three days to hold the provincial assembly of the states) to conjoin likewise with the rest (on the inclination of which Utrecht and Overysfel do depend) or, if they persist still in their backwardness, not to leave them any just subject of complaint.

COUNT MAURICE is in this *interim* gone to such towns in the south quarter of Holland, as are of the Arminian party, namely to Delft, Schedam, Rotterdam, and Gorcum; in all which places (as likewise in Dort, which he took rather *en passant*, than for any need there was of his going thither) he was well received, and calling the common council (which they name the *Vrootſchap*) in each place to the stadthouse, he there endeavoured by way of remonstrance to discharge himself of the imputation cast upon him by his enemies, of affecting the sovereignty of this country; as likewise to make them capable of the inconveniences, which have ensued the resolution of the last assemblies of the states of Holland, and by consequence to dispose them to a concurrence with the other provinces in a determination of those differences by a national synod.

What the effect of his endeavours will be, we shall see within few days; but I can hardly expect he should undo in a week that, which hath been plotted and practised in those places ever since the first treaty of the truce. Howsoever that he hath done, cannot be without some fruit; and that, which is not *opus unius diei*, of a day or a week, (for more than a day he hath not spent in any one place, nor than a week in all) he may accomplish hereafter, the like industry being used by those of Amsterdam, and the well-affected towns in the north part of Holland, but with less hope of success, because they are far more passionate.

COUNT WILLIAM of Nassau, governor of Friesland and Groningen, accompanied his excellency in this journey; his brother count HENRY excused himself upon expectation of ambassadors sent here to the states from the landgrave of Hesse, whose errand is chiefly concerning his marriage.

The ambassadors, being two in commission, had their first audience in the assembly of the states general the  $\frac{1}{2}$  of this present, wherein they shewed the affection of their master to this state; which being always very good, he endeavoured to strengthen by the marriage of his daughter to count HENRY, who is of the house of Nassau and *enfant d'Hollande*: but seeing they could not agree upon conditions (as there is great difference about the dowry and jointure) he desired notwithstanding they might continue good friends, and that his daughter might be free.

This will prove a conclusion one way or other of this business, which hath been long in treaty; but till the return of count MAURICE (which is expected to-morrow) nothing will be resolved.

The same day of their audience the resident of Venice gave account to the states general of the conclusion and effectuation of the peace in Italy, which was no welcome news to the states, because they account it little less than a proclaiming a war in these parts: yet they have good reason to believe they shall be spared for a while, partly because the Spaniards have much exhausted their treasure in these late wars in Italy, and partly because the lying of the pirates with so great strength upon the coast of Spain is a kind of diversion; but chiefly because they will give leisure to their civil discords, which in all likelihood would end upon the first alarm of a common enemy.

What part I have been forced to play in this confused theatre upon these occasions, your honour may please to see in a relation apart, and thereof give his majesty knowledge. Both his majesty's honour and service, and the state of the whole cause in these differences about religion, are exceedingly interested in the issue hereof: which must expect another whole week's president of the assembly of the states general; for this, that now is, of Overijssel, is gained to the Arminians; and it lies in the president's power to stop any proceeding, when he is so disposed.

I hope my next shall give his majesty an account, not only of this, but of other affairs, which concern his service, and that within few days; particularly concerning the satisfaction his majesty is to expect about JOHN BROWNE, which in the pressing of this business I have not forgotten.

I send your honour a translated copy of the answer in this Dutch language given the ambassador of Swede, who by this time in all appearance is in England. So I humbly take leave, &c.

P. S. There have been certain soldiers, to the number of 30, taken into Schonoven on Sunday last was sevennight, as sent from those of Rotterdam; which is not considerable, save only it shews a secret confederation amongst the Arminian towns. At Leyden they went into arms, and kept the gates of their town shut, upon the first news of count MAURICE's intent to visit the towns. But the alarm ceased as soon as they heard in what manner he went, as one that would use his tongue, not his sword. Such discourses, as were spread abroad in the earl of LEICESTER's time, are now reprinted and divulged to amuse the people. These particularities I have thought fit to add, to the end his majesty may be advertised of all that passeth.

Nov. 19. KING to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from the court at Newmarket.

Complaining, that the states of Utrecht had, contrary to the course heretofore practised, bestowed a company in general CECIL's regiment, without his consent, upon a young man of sir JOHN OGLE's name and kindred: 'Which, *says the king*, 'we find very strange; and therefore we are pleased, that you inform yourself by  
' this.



‘ this draught of a letter, which we send you herewith, of the reasons against that  
 ‘ course; and thereupon insist and press them in our name to revoke that, which,  
 ‘ contrary to order, they have done herein, and to give sir EDWARD CECIL satisf-  
 ‘ faction.’

*Nov.* 19. KING to the STATES of Utrecht: from the court at Newmarket: upon the affair of OGLE and CECIL.

*Nov.* 22. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall.

My lord embassador,

I have received no direction to write any thing to your lordship upon your last letters, his majesty being at Newmarket, to whom I sent them; but we hope here, that if the strength of one side fail, the country will settle again.

But of your synod I look for no good fruit; for being with those cautions and reservations to each province, whereof you wrote in your last to sir RALPH WINWOOD, no great consequence can follow; for many will not be there, and others will be bound against their own interpretation of their liberty in matters of religion.

We are here wholly busied in retrenching his majesty's expences; a difficult and ungrateful work, and slowly proceeding.

In France they are upon a course to be established by this great assembly for a safe traffic to the East-Indies, and would fain join with us: But that is not for our good. I find our merchants are not willing to join either with you or them, or any other, hoping they have got the start of all others, and assuring themselves to keep it.

This I write chiefly to gratify sir EDWARD CECIL, and to convey his letters, who sendeth this gentleman expressly over with letters of his majesty about a company fallen void in his regiment, and bestowed against his liking. So I commend your lordship to God's protection, &c.

*Nov.* 25. KING to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Newmarket.

Recommending sir THOMAS DISHINGTON, sent into the Low Countries about some business, which he would impart to sir DUDLEY, in which the king orders sir DUDLEY to give him his best furtherance.

*Nov.* 22. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE: by HERMAN the post.  
*Dec.* 2.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

This relation, with the book and paper adjoined, may (if you so please) remain by your honour as a register of what is past since my last dispatch, upon occasion of a  
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libellous pamphlet, which is newly published in this Netherlands language here, termed *a Wergb Schael*, that is *a balance*, wherein are put at great length many falshoods and calumnies, to overfway a fhort and true recite I made lately in a fpeech to the ftates general concerning the beginning, progreff, and prefent ftate of thefe differences; and the factious and violent proceedings of the Arminian party in Holland, being therein balanced likewise with his majesty's prudent and peaceable government in church affairs, as well in England as Scotland. As it made me more fenfible of the wrong done herein to his majesty, fo have I thought fit in all event to fet down in writing the whole carriage of the bufinefs, not knowing whether it will here reft, or have further confequence (as haply it may) which may much import the whole ftate of this prefent controverfy in religion.

Having had exprefs order from his majesty by letters from mr. fecretary WINWOOD of the 27th of Auguft, to treat with thefe ftates, and induce them (if it were poffible) to concur unitely in the refolution of a national fynod (to which four of them, Guelderland, Zealand, Friefland, and Groningen, had then confented) and this in regard, that the union of Utrecht being grounded upon religion, could not in a caufe, as this is, of religion, permit a feparation; I did accordingly fpeak with the deputies apart of the three diffenting provinces, Holland, Utrecht, and Overiffel; and having no answer, nor finding any effects thereof for the fpace of a month, no not fo much as that they had reported what I faid (though therein I ufed his majesty's name) to their principals (which was too great a neglect), I demanded audience in the afsembly of the ftates general the 6th of October, where, in conformity to his majesty's laft letters to the ftates of the 20th of March laft paff, his former in the caufe of VORSTIUS, his commandments then newly renewed by thofe from mr. fecretary, and the prefent occurrences, I fpoke that I thought moft material, and concluded with requiring an answer to his majesty's letters in this matter of fynod, which *ex officio* I was to demand.

My fpeech was well accepted, and answered for the prefent by the prefident of the afsembly with words of compliment, and the copy thereof was by him required of me in the name of the reft, but at the particular urging (as being prefent I might well obferve) of thofe of Holland; which I promifed to fend them (as I did the next day) more for their fatisfaction than mine own.

In the prefenting thereof the next day, GROTIUS, the penfioner of Rotterdam, moved in the name of Holland, that it might be fuppreffed; which the deputies of the other provinces would not confent unto, fince at his inftance it was required; but caufing the fame to be tranflated into Dutch, fend it in both languages to their principals, and in both languages it was printed and published within few days after; but by whom or where it is not known.

GROTIUS hereupon counterfeiting ficknefs, retired himfelf to Rotterdam, and UBENBOGARD, the chief chaplain of the court, and Coryphæus of the Arminian preachers, under the fame pretence kept clofe for many days here in this town; which gave fubject then of fufpicion, and fince it is in a manner evident, that they were fick of a difeafe like Dr. DALE's, this *balance* being vomited out, and publicly bought and fold

fold here at the Hague the  $\frac{1}{2}$  of this present, without name of author, or place of printing; which by the style and argument is thought to be a patelinage of their composing; of which there is this further appearance for GROTIUS, that he having been always a stranger to my house, save only as public business brought him, the day before the publication thereof, though it were Sunday and church-time, made me a complimentary visit, whereby the Italian observation, *chi ti careffe poi che suole*, &c. is added to other likelihoods:

Upon the first view thereof I sent one copy to the president of the states general, and another to monf. BARNEVELT, demanding of them, if I should send that book to his majesty as their answer to his letter; and if it were not theirs, that then they would use their best means to find out and punish the author for anticipating their answer.

Monf. BARNEVELT both then and after seemed cold in the apprehension of the matter; but the president complained thereof to the states general, who sent unto me the same day their greffier AERSSENS, promising to give his majesty before long a satisfactory answer to his letters and my office, and disclaiming this book, of which they had taken order to call in the copies; and therewith desired me to rest contented.

Touching their answer to his majesty, I desired the greffier to tell his masters, it was their business chiefly, and therefore I would attend their commodity; and so they would answer his majesty's good and wholesome advice with correspondent effects, it was that his majesty most desired: But for as much as belonged to me (in finding myself personally and publicly written against for that, which by order of his majesty I spake in their assembly *à huis clos*, and of which I had not delivered the copy but at their instance) I desired them to excuse me, if I expected some further satisfaction answerable to the quality of an ambassador, and the offence of a libeller, which, without specifying any thing for that time, I left to their discretions.

Hereupon they took a resolution to write to the several provinces, not only to have the books suppressed, but to have search made likewise for the printer and author: But this satisfaction being private, and the wrong so public, I demanded audience in their assembly the  $\frac{1}{2}$  of this present, where I manifested at large the points (as there are many in this book) wherein the reformed religion, the constitution of this state, his majesty's actions in the church government of his kingdoms, and my own reputation (as his unworthy minister) were unworthily traduced.

Touching religion, the book asketh, fol. 46. upon the point where his majesty adviseth the course of synod (*auquel*, saith his majesty in his letter, *de tout tems on a eu recours en la Chrestienté*) whether LUTHER or CALVIN had recourse to a synod? and whether by synod the reformation began in England? Which I told them was one of the Papists common objections; and therefore the common answer must serve both them and the Arminians, that God did work in such cases sometimes by means ordinary, and sometimes by means extraordinary: That in a general corruption (as that of popery) he wrought the reformation by extraordinary means: but where a church



was planted and settled, and that therein either heresy or other novelty was springing, the ordinary means of the synod was ever used for trial of the truth. So as either the Arminians must confess not to be of the reformed church in these provinces, and make profession of a new religion; or else submit themselves to the accustomed orders of his church in particular, and the other reformed churches in general.

Concerning this state, the author will not allow the reformed religion to be any way considerable in the constitution thereof, which, as I proved by their treaties with the late queen of happy memory, by the oaths of their commanders in the wars and other officers in the government, by the conditions imposed upon such towns, as they got from time to time by conquest, by the concurrence of soldiers of all nations, which did divide themselves in their wars betwixt them and their enemies, according to their profession in religion, and by the title of their quarrel, which they ever stiled *God's cause*, to be an apparent falshood. So I shewed them how (if this belief should once take place) their provinces and towns would be *arena sine calce*, and would not only be abandoned by friends and people in respect of conscience, but for having had *aliud in ore, aliud in corde*, be forsaken of God himself for dissimulation and ingratitude.

There are many seditious incitations (*festinate, viri, &c.* fol. 30.) and contemptuous words of the people (who are termed *Canaille* through the whole book) which I omitted not to note, as dangerous in a commonwealth to make profession of pride and plenty with contempt of the meaner sort, which would confirm the saying, *Religio peperit divitias, & filia devoravit matrem.*

In that part, wherein his majesty's government in church affairs (from his first happy reign in Scotland till now his last being there) is ripped up and misconstrued and applied in this manner, as if the states of Holland did rather imitate his majesty's example than follow his counsel: I spared not to make them sensible, first of the wrong in general in playing the syndic of the actions of so great a prince, which are justified in the effects of the blessed peace and tranquillity both of church and state in all his majesty's kingdoms (whereof we have in this state a contrary experience), and next in the particular misapplications of many things, which cannot be done otherwise than *videns & sciens* to abuse the people; wherein I chiefly insisted upon two things: The one, that whereas in the whole book, that, which is collected out of his majesty's writings and speeches against Puritans, is applied to the contra-remonstrants in this state (besides the different reason of the Puritans being the opposers of the received church-discipline in England, and the contra-remonstrants being the settled church here, which is opposed by the Arminians) I alledged his majesty's own declaration, printed at the end of the *Apology pro juramento fidelitatis*, wherein he shews his meaning in plain and express terms, that this author, who can no ways (as appears by his work) pretend ignorance, can as little escape the condemnation *male fidei*. The other, an example of his majesty's proceedings at Hampton-court, in the dispute betwixt the bishops with other learned persons and Dr. REYNOLDS with those of his party; with which the author, I think, was helped by our chief man in this state; for he hath often in discourse alledged the same unto me, as a proof, that since his majesty took that cause to his own hearing and determining, the states of Holland might do the like betwixt the remonstrants and contra-remonstrants: wherein I first

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shewed the difference of proceeding to be observed betwixt matters of external discipline and points of doctrine; and next the direct contrary course the states of Holland take from that, which was observed by his majesty, in that whereas his majesty at that hearing did not find it convenient to embrace the remonstrance of those who did seek to trouble the church (which was after disputed and confuted in divers synodical assemblies, to which those remonstrants were referred, and I could witness it to be rejected by the parliament, to which they had their last recourse, as not being *nostri fori*) the states of Holland, on the contrary, yea, though there was question of points of doctrine, admitted the *remonstrance* of the Arminians, printed anno 1610, and ever since by countenance and authority, and now lately by force of arms (having made expresse levies upon this quarrel only), would settle that doctrine in the church: Whereas, if herein they had followed his majesty's example, by rejecting the *remonstrance* (as by many of the states of Holland themselves it was then and hath been ever since desired), or at least by referring their remonstrants to their classes or synods, those troubles, wherewith the ruin of the state is threatened, had been smothered in the cradle, and both church and commonwealth continued in the wonted quietness.

Touching myself I said, though I ought only to give account to his majesty of my proceedings, yet there being more strict amity betwixt his majesty and them than any other prince and state in Europe, I would use no reservedness; and therefore told them, that this business of religion was my first charge; and that his majesty gave it me in chief commendation, when I had the honour last to kiss his hand, with his word, *à Jove principium*: That for the space of a whole year after, though the occasion did often require it, I did never molest them in that subject: That at the presentation of his majesty's letters unto them in March last, the few words I used, without delivering any thing in writing, might argue my unwillingness to be too much seen in this business: That from March until October I attended their pleasures for their answer to the said letter, and so had still done, save only for the expresse charge I then had to quicken them in their inclination to synod: That what I then said was by order from his majesty, and with his allowance since: That the copy thereof being presented to them the next day at their request, they were to answer for the printing thereof, and not I: That whereas subject of writing this book against me is taken, because I did not move the states to have my speech suppressed (and this point such of the states themselves, as are backward in giving me satisfaction, did much insist upon), this I thought fitter for them to effect than for me to demand: That my speaking so particularly in favour of the *orthodox* (which the book condemns of partiality, and the French ambassador in a speech he used in the assembly of the states general, at his last coming out of France, glanced at as a point of indiscretion) was by the rule *non eadem omnibus decora*, more excusable in his majesty's ministers than those of other princes, in that his majesty having the titles of defender of the faith, and protector of the reformed religion, which was only professed in his kingdoms, was to favour and further those of the same profession; whereas that prince, who had two religions publicly professed in his state, might with more reason be neutral. But what prince soever was an enemy to the reformed religion, could not be accounted a friend to these provinces. That in regard his majesty had done nothing from the beginning of these differences, until this present, misbecoming a religious prince, and their best friend and ally, nor myself any thing, which I could not well justify, I prayed them for conclusion, well to weigh this



*balance* itself by this observation, that when any thing is put into it (as there are divers malicious passages) in excuse of his majesty, the blame is laid on the informer, wherein I am spared, my instructor is condemned: the one of which reflects upon his majesty's ministers, from whom it is to be presumed he hath his information, the other on his majesty himself, from whom we receive our commandments.

Now since nothing is or hath been done in the whole course of this business unworthy of his majesty or his ministers, though their proceedings therein are recited and confuted in this libel *usque ab ovo*, I advised them to shew in this cause themselves (as being the representative body of the provinces in this state) worthy to have ambassadors of so great princes resident in their court, by protecting both their masters honour and theirs (as this was a common interest of all ambassadors), shewing them by examples of less moment what courses they have formerly taken for searching out, and punishing offenders. Whereupon (though the use be in that assembly always to give up such speeches, as are there made in writing, yet that it might appear unto them I was not fond of appearing in print, to which this might likewise have been subject) I gave them only a short memorial (whereof I send your honour a copy under the same date as the day of my audience) concluding with this *ricordo*, which I thought necessary, as well for other regards as this; that since his majesty was in this present conjuncture (as he hath had the happiness to be always) caressed and sought unto by most princes and states, even the most remote of Europe, and that by the subjects of this state (of which his majesty hath better deserved than of all others) many affronts are daily offered both by sea and land, that they would without favour or connivance make every one bear his own burden; or else they might in the end draw a heavy displeasure on their own necks, making particular offences the cause of the public.

The deliberation hereof held them long after my departure, GROTIUS playing the advocate as earnestly as if it had been his own cause, but in the name of those of Holland, to draw the judgment thereof from the states general; and not being able to prevail that way, he proposed to have a placart generally made against libellers, wherein he was followed by those of Utrecht and Overijssel: But the major part of the provinces rejecting that overture, and concluding I should have satisfaction according to my instance, he desired time till the next meeting; in which interim he undertook to speak with me, and to persuade me to rest contented with what was already done.

To this effect he came to me the next day, accompanied with the burgomaster of Dort, from the committee-council of Holland, desiring me in their names, either to rest satisfied with what was already done, or to refer the matter to the assembly of Holland, which now approacheth. Against which I alledged, that this business belonged no more to Holland than any other province, unless the author and printer of the book were known and declared to be Hollanders; and yet in that case having my first letters of credence directed to the states general, and all my addresses since to that assembly only, and having made the speech (of which there was now question) to them likewise, it was of them I must expect reparation.

This answer (misdoubting fidelity in the report) I sent the next day in writing to the states general, according to the copy of my memorial under the date of the 27th  
of



of November; and the same being read in their assembly, a resolution was there taken for my full satisfaction, as your honour may please to see by a translated abstract out of their register: but the execution hereof hath been deferred hitherto by the practice of the Arminians, who labour in this cause as if *fortune Gracie* lay upon it: and what issue will be thereof I cannot promise, but upon the next change of the president, which will be within two days, I shall have just subject to beseech his majesty, either to give the states thanks upon this occasion, or to add it to the number of other grievances. So for the present I take leave, &c.

Nov.  $\frac{13}{25}$ . Memorial of sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the states general,

Complaining of a book published at the Hague on Monday the 20th, intituled, *Wergb Schael onn ce overweghen de Oratie, &c. van mynbeere DUDLEY CARLETON ambassador vanden Doorluchtigsten Coningh van Groot Britannien, &c.* as being seditious against the state, scandalous to the reformed religion, and very injurious to himself, which reflected dishonour upon the king his master.

Desiring likewise a placart to be published for burning the book, and promising a reward for the discovery of the author, with pardon to the printer, if he will discover him in fifteen days.

Nov.  $\frac{17}{27}$ . Memorial to the states general upon the same subject mentioned in the preceding letter, and desiring this additional clause to the placart, that if any person shall hereafter be discovered to have had knowledge of the author and printer without discovering them to their high mightinesses, or those, to whom it belonged, he should be subject to the same punishment with the author and printer.

Decem. 1. N. S. Memorial to the states general,

Complaining of delays of giving satisfaction, and declaring, that this shall be the last application he will make upon the subject, and desiring, that the placart may be immediately published.

Dec. 4. N. S. Memorial to the states general,  
Pressing the same point.

Dec. 4. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Charing-Cross: received the 14th.

My lord embassador,

These are only at this time to convey the inclosed of my lord BUCKINGHAM's; and other matter I have little to say to you, only that we are in some brangle with the French about matters of traffic, as you of Holland are; and thereof mr. comptroller and I have had some hard disputes with the embassador. They make strange and wrested constructions.

I perceive by mr. BECHER's letters they have taken an alarm at the suspence, which don PEDRO hath made of the execution of the treaty of peace; not that he refuseth the thing, but the manner: for it seems there have been two treaties agreed upon, one at Paris by the Venetian embassador there, another at Madrid by the embassador

there, both for themselves, and for the duke of Savoy, in virtue of a proclamation from the duke. In that of Paris the honour of conclusion is given to the French king, and he an undertaker for the observation of it. In that of Madrid there is neither any such ascription to the French, nor ground of protection given. Don PEDRO would have the duke of Savoy ratify that of Madrid. He refuseth without approbation of the French king, and hath sent an expresse messenger to know his pleasure. They in France are loth to have the peace to break, and yet willing to save their honour. How to couple these two together is the question amongst them.

They do upon this and some like jealousies hearken more than before they did, to a proposition for advancing the duke of Bavaria to the empire: but I doubt they have staid too long, and that the king of Bohemia \* hath gotten too far the start of them; and yet withal they do hearken to another motion with a son of the said king of Bohemia, and seem to affect it.

I will trouble your lordship no farther, having uttered but these things by the way; and so commend you to God, &c.

Dec. 8. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by GEORGE MARTEN.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

By the copies, which go herewith (to which my letters to his majesty have reference) your honour will see the issue of my process against that libellous pamphlet, whereof my last dispatch of the 22d of November did advertise at large.

Your honour's letters of the same date came to my hands by mr. CROMWELL three days since, the one of which chiefly served to give cover to his majesty's letters concerning general CECIL, there being one to the states of Utrecht, and another to myself, by which I have commandment to move those states of Utrecht to revoke what they have done in giving a company of general CECIL's regiment to a young gentleman belonging to another colonel, contrary to all order: which not knowing how to perform, unless I should go expressly to Utrecht (which is not *pro dignitate* upon such an occasion, and would be subject to many jealousies in this dissension of the provinces, and fruitless, because young OGLE, to whom the company is given, is actually in the possession thereof), I have presumed to suspend my proceeding therein, until I understand his majesty's farther pleasure; to which effect I now write to his majesty.

Your honour's second letter being only in recommendation of mr. CROMWELL, I will endeavour to answer by effects; and, though this advancement, which he now aimed at, be irrecoverable, yet I do not doubt but to find opportunity before long how he may enjoy the fruits of his majesty's favour, and your honour's well-wishing towards him, both which he well deserves, being a gentleman of much merit and estimation in these troops.

The judgment your honour maketh of the small fruit of our national synod (against which some provinces do openly protest) is without all controversy so long as they re-

\* FERDINAND, archduke of Austria, afterwards emperor.



main thus in controversy. But the hope and expectation of those well-affected provinces and towns, who have insisted hitherto with so much zeal and constancy in advancing the said synod, is thus grounded; that either the adverse provinces will be in the end induced (as in reason they should) to concur with the rest; or else, if they still remain obstinate, and the national synod (with assistance of learned and religious persons from the reformed churches in foreign parts) proceed without them, they will be forsaken of their towns, who are misled by false appearance and mists cast before their eyes by certain factious and schismatical persons, some of them magistrates, other ministers, but chiefly the secretaries (called pensioners) of the towns, who, to abuse the people, do mix reasons, or rather, as a Spaniard calls them, *sin racones de stato*, with church considerations; and any declaration by a synod of that, which is the received opinion in other reformed churches, touching the points here in controversy, will give much strength to the one party, and diminution at least to the other, if not an absolute reducement to the right way.

The apprehension hereof makes the Arminian faction endeavour at this present to divert by practice what they cannot oppose by force, they seeking to make that provincial, which others would have national: and they are in a fair way to attain to their desire, they having (as I formerly advertised) ever protested against all resolutions of the states general in this subject, insomuch that they have sometimes risen an uproar, and forsaken the assembly; and now shewing an inclination in the particular assembly of the states of Holland, there to treat and conclude the question by way of provincial synod, with protestation notwithstanding to have no reference at all to the national synod. And to this course the well-affected towns of this province are so far gained, that I find them willing to consent, but with reservation of their former resolution in concurring with the other provinces in the national synod, in case they cannot determine the matter within their own province.

This is the true state of this business to the best of my slender judgment; which as well in regard of his majesty's particular service, for many important respects, as in consideration of the common cause of religion, I wish may be rightly understood; and though reckoning by numbers the Arminian party is (as I advertised your honour) far the weaker, yet they are in such state, considering their opiniatrety, that they deserve rather to be condemned than contemned.

The French ambassador, mons. DU MAURIER, had audience yesterday in the assembly of the states of Holland, for which he had express letters of credence, and only treated this matter of religion. This is *novum genus dicendi*, and never yet practised but by French ambassadors; all public ministers with this state, both ordinary and extraordinary, having always their address to the states general. DU MAURIER since my coming to this employment did first break the ice with those of Holland in the cause of a chartreux (PAUL DE RAVOYRE), who is here a pensioner; and after led LA NOÛE the same way touching the payment of the French troops: but both these businesses belonging particularly to those of Holland, the proceeding was the more excusable than in this cause of religion, which concerns all the provinces, and wherein all of them have been long in treaty, to single out this one apart, which is not thought to be done without mystery: and this start he gained hereby to be thought to be more confident with this province, which (howsoever, now it is divided in faction, it is not so considerable) whenso-



whensoever it shall return *ad sanam mentem*, will (as it hath formerly done) give law to the rest.

I must therefore refer it to your honour to know herein his majesty's mind, whether he will not judge it fit for his service, according to occasions, to follow this example: though for my part I must confess, I am no whit desirous of the commission to have to deal with such a partial and passionate auditory.

The resident of Venice, according to several advices of peace and war, which came to him from his masters like an ague, a good day and a bad, hath had often audiences of late in the assembly of the states general, and in covert terms hath proposed to the states some more strict intelligence betwixt these two commonwealths; to which he hath for answer, that, if his masters will open themselves farther, and express their minds in plainer language, they may expect from hence all satisfaction; and hereunto we attend their reply.

He hath moved the states likewise, and spoken unto me particularly, concerning one ALEXANDER ROSE, an Englishman, who (as he saith) is employed into these parts by the vice-roy of Naples with bills of exchange charged at Amsterdam for 12,000 ducats, and is from thence gone into England to make the provision both of shipping and munition for the service of the king of Spain against the Venetians, under colour of serving the kingdom of Naples with herring and other salt-fish; for which he hath a privilege. He hath desired me to give his majesty advertisement hereof; and to this effect he writes at this present, by order of his masters, to the ambassador CONTARINI, having discovered a certain ship, which doth now lie wind-bound in Zealand, and hath 80 Englishmen in her, she being come within few days out of the Texel; and being able there to give no good account to the admiralty, whither she is bound, he suspects she belongs to this ALEXANDER ROSE.

We had news the last week by the way of Lubeck, and from Lintz in Germany, that the grand duke of Muscovy was murdered, and that there was a great defeat given those people by the son of the king of Poland: but this last ordinary out of Germany brings confirmation of neither.

The king of Denmark gives those of Lubeck new jealousies, for which they have their recourse to this state: and we hear, that king doth set out four ships for the East-Indies, so as the French going upon the same adventure, the well will soon be drawn dry with so many buckets.

His majesty is like to be moved from hence anew to join the two companies of our East-India merchants and those of this state; and though the rule of present profit doth chiefly guide merchants, there are two things considerable; the one, that if we will neither join with the French, who now seek us, nor with the Hollanders, by whom we have been long fought unto, the French and the Hollanders may haply join together to our prejudice. The other, that whilst we rest thus divided, the Spaniards and Portugals may recover their antient possession against us all, out of which they are now only kept by the strength of the Hollanders, the charge whereof it is impossible they should continue without assistance.

In

In Amsterdam there is one QUIGNETT, a chief merchant, bankrupt these few days past for 1,200,000 florins, for which that piazza is much incommodated. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*Dec. 8.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the king, by GEORGE MARTEN.

May it please your Majesty,

I gave your majesty an account the 22d of the last through the hands of mr. secretary LAKE of the affairs of these parts in general, as they then stood, and particularly of a book here published in the Dutch language by way of answer to a speech I made in the assembly of the states general the 6th of October concerning these present differences about religion; which contains much scandalous matter against this republic in general, by founding as it were a tocsin to sedition, and by dissolving the bond of the union of these provinces, the reformed religion, which the book makes no ways considerable:

Against these states in particular (who are now in employment from their several provinces, and those, who were sent hither extraordinary upon the business of the synod) by censuring their proceedings, disputing their authority, and preventing their answer to your majesty's letters touching that subject:

Against the high courts of justice in this state, the power of which in this book is made arbitrary, and to be altered and changed at pleasure:

Against the church, the received order of which for synod is condemned, and the public confession derided:

Against Count MAURICE, who is plainly decyphered, though not named, as a man not led by zeal of religion, but by ambition and other worldly respects in these present controversies:

Against divers worthy men in this state, as well church-men as others, who are named and accused of sedition and conspiracy:

Against myself, who besides many imbecillities (whereof I am ready to accuse myself) am condemned very falsely and maliciously as an underminer of the fundamental laws of this state:

Lastly (of which I have greatest sense) against your majesty, whose words are abused, and whose nations traduced and taxed most irreverently; and all this in a fashion of a libel.

How far I was then gone in pursuit of satisfaction concerning this book, I likewise advertised. To which the many and main difficulties I found made me add a third memorial, of which I send herewith the copy. And in conclusion a penal placart was resolved of by the states general, and the copy thereof sent me the 3d of this present by their greffier, who told me he had order the same day to dispatch one to every province.

province, with charge to have it there printed and published, according to the translate I send herewith.

I have likewise annexed several translations of the letters of the states general upon my first complaint, written to the several provinces; of those from the states of Holland in particular to their several towns, and a proclamation, in conformity to that letter, of the town of Amsterdam, upon this subject: all which proceeding from public colleges and assemblies, and the book being by them condemned by solemn acts, as scandalous, seditious, calumnious, defamatory, and those who had charge to visit the same by the states of Holland having noted therein an hundred and ten several calumnies (for so many were contained in their report), your majesty will thereby well perceive how those, who have cast so many traversies and delays in the way of my pursuit of satisfaction, were only led by faction and private interest.

Two of the states general (for this letter being addressed to your majesty's own royal hands shall conceal nothing) did most openly appear in this opposition; GROTIUS, the pensioner of Rotterdam, a young petulant brain, not unknown to your majesty, and one BRINIUS, an old gentleman of Guelderland, much corrupted with Arminianism, who derives his antiquity from one, of whom TACITUS makes mention; *erat in Canine-fatibus* (which is BRINIUS's country) *stolidæ audaciæ* BRINIO *claritate natalium insigni*. These two with violence and importunity caused first the placart to be moderated from that, which was first set down in the project, and after stopt it at the press, by threatening the printer here at the Hague; which caused this course to be taken of sending the same to several provinces.

In the heat of this contestation, which held many days, all the deputies of the four well-affected provinces in this cause of religion (this BRINIUS only excepted) shewed a constant affection to your majesty. I therefore humbly refer it to your majesty's wisdom, whether you will not think it expedient and necessary (without mentioning these opponents) to have knowledge hereof taken in the assembly of the states general, with thanks for their respect and care in preservation of your majesty's honour; adding thereunto such declaration of your majesty's actions in church causes within your dominions by way of refuting these calumnies, as may serve for direction of their proceedings in this state; for both parties (though one must needs dissemble) will seem to attribute much both to your majesty's example and counsels.

I have in the mean time moved mōnsr. BARNEVELT in his quality of advocate of Holland, that since in this town of the Hague the book was first openly sold (as indeed it was, though printed infallibly at Utrecht), that here the placart against it may be first seen in print, to the end this province of Holland should not be advanced by others in demonstration of their affection to your majesty: wherein he promised me his endeavours, and accordingly proposed the matter in the assembly of the states of Holland: but in that sort, that he willingly received a diversion, which was propounded by the Arminian faction, to send two of their deputies, whereof one is chosen out of their nobility, and another of their towns (who is the pensioner GROTIUS) to desire me not to insist hereupon, as being a thing different from their custom. But as this offence is without example, so I conceive it will not be disagreeable to your majesty I should continue in requiring an exemplary punishment.

Con-



Concerning the satisfaction I demand in your majesty's name for the taking of JOHN BROWNE, by sending the captains of those ships, who committed the fact, to submit themselves to your majesty's mercy, I have been hitherto delayed since the beginning of the assembly of Holland, under the pretence of expecting answer from Enchuyfen of certain letters written to this effect: but the true cause is an expectation the states had, upon letters from sir NOEL CARON of the 5th of November, that your majesty would rest satisfied by his private mediation. But being now put out of that hope by letters of fresh date from sir NOEL CARON likewise, they have no cause longer to delay their answer; which what it is, I shall diligently advertise your majesty.

The same letters of the 5th from sir NOEL CARON to the states general contained some discourse he had with your majesty concerning these questions about religion; upon which the Arminians take advantage in their desire to have this business treated rather in a provincial than a national synod; though they would gladly avoid both. For howsoever your majesty's opinion was answerable to the rest of your wife and religious counsel, allowing this provincial synod but as a preparation to the national; the Arminians admit of the preparative (because in that desperate state as they are, they can no longer subsist), but resolve to pass no farther on with the cure. In his private letters of the same date he doth advertise, that your majesty having seen the five points in controversy doth well approve the four first, and suspend your judgment upon the last.

These advertisements arriving at a time, when from the states agent at Lubeck there came letters of like discourse he had held in the common-council of the Hans-towns, the deputies of the well-affected provinces in the assembly of the states general calling to mind, how not long since, from their ambassadors at Paris and Heidelberg, somewhat was written likewise touching these present controversies, which they suspected to spring originally from hence; and foreseeing the inconveniencies to have such impressions made in foreign princes and states by representing a disguised state of the question, and thereupon to draw answers from them according to the mind, and for the advantage of the affairs, of such as are here factiously disposed, conceived hereupon a decree, that from thenceforward no public minister of this state should hold any discourse with the princes or states, where they reside, in these questions of religion, upon any private letters from hence, but should therein attend such order, as should be given them from the states general.

This was much opposed by the Arminians (who seek close and secret ways for their private ends) but could not be hindered, so as order was taken to write express letters to all their public ministers in foreign parts to the foresaid effect.

The French ambassador, mons. DU MAURIER, had audience on Friday last, being the 5th of this present, in the assembly of the states of Holland, where the speech he used (after delivery of express letters of credence from his king) I send herewith to your majesty, as likewise an extract of as much of his speech, made in the assembly of the states general newly upon his return out of France, as concerns these present differences.

His glancing against those endeavours, which have been used upon this occasion in your majesty's name, is all I can except against in particular; but in general (as he contains himself in general terms) this interpretation is made of his doings, that he is stirred up by the Arminian faction (to which he chiefly adheres) to this plausible office of persuading peace and union, which he presseth (contrary to all use, but such as he himself hath introduced) now in the assembly of these of Holland (the audience of public ministers of foreign princes being always given to the assembly of the states general) whereby to acknowledge the power of particular provinces. And the Arminians protesting against all union, but such as may reunite the churches, which are now separated (by way of toleration) to them again, without decision of the question now in controversy, will enforce a necessity upon the adverse party, either *succumbere*, or threaten plainly and openly to let all go to confusion.

This appears by the commissioners of the eight Arminian towns (Harlem, Leyden, Tergow, Rotterdam, Schonoven, Brill, Alcmæer, and Horn) the deputies of which are come to the assembly of Holland more animated than ever. And whereas care was taken by some good patriots in the cahiers, upon which they were to deliberate, and upon which (as the use is to have them specified) their assembly was summoned, to insert the contributions first, and after these questions of religion; lest these questions of religion coming first into debate, might upon any rupture hinder the consent of the contributions (without which this state cannot subsist) these foresaid eight towns have express order not to enter into treaty upon the point of contributions, until they have contentment in the matter of religion; that is, the confirmation and execution of their resolution taken in their last assembly in the month of August last past, upon which these extraordinary levies have succeeded, and other inconveniencies to the state, which I advertised at large in my former dispatches, and which your majesty may please to observe touched in the speech count MAURICE made in those several towns which he lately visited, whereof I send your majesty herewith the translate.

The good towns, Dort, Amsterdam, Enchuyfen, Edam, and Purmerent, protest as openly against the said resolution, as seditious and tumultuous. Delft, Gorcum, Schedam, Munichedam, and Madenblick, require somewhat hereof to be moderated; the rest to be retained. They are now all upon a recess to fetch new instructions from their towns, which it is thought will tend to this, to have by common consent a provincial synod, but with different resolutions; the well-affected towns having reference to the national synod; the Arminians protesting against that course, and the neutral towns governing themselves by the event. Thus in all humility I take leave, &c.

Dec. 14. KING to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Newmarket.

JAMES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. This gentleman, the ambassador of the king of Sweden, hath been with us, and delivered at length all which he had to say; and from us hath received such answers to his desires, as both he and the king his master have reason to hold themselves contented with. Amongst other things, he hath requested,



requested, that whereas in his passage through these countries, he left part of his negotiation unfinished, which now in his return he intendeth to pursue again, we would recommend the same to the states general, who, he thinketh, would for our respect the sooner come to a resolution. The matter we are very willing to further, and wish he had satisfaction in it, which we conceive to be an assistance of men to be granted by the states, in case wars should break out betwixt the king of Pole and him: but the manner of proceeding therein is of weighty consideration, in regard of the great traffics, which our subjects of this isle, both English and Scottish, have within the dominions of Poland. Wherefore we have forborne to recommend his suit by any special letter to the states, because we know not how things may come to light, and have rather chosen to let you know privately how well we wish to the good success thereof, and commend to your discretion and industry to further him to his ends in our name by all such means, as you shall think convenient, and may have opportunity to use, without public manifestation of our name against the king of Pole. For as in regard of the cause of religion, we put a great difference in our affection betwixt both the persons and causes of the two kings; so yet the due care, which we ought to have of our subjects good, adviseth us to carry our desire so, as may further the ambassador's purpose, and not procure unnecessarily to our people such hurt, as by an alienation of the king of Pole they may receive. Given under our signet at Newmarket the 14th day of December, in the 15th year of our reign of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the 50th.

Dec. 19. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by sir GEORGE HOLLES.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Your honour may please to advertise his majesty, that the assembly of the states of Holland being broken up the 21st of this present, *stilo novo*, against this holy time, at their departure each party having framed a project for the settling these differences about religion, gave the same to each other in writing, the contra-remonstrants requiring a provincial synod as a preparative to the national, according to the project, which his majesty hath seen; and the remonstrants excluding the national, with a desire to have all ended in the provincial synod, and that to be *miparti*, half remonstrants and half contra-remonstrants, and in case they cannot agree (as there is small appearance they should with equal strength and divided affection), they then require to have the points in controversy referred, not to a national of these provinces only, but to an universal synod of all the reformed churches.

We shall expect hereupon their last resolution at their return the 10th of the next, *stilo novo*, which time is appointed sooner than was once determined, to the end they may resolve of their affairs before the assembly of the extraordinary deputies of the provinces, which have concluded of the national synod, and for that purpose have already framed their writs for summons, and made draughts of letters to his majesty and other princes of the reformed religion, to intreat the assistance of some grave and learned persons, which are (by appointment at their last meeting) to be sent out of the beginning of February next.



The resolution concerning the sending to his majesty the captains of ships, who committed the insolency lately on the coast of Scotland in the apprehending of JOHN BROWNE, was taken in the assembly of Holland the day of their breaking up; and accordingly the deputies of Enchuyfen (to which town one of the captains belongs) came to me expressly to acquaint me with their purpose: but the execution hereof being referred to the committee-council of Holland, they, in presenting thereof to the states general, have entangled it with some difficulties, which will yet ask some few days before we shall see the issue thereof.

The deputies of Enchuyfen, with those of Amsterdam, and the other well-affected towns, were with me likewise at the breaking up of the assembly, to discharge themselves, that they were no ways culpable of the cross resolution, which was taken the day before by the Arminian faction, not to obey the order of the states general in publishing the placart, whereof my former letters have advertised: and I find, that in this province, Utrecht, and Overysfel, the libel hath strong patrons, though in the other four it is publicly decried, and one BRINIUS, a deputy of Guelderland in the states general, hath had a reprimand from his masters for his passionate carriage of himself against their minds in this cause; which will appear to his majesty by the translated copies of two letters from those of Guelderland to this purpose, one to himself, another to the states general.

Count WILLIAM parted from hence two days since towards his governments of Friesland and Groningen, where we hear there are certain Arminians, which begin to discover themselves; and in this regard he doth hasten his journey.

They grow here very apprehensive of the common danger of pirates, who (as is advertised by letters of the 15th of the last from Algier) went about that time out of that port with forty-seven sail in one fleet well furnished with victuals and munition, and 4000 soldiers, besides mariners: and though the states have a kind of contract made by their consul at Algier with those pirates, that their ships should pass untouched, they find small use thereof, save only that their men going with more security, are more subject to danger, and no whit spared, when they are met with: in which regard they begin to bethink themselves of some courses, jointly with other princes and states, for suppression of the pirates, wherein his majesty is like to be moved by them before long.

The resident of Venice had an extraordinary courier on Tuesday last from his masters, by whom they advertise how the gulf is molested by the duke of Ossuna, and in doubt of a rupture thereupon with Spain. They begin to prepare themselves in time both by sea and land; and letters go by this bearer to the Venetian ambassador CONTARINI, to desire of his majesty licence for the levy of some men, and hiring of certain ships for service.

I will hereupon put your honour in mind of a young gentleman, who is now in England, mr. FAIRFAX; touching whom I received charge from his majesty, by letters from your honour (when his majesty was in his journey towards Scotland) to procure his preferment: for which here being few opportunities during the truce,  
this

this journey to Venice comes seasonably for him, if his commission for a company be spoken for in time: and he hath often expressed unto me his desire to be employed that way.

The English ship, which the Venetian resident complains of, in Zealand, to belong to one ALEXANDER ROSE, and to be bound for Naples, for the service of that viceroy against the Venetians, is stayed thereupon: but the captain, one HARVEY, is come hither, and professeth to have another design to Guiana, which he cannot so well make appear, as to be free from trouble.

I have received your honour's letter of the 4th of this present, for which I render all due thanks; and so humbly take leave, &c.

Dec. 22. KING to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Westminster.

JAMES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We have perused your letters written both to ourself and to our secretary, one of the 4th, and two of the 8th, of this month. And for our answer to such points of them all, as do require answer, you shall understand, first, to that which concerneth the bestowing of the company in sir EDWARD CECIL's regiment, concerning which we wrote unto you, we like well, that you forbear farther to press the removing of him which is possessed; because it is like to be without effect; and do withal approve your opinion of making such a remonstrance as yourself write of, because it may make them sensible of the error committed, and more observant hereafter of the old course of discipline in their troops.

To the points of your letters of the 8th we have thought it fit, as you wished, to write our letters of thanks to the states general, for their care shewed to give satisfaction in the matter of the book called *The Balance*, for that the scandals therein contained do redound in you to ourself, if there were no touch in it but of yourself. But having glanced at ourself, and misreported and traduced our actions, it was reason we should be so much the more sensible of it. But for the declaration, which you desire to be contained in the same letter, of our course of proceedings in matters of the church, we have only thought fit at this time to mention it in general terms, as a matter misreported amongst them, both in that book, and, as we hear, in other men's speeches, and to require you, for so much as you know the certainty of, to maintain and assure it out of your own knowledge; and for so much as you are not well assured of, you shall have instruction from the lord archbishop, to whom we have given order to set the same in writing exactly; and that shall be sent to you for a ground, out of which you may reply to all calumniations or misreports, which shall be made of our proceedings in matters of religion.

Touching the report, which sir NOEL CARON hath by his letters made of the speech we had with him about the provincial synod of Holland, and likewise of the five articles, we must say plainly, that he hath doubly mistaken us. For first, in the matter of the synod provincial, as it is true, that the same being by him proposed to us, we did not dislike it, but did rather approve such a course; so it is as true, that  
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he hath failed to tell the whole of our discourse; which was to approve the provincial, as it should have relation, and serve for a preparative to the national, which was ever in our intention, as it first proceeded from our motion. Next he hath mistaken us, in reporting our speech touching the five articles; for it is true, that we told him, that the articles (at least four of them) as they were delivered to us in writing, were perhaps not greatly to be disliked: but we said withal, that they were expressed with cunning and art to make a specious shew, but that the doctrine commonly delivered there was not correspondent to these articles; so as the articles served but for a bait to swallow doctrine, which was of more danger than the articles would pretend. This being the truth, you may use it for furniture, to answer all reports which you shall hear to the contrary.

Concerning that, which you write in your letter to our secretary, of the French ambassador's addressing himself to the particular states of Holland, and desire to know our pleasure, whether you should do the like upon any direction from us, or upon any occasion, that shall occur to yourself in these matters of differences: in the general we do dislike it, as well, because we think you shall have to do with a company of harsh and froward men, and averse from our ends and purposes, as also for that we doubt it may move a jealousy on the better affected provinces of neglect of them; and withal, we are no friend to the introduction of new courses in general in government settled. But yet we do not so tie you to the general, but that when you shall find any necessary cause given, either to propose matter, which doth more particularly concern them, or to oppose any thing moved by other public ministers, which you shall think not to stand with their common good, we can like well, that upon such matter, and upon such occasions, you do use your discretion.

*Instructions sent to sir DUDLEY CARLETON touching the wrong done to general CECIL by the states of Utrecht, &c. signed by secretary LAKE.*

*Dec. 22. KING to the states general, from Westminster:*

Demanding satisfaction for the libel, intitled *The Balance*, and complaining, that his conduct in his ecclesiastical government had been calumniated by several persons in Holland.

*Dec. 23. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall.*

My lord ambassador,

His majesty's letters will give you answer to all the parts of yours, either to him or to myself. Only I am willed to add one thing, that whereas you note something in MAURIER's speech, which should glance at his majesty and his actions, his majesty having seriously perused the same, doth not collect any such thing; and therefore would have your lordship write in what part of his oration, either to the Hollanders alone, or to the states general, you conceive that to be intended.

For sir EDWARD CECIL's business, his majesty leaveth you to your opinion delivered upon it; but sir EDWARD conceiving, that the cause, why no more was done then, should be, because to the instructions directed to your lordship my hand was not,  
hath



hath desired me to set my hand to a paper of instructions to you of his own penning, which to please him I have done; but having no warrant from his majesty to give any other direction than is contained in his own letters.

Sir NOEL CARON either is, or seemeth to be, very little advertised of the affairs there, for he was with me yesterday only to know what was heard, pretending it was a good while since he received any letters.

ALEXANDER ROSE hath been dealt with by my lords at the council table, and I think the advertisement will prove to be rather out of jealousy than ground; for he is owner of no ship, only a factor, and the ships are belonging to very honest men, whereof the chiefest is my lord of CANTERBURY's brother, mr. ABBOT; and they have assured my lords, their ships shall not be used by the Spaniards but by violence; and therefore will not discharge in the port of Naples, but elsewhere near hand. If they should be imbarked, we know not how to stay it; for the Venetians have done the like to English ships found there, and make them unlade their goods, and serve that state against Offuna.

I pray God send your synod good success; but I look for none; but, if it were possible, to put the question to silence were the best way; for I do believe the Armians will never be bound by any thing the synod shall do: and for the carrying of it by plurality of voices, it will not work much, because the world seeth, that that is the drift of the synod already.

My lord of CANTERBURY hath received order to set down in writing the course of his majesty's proceeding, and the authority his majesty assumeth in church matters, having referred his grace to take his light thereof from my lord of ELY's book, where it is expressly set down. Your lordship shall shortly receive what it is.

Sir THOMAS WHORWOOD had audience of his majesty yesterday; but his majesty hath not thereupon altered any of his directions to your lordship, having given order for them before he had spoken with sir THOMAS. So I rest, &c.

*Dec. 24. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by JOHNSON.*

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Finding the resolution, which was taken at the breaking up of the assembly of Holland (touching the sending these captains of the two ships belonging to Rotterdam and Enchuyfen, who committed the insolency in making an officer of his majesty's their prisoner, into England, there to make satisfaction personally for their offence) to be drawn into length, I hold it my duty to advertise his majesty how the matter hath been carried, and where the difficulty now resteth.

Rotterdam was the first town, which signified, by GROTIUS the pensioner of that place, their resolution unto me, that CLIFF (who was the less culpable of the two) should be sent; and afterwards those of Enchuyfen gave their consent likewise for ALBERSON, which made the rest of the towns of Holland yield thereunto without difficulty;

culty; and they left the same to be put in execution by their committee-council, which is for the most part here resident.

These thinking it a sufficient discharge for their province to have shewed their readiness to give his majesty contentment, made the business a public matter of the whole state; and accordingly carried the same to the states general, letting them know, that as the two towns had put their men into the hands of the states of Holland, those of Holland would in like manner put them into the hands of the states general, but with condition, that they should warrant the safety of their persons.

This being refused as a thing they could not undertake, and yet they desiring his majesty's satisfaction should be no longer deferred, they wished those of Holland to effect the same of themselves, without making the business general, which belonged particularly to their province. At this the deputies of Holland stuck with me, and to make yet a farther trial, whether his majesty would not receive some other kind of satisfaction: which motion was gaind by none, and GROTIUS with another of Holland took upon them to speak with me to this purpose: but they not appearing (though much time was past) I complained myself two days since to mons. BARNEVELT of this unnecessary delay in putting the resolution of those of Holland in execution. Whereupon the deputies of Holland renewed their instance to the states, letting them know, that their assembly being the chief, and that which hath the managing of affairs for the whole state in all things which have reference to foreign princes, it belonged to them to undertake the business. They on the other side alledging how in some late occasions, which belong generally to all the provinces, their authority hath been resisted by those of Holland, in this matter of fishing, which appertains chiefly, if not only to Holland, they would not interest themselves; and therefore told them they knew best what commissions they gave these captains of their ships, who guarded their fishers, and if they had exceeded their commission, and wronged his majesty, were to give his majesty full satisfaction: which (if it could be done without sending the captains) they were not against it; but otherwise they wished them to bethink themselves what was fit to be done towards such a prince, and in such an occasion.

Here the matter rested, and so is like to do until the next meeting of those of Holland, which will be within these eight days (GROTIUS being in the mean time gone to Huesden, and the rest of the committee-council of that province into several places, upon some stirring about these questions of religion): and though this question be raised artificially by some *de modo*, whereby to intangle the business, and either to hinder this, or to carry along some other purposes in their present differences by means of this; yet there being no farther difficulty *de re*, I do not well see how the performance thereof can be avoided, in case the Hollanders, who are now prisoners in England, be still retained, for whose release his majesty will be in this *interim* solicited, howsoever that I have here assured them his majesty is too deeply interested in honour to hearken to any such request, until he have that satisfaction, which he so justly requires.

Count MAURICE is gone this day in person towards Nimeguen to set order in some difference in that town touching the election of magistrates, the nomination of which  
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by exprefs article at the winning of that town belongeth to his excellency. And though he hath for fome years neglected his authority, he now refumes the fame again, becaufe the Arminians have there gotten the upper hand, and would make magiftrates of that faction, whereby to diftract the refolutions of the province of Guelderland, of which that town with the dependencies thereof is one of the quarters.

What trouble there is in other parts your honour may fee by a letter I newly received from Oudewater, written by an Englifh captain there in garrifon; the like whereof, touching the admiffion of preachers, and election of magiftrates, is in other places, though not altogether in fuch extremity. Since the writing of this letter from Oudewater we hear of a houfe wilfully fet on fire in that town by one of the Arminian faction, which he doth only anfwer by the accuftomed excufe of this country, being *vino plenus & irā*.

The refident of Venice hath moved the ftates for liberty to hire twelve fhips of war for the fervice of his mafters; offering them all contentment for the fhips which belong to the ftate, in cafe they will fuffer any of them to go. Whereupon letters are written to the feveral admiralties, to know in what ftate their fhipping now is; and it is likely, that there will be fome of the fhips of the ftate fent out upon this occafion, and others of the merchants to the full number which is required; and this the rather, becaufe if thefe wars with Spain proceed not, they may have fhips in thofe feas againft the pirates.

The fhip, of which I advertifed your honour in my laft of the 19th of this prefent to be ftayed in Zealand upon complaint of the refident of Venice (he doubting that it was there prepared for the fervice of the king of Spain againft the Venetians) is releafed by an exprefs letter from the ftates general to the admiralty of Zealand, they finding fmall ground of this fufpicion: and though it were true, they could in right no more hinder them than others, who fhould go to ferve the Venetians againft the Spaniard.

I have been twice vifited within thefe few days by exprefs deputies from the ftates general, concerning the affairs of the count of Eaft-Friefland, who being complained of here by certain of the nobility of his country, the ftates have an inclination to fend deputies to Embden to rectify fuch diforders, as reft betwixt the count and the plaintiffs: but the count, conceiving that this courfe will rather augment than diminifh the number of malecontents, hath fent hither his deputies exprefsly to divert the fame: for which purpofe they have addreffed themfelves unto me, and upon the whole matter (which is full of long and intricate queftions) I have this day advifed the ftates to forbear fending; and rather for this time to exprefs their minds by letters, admonifhing both the count and his nobleffe to agree amongft themfelves; which will be the beft expedient; but becaufe fome of the ftates are linked in marriage with fome of thefe plaintiffs, and others defire the employment, I do not yet know what iffue it will take.

Touching the book intituled *The Balance*, which hath been the chief fubject of my laft letters to your honour, howfoever that I have expoftulated in private with monf. BARNEVELT the wrong, which is done his majefty by thofe of Holland (of whom

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Utrecht and Overyffel take example) in refusing to publish the proclamation of the states general; yet I forbear speaking thereof in public until I receive his majesty's commandments for that purpose; which I expect with great devotion, as that which, being delivered by exprefs charge, will be of more authority than any thing done *ex officio*. And so beseeching your honour in this point to favour me with an answer, I humbly take leave, &c.

Dec. 27. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

My lord ambaffador,

Since my last to your lordship, wherein I sent you his majesty's letters in answer to yours of the 4th and 8th of this month, monf. CARON having spoken with his majesty this day, I have received commandment to signify to your lordship, that now his majesty can interpret him by himself; for that he confesseth, that not only his majesty's speech to him was of the provincial synod, with relation to the general or national, but that it was his own speech to his majesty, that the provincial was but to be as first, and by way of preparation to the national; and so he did ever conceive it. Thus much his majesty commanded me to signify to your lordship forthwith, left in pursuing his directions by his own letters sent, you might speak of sir NOEL CARON more harshly than his majesty findeth there is cause; and that to such, as shall alledge monf. CARON; you may disavow them out of his own mouth.

I find this to be the scope of this dispatch to your lordship, because his majesty would be loth either to have his name used to a contrary sense, if CARON had written it; or sir NOEL CARON traduced or taxed by his majesty, if he have not written so, as himself doth affirm that he hath not.

We have since received your lordship's of the 19th, and still I fear the synod, and like not the fashion of the proceedings of Holland.

There is a great speech here of a book printed at Harlem, as it is said, wherein the emperor and the king of Spain are prayed for; and the king of Spain as their lord. It was delivered to his majesty by my lord of Canterbury; but speaking of it with sir NOEL CARON, he telleth me, that if there be any such thing in any book printed amongst them, it is only that they are prayed for, that God would convert them, but not in any sense of acknowledgment. I pray your lordship inquire, if there be any such thing, and what it is.

ALEXANDER ROSE, of whom your lordship writeth, hath upon your letters been convened before my lords of the council, as he was once before upon a complaint of the Venetian ambaffador for the same purpose. He denieth to be owner of any ship, but only a factor: that he hath no contract with the duke of Ossuna, but only was sent to furnish the city with fish, whereof they were like to be in want. The ships are found to belong to very honest and substantial merchants, who are not like to be addicted to the duke of Ossuna, one of them being brother to my lord's grace of Canterbury. Proof we have none but the Venetians suspicion. They have received commandment upon their allegiance, that they shall not serve the king of Spain or any

any of his lieutenants. And the Spanish ambaffador here hath affured me, being fent unto him from his majefty, that he will write to the viceroy of Naples in fuch fort, as he fhall not ufe his majefty's fhips againft the Venetians.

It feemeth by your letters from Venice and from Savoy, that the peace in Italy goeth flowly on; both Offuna and D. PEDRO giving many occasions of jealousy: and yet the Spanish embaffador pretendeth at Venice *per la facra hofia*, that the peace fhall be obferved.

We are in expectation of fome new officers this Chriftnas, as that fir HENRY CARY fhall be comptroller; my lord WOTTON having received compofition for his place; and fo fir THOMAS EDMONDES fucceeding to be treafurer, and fir HENRY CARY in his place, fir ROBERT NAUNTON fhall be fecretary and my colleague. So I recommend your lordfhip to almighty GOD, &c.

Dec. 29. Secretary LAKE to fir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall.

My lord embaffador,

That, which your lordfhip hath written of in one or two of your letters touching one ALEXANDER ROSE, an Englifh merchant refident in Naples, who was fupposed to be fent hither under colour of providing fifh, to furnifh the duke of Offuna with fome Englifh fhips and mariners, hath been likewise twice informed here by the Venetian ambaffador; and ROSE hath thereupon been twice convened about that information, but denieth confidently, that he hath either contracted with the duke of Offuna, or hath any purpofe to furnifh him with fhips: and upon examination of the owners of thofe fhips, whereof the names were delivered by the Venetian embaffador, we find, that the beft of them, and moft ferviceable, do belong to mr. ABBOT, my lord of Canterbury's brother, and other perfons not like to be willing to put their fhips into the duke of Offuna's hands; and to be done againft their will, it is againft an exprefs article of the league between Spain and us. And for farther caution, his majefty hath both caufed the Spanish embaffador here to write his letters to the faid duke, and doth write to him alfo himfelf to require him to obferve the treaty, that none of his majefty's fubjects fhips may be ufed againft the Venetians his friends. And the embaffador hath undertaken, that the duke fhall perform it. Thefe letters ALEXANDER ROSE doth carry: and touching the fhip, which your lordfhip writeth of to be ftayed there at Texell, ROSE difavoweth to have any thing to do with her; fo as his majefty is of opinion, and hath willed me to fignify to you, that it is convenient fhe be ftayed, except the ftates fhall receive very good fatisfaction, that fhe fhall not be put into the hands of the duke of Offuna. And fo much have I delivered from his majefty to monf. CARON.

We have received this day very joyful tidings, that the electorefs Palatine is delivered of another fon: and other matter is not ftirring here. Wherefore I ceafe, and commend your lordfhip to GOD, &c.

P. S. I have received an advertifement, that certain Englifh gentlemen, whereof one BROMHAM, or of fuch like name, is a chief, are departed hence, or are to depart fecretly,



secretly, into those countries, with purpose to employ themselves in piracy, hoping to furnish themselves there with a ship, and some other company to follow them. I thought good to give your lordship notice of it; and to pray you to have an eye to it, that it may be prevented, if you find that this advertisement hath any ground.

16<sup>17</sup>/<sub>18</sub>. Jan. 4. O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by GEORGE MARTEN.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

The happy news we have received this very morning from Heydelberg is better twice sent, than adventured to have his majesty deprived of an hour's contentment he will receive therein: in which respect, though I may be well assured there go messengers directly from thence, yet would I not fail to dispatch this expressly to advertise your honour, that the 22d of the last, betwixt four and five in the morning, her highness was delivered of a son, and well laid again in her bed, the child being (as the prince Palatine himself describes him in his letters) *bien vigoureux*. God almighty send his majesty many and many more new years beginning and ending with such happy news!

I have this last week received your honour's two dispatches of the 23d and 27th of the last, the latter of which arriving here the first of this present came to my hands a day before the former: so as there is no danger of any prejudice to sir NOEL CARON; neither should there have been by any thing contained in his majesty's letter, by which I had no order to make any personal complaint: and therefore I should have been sparing therein. But for the matter, which is picked (though it may be wrongfully) both out of his public and private letters concerning his majesty's approbation of the five articles, it is necessary to be controlled (and I am glad I have so good ground for it) it being spread through all the United Provinces; and I have letters from the most part to be informed of the truth thereof.

The states of Holland, though they came hither for the most part at the appointed time (which was the first of this present), yet, by reason of the absence of some of the deputies, they enter not into business until to-morrow, or next day, at which time count MAURICE is expected from Nimeguen.

Touching other affairs, as likewise such points in your honour's letters, as require answer, I will presume to refer you to my next dispatch, for which I shall have ample subject within few days: mean time I humbly take leave, &c.

Jan. 1. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: received the 20th.

My lord embassador,

I send you by his majesty's direction a copy of letters written by GROTIUS to the archbishop of Spalato here, wherein yourself are touched; and his majesty hath willed me by this occasion to let you know, that hereby he doth plainly discover, that GROTIUS is the author of *The Balance*; and so his majesty thinks your lordship will conceive,



conceive, when you compare his letters with the book; and that is the cause his majesty sendeth it to you, that you may thereby guide your judgment in prosecution of that business.

I fear much the event of these businesses, and as much the issue of the synod as any thing. I thought it not amiss to give your lordship advertisement, that I hear from one, who writeth to me privately from the other side, that they have some hope of Utrecht to disband from the general union. It is good to have an eye to it. So I rest, &c.

*Jan.* 6. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: received the 20th.

My lord embassador,

I received your lordship's letters of the 24th of December this day, being Twelfth-day, whereby I perceive, that his majesty's letters to you, and likewise to the states, written to that purpose which you desired, were not come to your hands: which is only the negligence of the post, who, I do hear since he went, that he was three days in the town after his dispatch. I hope that long ere this time both those letters, and others, which I wrote since by the ordinary, are come to your hands. Herewith I have sent to your lordship that, which in his majesty's letter is promised, a declaration set down by my lord of Canterbury of his majesty's proceeding in matters ecclesiastical here; whereof your lordship is to make such use, as you shall see cause, and the subject of religion, now so hotly in hand amongst them, shall minister occasion to you.

The delay of the delivery of the two captains, which hath been so long expected here, will be very offensive; and I doubt may give occasion to my lords of the council to put in execution a matter long since purposed, that is, to seize upon some persons of better quality of that country.

Touching the motion you write of, which is made there by the resident of Venice, to have some of the shipping of that country to serve their turns, the like is written from sir HENRY WOTTON, and that they will also desire some shipping of this country, meaning to have a navy of thirty sail of great ships: but we hope they shall not need them for the war; for sir JOHN DIGBY hath written to his majesty, that the king of Spain hath assured him by the duke of Lerma, that he will observe the peace of Italy; and that reprehension is gone to the governor of Milan for his delays in the execution thereof, and commandment, that he shall see it performed.

Against the pirates they may have use of them, for they grow very strong, and have of late fallen a head on the Hollanders: but from some ships of England, that they met withal, have received loss.

I have nothing else to trouble your lordship with now, but that I am sorry to see the disorders of those countries grow so as they do. And so I commit you to God, &c.

*Jan.*

Jan. 7. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE.

Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I have been solicited heretofore, and now lately more earnestly than ever, by the deputies of the province of Zealand here continually resident, and by one of the burgomasters of the town of Middleburg (who is come purposely to the Hague) to move his majesty in business of that province and town, that the company of our English merchant adventurers, who have their staple there fixed (and so have continued many years) should not remove from thence, they offering as good conditions (all things considered) to hold them, as other towns here in Holland do, to draw them from thence. Some considerations, which belong hereunto, wherein his majesty's service is much interested, I will remit to another occasion; this serving only to accompany one, whom those of Middleburg have employed expressly for this purpose into England, with a word of recommendation, that your honour will be pleased to give him access to yourself, and such farther address, as is necessary in such a case, to have his reasons well weighed. To which I will for the present only add this, *chi bon sta, non si muove*. So I humbly take leave, &c.

Jan. 20. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by MURRAY.

Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

By reason of my hasty dispatch of the last messenger, the 4th of this present, I could only advertise the receipt of your honour's last letters of the 23d and 27th of the last, with those of the 22d from his majesty, which they did accompany. And now in more particular answer to those points wherein your honour requires to be satisfied, first, concerning mons. DU MAURIER's speeches; his insisting so particularly upon that, which he forbore to do, as a point of discretion, neither to penetrate the cause, nor to prescribe the remedy to those troubles of religion, was judged by those, that heard him, who in this time have *ures delicatas*, to reflect upon his majesty's letters, and those speeches of mine, wherein both the one and the other have been seriously insisted upon. And in his latter speech the Arminians take advantage of his words, *remedes corrosifs plus nuisables au malade que la maladie meme*, as meant of synods, which they seek by all means to avoid.

Touching the book printed at Harlem, wherein the emperor and king of Spain are prayed for, and the king of Spain particularly mentioned with this title, *Our most gracious King*, it is *de facto* true; for I have seen the book printed in the year 1615 *cum privilegio*. And so much speech is raised thereupon, that the like inquiries are come from the protestant churches in France and Germany, to be more particularly certified of the truth thereof; which is excused here as an error of the printer, who did reprint the book according to a former copy set out about the time of the pacification of Ghent, when those of the reformed religion disputed their liberty, but not the sovereignty. But many notwithstanding do not spare to say, in regard of the town where the book was printed (where the magistrates are most Arminians, and many papists) that this, which is succeeded, is rather by connivance, than by negligence; and the more, because that notwithstanding all the note, that is taken of it, the book is not yet called in.

What I have delivered in the assembly of the states general at the presentation of his majesty's letters, which accompanied those from his majesty to myself, your honour may please to see by the copy of my proposition, which I extended in the first point concerning the book, which is here published against my speech, to a demand of farther satisfaction to his majesty of these provinces in general, and Holland in particular, which have not yet published the placart ordained by the states general against the said book. And for the other part concerning his majesty's church-government, which is much traduced in the same book, I contained myself in general terms, ruling myself by that, which your honour did please to remember unto me to be set down by my lord of Ely, and referring myself for more particulars till farther occasions, which are daily presented: and when I hear from my lord archbishop of Canterbury to that effect as your honour doth advertise (which as yet I have not done) I shall readily embrace them.

I send your honour likewise my proposition in the assembly of the states general concerning sir EDWARD CECIL, according to those instructions which he sent me signed by your honour; in which I have taken some liberty to omit certain things of harsh digestion to the province of Utrecht, concerning matters of religion, which would not be so well mixt with sir EDWARD CECIL's particular, and to add others, which may more inforce his contentment, with the other colonels, in that which belongs properly to their charge.

Upon this occasion I will beseech your honour to send me hereafter the copies of his majesty's letters, which have reference to that, which by his majesty's commandment I am to say; whereof having failed at this time, I have run a hazard of failing in the coherence, which is requisite.

His majesty's letter to those of Utrecht is sent by the states general, with a copy of my speech, and accompanied with an express letter of recommendation from that assembly: but for the answer, I believe we must yet stay some time.

The states of Holland have done little in their assembly since the last meeting concerning these differences about religion; certain particular accidents at Nimeguen, Heusden, and Oudewater, concerning election of magistrates, which was not done without some disorder, having entertained the most of their time: which the remonstrants embrace willingly, whereby to gain time, and thereupon divert the resolution of synod: but the contra-remonstrants insist to have the general proceeded in, which will include all particulars. Some of the remonstrants towns have strict commissions not to yield to the accustomed course of contributions, until they have contentment in matter of religion. They insist likewise to have these new levies of Leyden, Rotterdam, Harlem, and Schonoven, paid by the common purse of the provinces, and not by the particular towns, where those soldiers remain; in both which they are overborne by plurality of voices, in regard of many and main public inconveniences. Yet seven of those towns persist therein with much opiniatry.

The states are much troubled touching the entertainment of the French, which they have from month to month provisionally paid, in hope of money out of France, both for the



the arrearages, and for the time to come. But they finding in effect this to be a vain expectation, there is now some difficulty made to furnish any more money by the provinces, which Holand (on which province the most charge relies) denies to be content unto: and hereby it is much suspected the Arminian faction will have their wills, by licensing of strangers under this pretence, and entertaining in their places those new levies, which they oblige unto them by new oaths.

The embassador of the king of Swede, who came lately from his majesty, finds a slow dispatch of his business with this state, by reason of these distractions, notwithstanding that he hath now the assistance of VANDYKE, the resident embassador of that king, who is newly returned out of Sweden. He hath manifested in his public audience with the states the full contentment he received in his negotiation for his master's affairs with his majesty, and hath desired me to render your honour many thanks in his behalf, for the favourable and speedy dispatch he found by your means.

The Venetian resident hath his demand of eight ships of war for the service of his masters consented unto; which shall be furnished unto him by the several admiralties of these provinces, with liberty to that state either to hire them, or buy them out right, when they come into the gulf. But these are all merchants ships fitted for war, and not the men of war of the state, which the states do excuse in regard of a great fleet they are now setting out against the pirates, which will be twenty sail, besides those which they have already abroad.

They have daily news here of very great losses sustained by reason of the pirates, notwithstanding the ships of war they have already in the Mediterranean; of whom we hear yet no great effects, save only of one ship of the pirates, which they have taken, and forced two others to run themselves on ground on the coast not far from Algiers.

Here is yet some difficulty remaining in the sending the two captains of the Holland's ships into England, who took JOHN BROWNE on the coast of Scotland; touching which business two deputies of the states of Holland, the pensioners of Dort and Enchuyfen, were with me the last week, to talk of the matter, and examine whether there was no other way of satisfaction to his majesty than this, which they accounted against their privileges. I made it appear unto them there was no other to be thought of; and that they must not account this amongst their privileges, unless they would plead privilege to give affronts to their best friends (such as his majesty hath always been and doth remain) without making due reparation.

They would willingly have discharged themselves upon the states general, as if the difficulty proceeded from them, and not from the province of Holland. But I was too well informed of the carriage of the matter there, to take that for an answer. So as the matter hath been once again proposed in the assembly of those of Holland, and again resolved, that his majesty should have satisfaction. Only the deputies of Enchuyfen (which town is chiefly interested in this business) required, that they might have time to hear again from their principals, which was given them, and we expect their answer within four days at the farthest, which I hope will be such, as will give an end to the business with his majesty's full contentment.

Touching the remove of our merchant-adventurers from Middleburg (which is now endeavoured by them), I have taken occasion of a letter I lately received from the lords of the council in another business, to represent to their lordships by those letters, which go herewith, such considerations, as are fallen within my experience since my coming to this employment. So I humbly take leave, &c.

*Jan. 20.* O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the lords of the council.

May it please your lordships,

In conformity to your lordships letters of the 29th of November last past concerning a certain Jew, whom your lordships require to be detained prisoner at Middleburg, until such time as he have given satisfaction to one BRADSHAW, an English merchant, for such debts as are owing him by the said Jew, I have spoken to the deputies of the province of Zealand here resident, and written expressly to the magistrates of the town of Middleburg, signifying your lordships recommendation of the cause; to which I do not doubt but they will bear a due respect.

I have been moved in exchange by the states of the same province, and by express letters from that town, concerning the residence of our merchant-adventurers, which hath been often attempted, and is now again in speech, to be removed from Middleburg.

Their deputy of the company hath been lately here in Holland, and visited the chief towns of the province, where he treated with the several magistrates; by whom in some places he hath been invited, and in others refused.

The reason of this difference of desire amongst these towns is partly an unwillingness to draw envy upon themselves, and partly a consideration of profit, they thinking to benefit themselves more by the interlopers (whom the company by their residence here would suppress) than they should by the merchants themselves. By which it appears, that these towns having all of them their private interests and jealousies apart, and some of them purposing to retain their commerce with the interlopers, that, which is the chief end of our merchants remove, will fail in the effect: for it is not to be imagined, that any one town of Holland, wheresoever they shall settle, will be had more in consideration, especially one of them assisting the other to procure our merchants contentment with this state, either in this point, or any other, than the whole province of Zealand.

What farther reasons are to be alledged in favour of Zealand, your lordships may please to see in the letters of the town of Middleburg, which I send herewith; to which I will presume to add thus much in behalf of that province, as that I have observed to this purpose in the space of two years, since I came to this employment, that what they want of Holland in power, they supply in good-will, in all things, which belong to his majesty's service. There is so much difference for security of passage, that the East-Indian ships, to avoid the danger of sailing into Holland (which proceeds of a very costly experience, by reason of wreck they have suffered at the entrance of these ports) unlade in Zealand, and transport their goods in flat-bottom hoys, by

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means



means of the rivers within land, into Holland. They of Zealand are free from these distractions and factions about religion, with which this province is so much troubled; and for wholesomeness of the air (which is much insisted upon by our merchants, as an argument for their remove) the plague hath been here, and is still very rife in many of these towns, from which that province hath been free.

These circumstances of my private observation (his majesty's service, security of goods, health of mind and body) I thought it my duty to remember to your lordships in this deliberation: but if the respect of *utile* (which is chiefly considerable in matter of merchandise) must sway this business, I then humbly refer it to your lordships wisdoms, whether it be not fittest for the company to continue their chief staple still at Middleburg, and to establish a factory in some good town here in Holland, by which means our ships of burden arriving in Zealand, and our cloths being after transported from thence by example of the East-Indian merchandise, in small bottoms into this province, the hazard at sea will be avoided; the provinces of Zealand will have less subject of complaint than if it were wholly abandoned, and be still retained in devotion to his majesty. The trial may be thereby made of restraining of interlopers; the merchants having means by their factory to vent their cloths in these parts, and by their staple at Middleburg continuing to serve Flanders and Brabant; and they may be thereby secured not to open a new gap to interlopers in Zealand, who undoubtedly will be admitted there as soon as the company removes from thence.

If this course be embraced, the two towns of Holland, best affected in religion, and freest from contagion at this time, are Dort and Delft; to both which places the company is earnestly invited, and both of them have much power with the other towns of Holland; and Delft hath some advantages, to be less engaged in these partialities than Dort, to be more in the heart of Holland; and yet to have a commodious entrance out of the Maese at Delft's haven; to be a land-town, and therefore more healthful; and finally to be near to this place, which is the seat of justice, to which the merchants may in all their occasions with less loss and commodity have their recourse.

All this I submit to your lordships better judgments, and so most humbly take leave, &c.

Jan. 20. Proposition to the states general, upon presenting the king's letter.

Thanks them in the king's name for the placart against *The Balance*.

Desires them, that the placart may be published where it had not been, particularly in Holland, where the libel was first sold.

Justifies the king's conduct from the imputations cast upon it in *The Balance*, as if it had been contrary to the advices, which he had given them with relation to their religious differences.

That



That the king, when there is a question of doctrine, refers it to the doctors, esteeming himself in such a case as *membrum, non caput ecclesiæ*: but in those *de rebus, quæ exterioris politiæ sunt*, he exercises his sovereign authority.

That when the devil raises *futiles & inutiles quæstiones*, which are usually the beginnings of schisms, the king by his royal authority *obstat initiis*, though not without the advice of learned and wise men. But when the evil makes a progress, and seizes a great part of the state (from which his majesty's kingdoms through divine providence are free) in such a case his majesty thinks, that recourse ought to be had to synodical congregations; which ought to be proportioned to the quality of the evil; classical, when it only begins to spring up; provincial, when it makes a greater progress; and national, when it has passed from province to province, and infected the whole body of the state; for which reason his majesty by his letters had advised them to a national synod.

Jan. 20. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Charing-Cross: received 3 of February, *stilo novo*, by sir WILLIAM BALFOUR.

My lord embassador,

The cause of writing now is only to give a packet to this gentleman, who goeth over, as he saith, to compound for a company. I would else be sparing of his majesty's purse, as we have need to do; and I pray your lordship hereafter, when you send any express, give me some touch of it; for else I will make them no express allowance.

That, which your lordship wrote of, the motion made by the resident of Venice there for shipping, is proposed here, and granted, with toleration to use them only for defence, and not to offend any Christian state; and when it was granted, his majesty commanded me to go and tell the Spanish embassador so; and that the request was so reasonable, as his majesty could not refuse it. His answer was, he hoped for the like favour, and would demand it in the name of the king his master. But I replied, the case was different, for he could not desire ships but for offence, and they did it only for defence. He said, his master would be content with the like condition; but his motion he hath not yet made.

Sir NOEL CARON hath delivered letters from his superiors, to complain of the spoils of pirates, and to require his majesty's conjunction for the suppressing of them. It is well heard, and we stay only for answer from Spain, where sir JOHN DIGBY had instructions to move a like concurrency. If they agree to it there, soon will there be some course taken.

Our court hath no other matter, but that my lord WOTTON is upon the point of giving over his staff to sir HENRY CARY. So I commend your lordship to God, &c.

Jan. 21. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Charing-Cross: received the 26th by lieutenant KILLIGREW's man.

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My

My lord embassador,

This gentleman, mr. KILLIGREW, should have brought my other letters; but sir WILLIAM BALFOUR coming in the way, I gave them to him, forgetting I had promised mr. KILLIGREW. He goeth in hope of a company; I pray your lordship to do him all the favour you may.

We can hear no certainty of the peace of Italy, but still in Spain they assure it; and perhaps, when they hear the help they are like to have from hence and from you, they will frame the better to quietness.

There is a canvassing in France, but coldly, about the duke of Bavaria to be king of the Romans; but they shew themselves wonderfully loth to engage the king into the war of Italy, and therefore do advise the duke of Savoy to bear with all things, and to perform whatsoever is required; assuring, that if when he hath done, Vercelli be not rendered, the king shall come in person into Italy. The duke is loth to trust that hope, and so the matter tottereth in and out.

We are here all busy about good husbandry, especially in the household. The queen's majesty hath been very sick; but God be thanked, is amended. So I leave farther to trouble your lordship, &c.

*Jan. 21.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the lord chamberlain\*: by MURRAY, under cover to sir JOHN THROCKMORTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. my most singular good lord,

Your lordship's letter of the 30th of December (which I received by the conveyance of sir JOHN THROCKMORTON the 3d of this present), gave me good subject to entertain count MAURICE at his return from Nimeguen (where he had been in person to rectify some disorder in the election of the magistrates) with a most agreeable welcome. For howsoever he never doubted (as he freely professed) of his majesty's constant resolution in persevering to yield his princely support and countenance to so good a cause, wherein he hath long since declared himself by manifest demonstrations of his well-wishing both to this church and state (which run a fortune the one with the other); yet what is much desired, cannot be too much nor too often confirmed. And I found him to be much comforted and encouraged with what I related to him to this effect; and according to occasions shall understand (as of himself he offered) how matters do pass; and wherein his majesty may, with his honour, and with the good of these affairs, shew himself.

For the present he could advise nothing to better purpose than that, for which I then had expres commission from his majesty; which was upon occasion of a libellous pamphlet here lately published against a speech of mine (wherein his majesty's speeches, writings, and actions, not only in these differences about religion, but likewise in that which belongs to church government within his own dominions, are much traduced) to deliver to the states general a relation of as much of his majesty's proceedings in that

\* WILLIAM earl of Pembroke.



behalf, as the matter would bear, for direction of theirs here: whereby on the one side to justify his majesty's honour, and on the other side to disabuse such here, as by wresting of examples in government do suffer these novelties in religion to be authorised. This I performed within a day or two following, according to a copy I send your lordship herewith. And it appeareth by certain extraordinary diligences, which were used by the Arminian faction to suppress what I had said (both whilst I was present in their assembly and after my departure) how willing they are to lead these poor people still in darkness. The circumstances of which proceedings are too prolix (and no less ridiculous), unless I were well assured of your lordship's leisure and patience. So it was, that in all the public businesses I have run through or observed in my life, I never saw any thing more gross or palpable. And though for the present their endeavours took place to have my speech suppressed, the next day of their meeting the matter was resumed, and the well-affected prevailed to have a copy sent to every province; which was accordingly done by the deputies of Guelderland, Zealand, Friesland, and Groningen, but forbore by Holland, Utrecht, and Overijssel; which seems strange to those of the orthodox party in Holland, that being at that time present (as they still are) in the assembly of the states of the province, they might not be made acquainted with what was done in an upper room, especially in an argument; which is the chief, if not the only subject of the present convocation of the states. Being required by some of them, which are well affected, I have given them a copy of my speech, conceiving it as necessary for his majesty's service, as for these affairs, not to suffer such fables, as are uttered here in harangues at their meetings, and published in print with so much confidence, to pass on uncontrolled.

The present occurrences I advertise his majesty through the hand of mr. secretary LAKE, whereby to give your lordship no more trouble than in answer to your letter. And I may not omit to let your lordship know the obligation his excellency doth acknowledge to your lordship, for the good office you have been pleased to do with his majesty upon this occasion. And if I might mix my own particular with these public affairs, I will here likewise render your lordship my humble thanks for your favourable embracing the care of my poor fortune; of which I understand from many hands, beside the noble assurance it pleased your lordship to give me by your own; whereby I am obliged ever to remain, &c.

P. S. I have been, at the closing hereof, visited by his excellency, to shew me by what right he hath made change of the magistrates of Nimeguen, which your lordship will observe by the translate I send herewith. In regard the deputies of Guelderland, now in the assembly of the states general, are corrupted with Arminianism, he thinks fit to defer the dispatch of such letters, as should be signed and sent out by appointment as to-morrow, as touching the national synod, until in the next assembly of the states of Guelderland (which will be in the beginning of March next) new deputies for that province be chosen: which will not (as these do) distract the public service by their private disaffections. This gaining of time will proceed from his motion in the assembly of the states general, under pretence to give time to the province of Holland to consult and accommodate themselves to the resolution of the rest.

*Jan.*



Jan. 20. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to the marquis of BUCKINGHAM : by MURRAY.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. my most singular good lord,

I cannot fail to congratulate with your lordship the augmentation of honour, which his majesty hath newly conferred on your lordship, which I wish may be accompanied with a continued sequel of all happiness and contentment.

In the suit your lordship was pleased to present to his majesty in my behalf, I humbly submit myself to his majesty's pleasure. And howsoever it doth succeed, I will neither despair of his majesty's favour or your lordship's furtherance; which I promise myself of your noble disposition as a worthy effect of greatness with his majesty, to be a patron of those who spend their lives and substance in these public and painful employments; both which I have done for the space of many years, and so still continue with all diligence and alacrity, hoping in fit time to be made partaker of that contentment, which nearer place of service about his majesty's person, and the enjoying of our native soil, doth yield to all such, as are loyally affected. Thus once more I take the boldness to recommend myself and my poor fortunes to your lordship's favour in quality of your lordship's, &c.

Jan. 21. O. S. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE : by MURRAY.

That betwixt the sealing of the former by MURRAY the post and his departure, he had received the secretary's three letters, 29th of December, and 1st and 6th of January.

' The diligence of the Arminian party appears by the letter of GROTIUS to the arch-  
' bishop of Spalato, with which it pleased his majesty to favour me. That he cast  
' his grain into the *Balance*, no man makes question; and if he were not absolutely  
' *author*, he makes himself *fautor* of that libellous pamphlet with shameless impudency.  
' But it is believed, and many circumstances shew it, that he and UTENBOGARD, with  
' some better men than them both, did contribute every one a part; and that the  
' digesting the matter into order, and publishing the same, was referred to TAURINUS,  
' a factious minister of Utrecht, where it was infallibly printed, both the first and  
' second time.

' Hereof, when I delivered my proposition in writing concerning sir EDWARD CECIL,  
' I made a verbal complaint in the assembly of the states general, desiring them to let  
' those of Utrecht know, that since one of their chief pretences of making their new  
' levies, so much against the mind of the generality, was the suppressing of libels and li-  
' bellers (for that they alledged in their apology to the states) this did prove a contrary  
' effect, in that both the libel and the suspected libeller had protection in that town.

' In Leyden there is another novelty sprung up of pressing a new oath to the burghers,  
' which are called the *scutterie* (and are as train bands) to be in all things obedient to the  
' magistrate of that town: which since the time of the first introducing of the reformed  
' religion into that town was never practised. Six hundred of the best of the inha-  
' bitants refused the oath, and are thereupon put out by the magistrate of the num-  
' ber of the *scutterie*, and ordinary faquins taken into their rooms; of which the  
' complaint, signed by the whole number, is come hither to the Hague.

‘ The writing which was inclosed in your honour’s last letters from my lord of  
 ‘ CANTERBURY, I will make use of according to occasion. I must crave pardon,  
 ‘ if I differ from your honour in opinion concerning the issue of the synod. I rather  
 ‘ misdoubt the beginning, considering the many traverses, to which it is subject.  
 ‘ The French ambassador hath letters from his king, procured by the clergy of  
 ‘ France, to cross the requiring of any of thereformed religion out of that kingdom  
 ‘ as assistants.

‘ Yesternight here arrived a courier from Venice to the resident, and by this bearer  
 ‘ is transmitted a packet to signior CONTARINI, which contains matter very different  
 ‘ from sir JOHN DIGBY’s advertisements: and all my private letters out of those parts,  
 ‘ as well from Piedmont as Venice, are full of jealousies.’

Jan. 26. Proposition of sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the states general:

Desiring them to procure satisfaction for sir EDWARD CECIL from the states of  
 Utrecht.

Jan. 30. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to lord chancellor BACON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. my most singular good lord,

I could not with my excuse of long silence for want of fit and worthy subject to  
 be taken away by a better, than that, which is now presented, which is a congratu-  
 lation of that higher dignity, to which his majesty hath newly advanced your lordship:  
 and this I give with my wonted affection and devotion to your service; but with much  
 increase of obligation for that which I understand by a friend of mine near your lord-  
 ship, of your favour and well-wishing towards me, when there was question lately of  
 a preferment near his majesty, wherein I do assure your lordship the exclusion doth not  
 so much trouble me, as I am comforted and encouraged in being thought by your  
 lordship *sogetto papabile*.

The condition of my employment here (having had chiefly to do since my coming  
 into these parts in matters of religion) may allow me to borrow this phrase: but our  
 disputes about predestination are now turned into election; that is, election of ma-  
 gistrates, each party striving (and not without violence and disorder, though hitherto  
*sine sanguine & vulneribus*) for those of each opinion.

Some overtures of accommodation have been proposed, as to have churches allowed  
 in all places for either party; and where there is but one, that they should preach  
 alternatively; which is refused by the Arminians (who have the possession of the pulpit  
 in the court) upon a rule of proportion not to have two churches in one chapel.

The states of Hölland (who are now assembled in this town chiefly upon this occa-  
 sion) are as far from agreement as our churchmen; some of them (and those of the  
 best towns, though of the worse party) like curst cows, refusing to let down their milk,  
 and cannot hitherto by any persuasion be induced to yield to their wonted contributions,  
 unless they may have their wills in these new opinions.

This



This brings upon us a flood of confusion, our finances being hereby disordered; which cannot well stand with a continual course of expence: to which is added a new charge of extraordinary levies in particular towns, which serve in the nature of faterlites for the guard of the magistrates; and in Leyden (where all these disorders, both in church and state, had their beginning) they have presented a new oath of allegiance to the inhabitants; which, if it should pass into example in other towns, would make as many sovereignties as there are corporations.

For remedy of all these inconveniences, they treat of synods, which the orthodox require to be national, the Arminians provincial; betwixt both which a *temperament* is proposed, of beginning with a provincial synod: to which both parties give ear, the one understanding the same only as a preparative to the national; the other as a perfect cure without passing any farther. But when they come to the nomination of the deputies (which the one party would have chosen by the classes, the other to be pricked out of a double number by the magistrates), I believe they will *hærerere in limine*, and find as much difficulty in the provincial synod, as they forge in the national, to which the Arminian party will by no means condescend, for fear of a sentence of condemnation.

His majesty's counsels, both by letter and message, have always tended to this course of national synod, which is so harsh a sound to many of these men here (and those none of the meanest), that for the part I have had in this business, I may say to them with the apostle, *inimicus factus sum vobis vera dicens*. Your lordship will then imagine what small contentment, to a man not of a wrangling spirit, there is in this employment; and in this consideration, as opportunity shall happen, may be pleased to quicken your favourable disposition in drawing me to some nearer place of service about his majesty: *sit modus lasso maris & viarum militieque*, in which wandering courses I have now spent the most, and I am sure the best part of my life. But in whatsoever condition God hath ordained I shall continue the rest, I will ever rest your lordship's, &c.

Feb. 1. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE.

That the day before it had been resolved in the assembly of the states of Holland to send into England to sir NOEL CARON the two captains of the ships of Rotterdam and Enchuyfen, who committed the violence upon JOHN BROWNE on the coast of Scotland, to be presented by him to his majesty, and to submit themselves to his mercy: and letters are preparing by the states of Holland to his majesty, not only to move him to compassion towards them, but likewise to recommend the freedom, which they claim of fishing on the coast of Scotland, without molestation.

‘ Concerning their freedom of fishing (which came many times in discourse upon this occasion) I told them, I had no commission to treat that business; only I did charge them (which I received from his majesty through the hands of mr. secretary WINWOOD) to require of them the sight, or copy, of the writing, which they pretended to have from his majesty many years since for freedom of fishing, without payment of any rights; to the end his majesty (as he is religious of his word and promise) might give order accordingly. I think, in effect, that there is no such thing; but that all  
3 they



‘ they have to plead is custom, besides some verbal assurance, which they pretend to have been given them by his majesty. For having often insisted in this demand with monf. BARNEVELT, the uncertainty of his answers shews there is no certainty in the matter.’

*Feb. 4.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE: by the way of Zealand.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Since my last dispatch by MURRAY the post with letters of the 20th and 21st of January, I have received two from your honour of the self-same dates; the first by sir WILLIAM BALFOUR, and the second by a servant of lieutenant KILLIGREW, who sickened by the way in Zealand, and there still remains. This goeth by the ordinary under cover to Quester, which course I will continue, unless it be upon extraordinary occasions; and your honour may please to observe the difference between an express messenger and others by signing the cover of my packets, which I shall do by those I dispatch expressly, and forbear by others.

The chief subject hereof is to advertise his majesty (which your honour will please to do) that yesterday in the assembly of the states of Holland it was finally resolved to send into England to sir NOEL CARON the two captains of the ships of Rotterdam and Enchuyfen (who committed the violence upon JOHN BROWNE on the coast of Scotland) to be presented by him to his majesty, and to submit themselves to his mercy: for which purpose, ALBERSON (who is the greater offender) is sent for from Enchuyfen: and when he comes (which will be within these six days) he shall have order to use all expedition with his companion CLIFF into England, being to take their journey (by express commandment from the states) through Flanders over land, in case they meet with contrary winds. And in the mean time, whilst we expect their coming, letters are preparing by the states of Holland to his majesty, not only to move him to compassion towards them, but likewise to recommend the freedom, which they claim of fishing on the coast of Scotland without molestation.

For the first of these points in the treaty of this business (which hath been subject to many difficulties) I have undertaken as much as I might confidently do, both in consideration of his majesty's accustomed clemency, as likewise in remembrance of what I have received in divers letters from mr. secretary WINWOOD to this effect, without engaging myself, notwithstanding, by my word or promise, which might prejudice his majesty in his liberty to dispose of them as he please; though I was often pressed to give some warrantise for their safety.

In the other concerning their freedom of fishing (which came many times in discourse upon this occasion) I told them I had no commission to treat that business: only I had charge (which I received from his majesty through the hands of mr. secretary WINWOOD) to require of them the sight or copy of a writing, which they pretended to have from his majesty many years since for freedom of fishing, without payment of any rights; to the end his majesty (as he is religious of his word and promise) might give order accordingly.

I think in effect there is no such thing, but that all they have to plead is custom, besides some verbal assurance, which they pretend to have been given them by his majesty; for having often insisted in this demand with mons. BARNEVELT, the uncertainty of his answers shews there is no certainty in the matter.

With a letter from his majesty in favour of mr. TURNER, I received two days since one from your honour, and am very glad his majesty forbore writing to the states and his excellency, because the company to which he pretends (though it be not yet bestowed) hath been long designed to the lieutenant, who is an old foldier, and hath commanded the same in chief for some years, ever since the death of the captain. I have recommended him to some other preferment, as occasion may be presented.

Mr. KILLIGREW will fail of his intent, because captain WIGMORE hath changed his mind from parting with his company.

Our disputes about religion and other affairs stand yet in the same terms as I advertised in my last. So I humbly take leave, &c.

P. S. I will beseech your honour to acquaint my lord duke of LENOX with the resolution of the states concerning these captains, to which I am engaged by promise, and would perform by my own letters, if the hasty departure of the ordinary would suffer.

*Declaration of his majesty's proceedings within his dominions in church affairs.*

When any matter concerning religion is by the king thought fit to be declared or determined in the church of England, the king's majesty by his writ doth call together a synod or convocation of his bishops and clergy, assigning them the time and place of meeting, and intimating unto them in general what it is, whereof they are to treat; giving unto them also license under his great seal to debate and handle the same. Then doth the bishops and others of the clergy in their sacred houses of convocation dispute and determine those points, which are in question, out of the scriptures, councils, and fathers; which they do apart, none other sitting with them but themselves. Wherein when they have resolved, they humbly present their canons, articles, or other determinations to the king's majesty, which if upon mature deliberation he shall think fit to approve, then are they ratified under his great seal, and so they are of force and authority. Then doth the king by his writ prorogue or dissolve that convocation, as it seemeth good unto himself.

Feb. 21. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by HERMAN.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

The assembly of the states of Holland being broken up for a few days, and all the deputies departed to their several homes to acquaint their principals with what they have projected touching the synod, I thought it my duty to send his majesty a copy thereof, which goeth herewith, this being the result of all their deliberations touching

ing this matter since their last meeting, and that, which is likely to be prosecuted, three other overtures being laid aside (this one framed by the remonstrants, the other by the contra-remonstrants, the third by monf. BARNEVELT, as a moderator betwixt both), with which I hold it needless to trouble your honour.

In expectation this course will take place, those towns, which have hitherto held up their contributions, have given way to the accustomed proceedings, which must necessarily precede the collection of them; yet do retain their full consents, until they be well assured no new difficulties will be raised.

The other provinces, being all about this time to hold the assemblies of their states, forbear to proceed with the national synod, until upon knowledge what is done here in Holland they may accordingly govern themselves. But whether their project of a national, or this of a provincial synod, will take place, is yet full of uncertainty. Mean time each party doth advantage itself *de facto* as much as it may; the remonstrants having restored VENATOR to Alcmæer, who was banished from thence for a book he lately published of a new fangled divinity, which he stiled *Theologia vera & mera*; and suspended one LA MOTTE, a preacher in this town, for leaning in his sermons towards the contra-remonstrants: and they, on the other side, having set up ROSEUS into the pulpit here in the cloister-church, whose silencing about two years since was the first cause of this separation.

The book, of which I have so much complained as scandalous to his majesty, and seditious in respect of this state, is translated into French, with addition of a satirical preface and a scornful prefixion of the motto of the garter; which hath forced me once more to speak to the states general in this subject, according to the copy, which I send herewith; wherein your honour will observe the use I made of the writing I had lately from your honour touching his majesty's proceedings in ecclesiastical causes, with addition of somewhat more, which I thought necessary to be spoken concerning the conference of Hampton-court, which the Arminians do here abusively alledge in all their writings for the advantage of their party; whereas, it being rightly understood, it makes rather against them than for them.

This, which I have done *ex officio*, will have the more force, if it will please his majesty to take knowledge hereof to sir NOEL CARON, and to shew the sense he hath both of the publishing this book anew, and likewise of the suppressing the states placart concerning the same in Holland, Utrecht, and Overysse, which hath given encouragement to proceed in this manner, this translation being credibly believed to be done by UTENBOGARD here of the Hague, and one CHARLES NIVELL, a French preacher at Utrecht, and printed in that town.

Upon my complaint hereof to monf. BARNEVELT, he acquainted the states of Holland therewith, and they caused certain copies to be sent for from the stationers (where they were publicly sold for the space of three days without controlment) and burnt them in the chamber of their assembly; which, if it had been done in the marketplace, had been some satisfaction: but of an execution *a huis clos* the world cannot take knowledge.



I have been much pressed to suffer my former proposition of the 20th of the last, and this now upon the same subject, to be printed for the satisfaction of the world in such points of his majesty's proceedings in church causes, wherein their people here are much abused and misled by this and such like pamphlets; and have been as earnestly dealt with to complain of \* \* \* \* for his letters of credence, and embassador into England without acquainting the states with his proceeding; for which he were like to have a good reprehension; and it might lie as a block in his way for the which he doth pretend after. But I have hitherto hindered the one; and forborne the other, as unwilling *irritare crabrones*.

Here hath been this last week a pleasant embassador from the archduke's side, one AUGUSTINO HEYDING, an appointé in those troops, who *motu proprio* without commission came hither and presented a remonstrance to the states general thus directed, *A messieurs les estats d'Holland & Zealand & autres provinces de leur union*; the contents whereof were, that since the truce was granted these provinces by the king of Spain to this end only, that they might have leisure and commodity to bethink themselves, they should do well to consider in time their present estate, *à fin d'éviter le danger des confusions, qui pourroyent naistre en un gouvernement mal asseuré*; and therefore that without more delay they should submit themselves *à leur naturel & legitime seigneur*. These words of weight mixt with many light and extravagant conceits contained both in his writing and discourse did somewhat distract those of the council of state with the fiscal, who by order of the states general had him in examination; the more because he confessed to have acquainted the archduke with his purpose: but in conclusion they found him guilty rather of folly than malice; and having during his abode here lodged and defrayed him answerable to an embassador of this quality, the common prison, he was conducted out of the town betwixt two serjeants, and in place of a *regolo*, which he promised himself, a *bando* was published against him, not to return within the confines of this state upon pain of life.

Since the coming of the Palatine of Newburg to Dusseldorp we have had many complaints of his violent proceeding in possessing himself of certain neutral places in Cleves and Juliers; of which they would be here more sensible, if they were not otherwise distracted with their domestic disputes, these small accidents being thought forerunners of some greater matter intended, we having news daily of couriers to and fro betwixt Dusseldorp, Brussels, and Spain.

Your honour will have seen, before these can come to your hands, Dr. CARISIUS dispatched from the king of Denmark to his majesty, who in his passage through this place, where he made no stay, left three letters from the king his master to the states; one concerning their differences in the Sound; another touching freedom of trade in the East-Indies; a third about the bishopric of Bremen, to which that king doth pretend for his younger son: all which the states lay by them till the return of the bearer; and mean time they are in deliberation of preparing a solemn embassy into Denmark, to breed better correspondency with that king than hath been of late years.

By the embassador of Sweden here resident, I have received a letter from the king his master to his majesty, which I send your honour herewith. The

The French embassador hath made known to the states a resolution taken by the king his master, to continue the entertainment of the troops, which are in their service of that nation, and to begin with the discharge of the remainder of the year 1615, which amounts to 27,000*l.* sterling, of which their embassador LANGERACK hath assignation for 9000. The rest he expects will follow within few days; and though this be no considerable sum in account of the great arrearages; yet it is important, in regard it stops the current of those, who upon this occasion did aim at the discharging of strangers, which, if it had begun with the French, would not have staid there.

The Venetian resident hath been this last week at Amsterdam, where he hath agreed with the admiralties for twelve ships of war for his masters, the least of 400 tun, at the rate of betwixt 500 and 600*l.* for each by the month, they being to have in every ship no mariners, and to carry 1000 soldiers, which go upon another account for their diet. It will be the midst of April before they can possibly be in readiness.

Of the prince of Orange's death, and the strange manner thereof by his servant's fault in playing the part of an unskilful apothecary, your honour will have heard from the other side. On this side here is no small joy at the news we have this last night from Brussels, that his will, being opened in presence of one expressly sent thither from count MAURICE, was found to be perfect, and thereby his excellency declared heir of all his possessions, as well on the father's side as the mother's; and he dying without heirs, count HENRY to be his successor. There was some stratagem used in favour of the dowager, to obtain for her the lands in Brabant belonging to the house of Nassau, and 60,000 crowns in money, by way of codicil; which not being signed is not judged of validity, though here is speech of a word drawn from the prince before witness towards his last gasp in approbation thereof.

I have omitted in my former letters to advertise your honour, that the sending of embassadors from the states to Embden, which the count of East-Friesland apprehended to be prejudicial to his affairs, is suspended, to see whether the count, and those of the nobility, with which he is in difference, can agree amongst themselves. This course the states were willing to hearken unto at my mediation, according as by three of their deputies they declared unto me; and herewith the count's embassadors are returned well satisfied.

During the assembly of the states of Holland, I was visited from them by three of their deputies, the pensioners of Dort, Rotterdam, and Enchuyfen, who signified unto me the resolution they had finally taken to send CLIFF and ALBERSON into England; the delay of which they imputed to the difficulties, which were made by the states general: and now we expect ALBERSON daily from Enchuyfen, the letters being ready for them both to his majesty and sir NOEL CARON, to whom they are to be directed. That to his majesty is only in civil and respectful terms in favour of these men. The other to sir NOEL CARON gives him commission to use some words touching the matter itself of their pretended liberty of fishing on the coast of Scotland without payment of any rights.

To the end his majesty may be well informed of the carriage of this business, your honour may please to call to mind a former advertisement I gave you, that the difficulty consisted in the assembly of the states general *nella maniera di porgere*, not in the matter itself, the committee council of Holland requiring of them an assurance, that these men should not suffer any thing in England. And though they might repose in his majesty's clemency, yet, this not being in their own hands, was more than they could undertake. Wherefore they returned the business back to the states of Holland, which they would not have done, if they had had the same freedom left to them, as the states of Holland use themselves.

In the business concerning general CECIL with the states of Utrecht, their deputies have sent me word within these two days, that they will not return their answer by the states general, where I make my remonstrance by his majesty's order, nor by my hand, but by another way immediately to his majesty.

I hope his majesty will receive contentment in both these affairs, and not let the matter suffer for the form, though this is different from their wonted proceedings, but suitable to the rest in this present conjuncture; these two provinces of Holland and Utrecht in their several jurisdictions detracting all they possibly may from the generality, *salva unione*, which they make by this means a bare and naked ceremony without substance. Thus I humbly take leave.

Feb. 21. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by HERMAN.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

I may not conceal any thing, which passeth my hands in this public employment, and every thing it is not proper for the pen of a secretary. Wherefore I have thought fit to acquaint your honour with two particularities in this letter apart.

The first is concerning the count of East-Friesland, who by one of his deputies, which were here lately in commission, did signify his desire to have the world take the same knowledge of his dependency on his majesty, as it doth of his brother's (who hath command under the archduke) on the king of Spain; he having lately had the golden fleece sent unto him: which hath made the count, being the head of the house, aspire unto the garter: but this was *sub sigillo* participated unto me only by way of demand, how I thought the suit would be admitted. To which I made no answer but in general terms of his majesty's good affection to that prince, so as his majesty may take as much or as little notice thereof as he pleaseth.

The second proceeds from the king of Denmark by the hands of sir ANDREW SINCLAIR, a Scottish gentleman of antient service and principal trust about that king, who passing this way (from whence he parted this morning towards his majesty) delivered me a message from the king of Denmark with a letter of credence, which was in regard of the near alliance betwixt his majesty and that king to draw some service from me during my residence in this employment, by way of advertisement, as any thing should import his service; for which he made offer of a liberal yearly pension. To which I answered, that I have in my instructions express charge from his majesty  
to



to do all service I am able to those princes, with whom his majesty hath friendship and alliance, particularly to his majesty of Denmark; which I would readily perform: but that I was servant to so royal and bountiful a prince, that my need did no more require than my duty would suffer me to touch the money of any other whosoever, without his majesty's express commandment.

I will beseech your honour to endeavour to make this word of mine good; and (until occasion be presented, that with so many others his majesty's servants I may taste the fruits of his extraordinary favours) so to order (for it is your charge) that in this place of quick expence for the table, I may receive *panem quotidianum*, my provision of diet being held up in the Exchequer to my infinite prejudice; a great part of that, which I should eat at my board for his majesty's honour, being eaten out in interest with the merchants, and the rest failing likewise for want of credit. Your honour will pardon me for crying thus loud unto you, being moved by that, which makes *corvos poetas*. So I humbly take leave.

Feb. the last, N. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's proposition to the states general:

Complaining of the publication of a French translation of the *Balance* with a satirical preface.

Inserts the declaration of the king's manner of proceeding in ecclesiastical causes:

That in the conference at Hampton-court the king was not concerned *quietare mota*, there being no occasion for this in a peaceable church; but to hear the demands and reasons of some persons, who endeavoured *movere quæta*, and to disturb the tranquillity of the church. But that the question was not about doctrine, but merely external things, as the ceremonies long received and practised in the church. And at last the remonstrance of those who wanted to introduce some novelties into the church, having been maturely examined by the bishops and other ecclesiastical persons called together for that purpose, was condemned and rejected by them, and their judgment ratified and confirmed by the authority of his majesty; who therefore had not invaded the jurisdiction of the church: and though predestination was discoursed of in that conference, yet it was only by way of discourse, without any determination upon it.

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON complains, that what the king had ever said or written concerning the puritans was applied in the *Balance* to the contra-remonstrants.

March <sup>3</sup>/<sub>13</sub>. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by way of Zéaland.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

I will take the boldness to remember unto you some matters of complement; concerning his majesty's service in this state, which others of greater importance may cause to be omitted.

Upon the first news of the death of the prince of Orange, I did *ex officio* comply with count MAURICE (who succeeds him in that principality, as in all other his estates).

estates) both by way of condoling and congratulating; which I conceive his majesty will not judge amiss to have again performed by his express commandment, as well by letter as message, both in regard of the antient dependence of that house upon his crowns, and the particular devotion of this prince to his majesty's service, as likewise in consideration of what is already come from some, and before long expected from other princes and states; the French king having sent a gentleman expressly one MARFILLAC to his excellency, who arrived here three days since, and had likewise a particular letter to monf. BARNEVELT, but none to the states.

This gentleman had some farther matter (as I am informed) in commission than ceremony only; for being a confidant of monf. LUYNES, and he aiming at the principality of Orange, he hath procured this commission of the French king, whereby to sound, whether it may be had by purchase, or any other condition. But he will return with small contentment in this point, his excellency not admitting speech of any such matters, no more than did the prince now deceased about five years since, when he was moved to the same purpose, being then at Paris, by the bishop of Orange in the name of the pope, who sought to annex that principality to the state of AVIGNON.

We understand here (and his majesty is thereof advertised out of France), that the nuncio at Paris BENTIVOGLIO had incited that king to look after that place, lest those of the religion should possess themselves of it, and turn out the mass again, where it was re-established by the prince last deceased. But this pretence will cease, when the order his excellency hath given (and therewith hath sent an express messenger to the governor of Orange) in conformity to the testament of the late prince, is known, that there should be no change nor alteration in matter of religion, but liberty for both in state, as it hath been of late years.

The governor of Orange is a papist, and one, who hath served on the archduke's side, but is accounted a man of honour; and therefore there is a good opinion of his preserving the possession of the place for the right inheritor.

The states of Holland do now again assemble about these differences in religion. His excellency is upon going to Arnheim to the assembly of the states of Guelderland, which begins within these three days, to settle that province, which is somewhat distracted upon the same occasion.

In divers towns of this province here are many accidents, which shew in general this disease to be grown ripe, but in particular neither deserve writing nor reading. So I humbly take leave, &c.

*March 5.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall: received the 11th.

My lord ambassador,

I have acquainted his majesty with your last dispatch, and the project of the synod, although it came in a time when his majesty was disquieted with pain in his feet, and doth yet keep in, but I hear now feeleth ease, God be thanked, and purposeth this day

day to give audience to sir ANDREW SINCLAIR, and leave to Dr. JONAS, who came not a week before from the king of Denmark about the fishings of Greenland, wherein there is some contention between our people and his; he claiming the whole right as appertaining to his crown of Norway, but I hope we shall find a way to accommodate it.

Touching the two motions made to you, one from the king of Denmark, the other from the count of Embden; the latter I do not find his majesty forward to hearken unto, and therefore I think your lordship shall do well to put it off not with denial, but former engagements. For the other his majesty is well pleased, that your lordship do the king of Denmark any service he requireth, but thinketh it not fit you make yourself a pensioner to any: and I wonder why it should be offered in that kind, considering, that for pains taken for a foreign prince in amity with his majesty, there are means enough for them to shew themselves thankful, and not to oblige his majesty's servants by way of pension.

Touching your synod I have not yet received any direction from his majesty, the project having not, when I was last with him, been read over; but my opinion is confirmed, that it would never come to a decision, and so as nothing pass of other heresies to be tolerated. These high points of predestination are not far differing from some wishes of his majesty heretofore, that they might not be spoken of in public, at least before the vulgar. God send it a good issue; for I fear a decision will not be had, or else work farther matter of exasperation. So I commend your lordship to God, &c.

*March 7.* KING to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: received by an express the 12th.

JAMES R.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. The king of Denmark, our good brother, hath by sir ANDREW SINCLAIR, an express messenger sent unto us, acquainted us with a purpose he hath to procure the archbishopric of Bremen for the duke FREDERIC, one of his sons, and that he hath made some progress therein with some of the canons and others to have him chosen coadjutor to the new bishop, and so to be assured of the succession. Opposition hath been made from some of the city, and a pretence, that they shall be backed therein by the states of the United Provinces; which though he cannot expressly say, nor we charge them with, and therefore do not now write unto them of it, so as you shall make any present of our letters; yet because you know how much our affection is to our said brother of Denmark, and how dear to us all things are, which do content him or his children, which are so near in blood to us, we have thought good to inform you of his purpose, and of our desire to further it. To which end our pleasure is, that you have an attentive eye to any passage, that shall happen in that country concerning that intent of the king of Denmark, and to be diligent in dealing with the ministers of that state, whom you shall think good to deal withal, to prevent any design in the states to put impediment to it. But if when the matter shall be further proceeded in, or come to any public notice, you shall discern, that the states shall be disposed to intermeddle in it to the prejudice of the king's desire, then our pleasure is, you do both deliver our letters, which here-

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with



with we send unto you, and use all industry and endeavour, not only to prevent opposition, but to dispose them to the furtherance of it, alledging on the one side, how kindly we will take their good-will, which shall be shewed in furthering his desire; on the other how inwardly it will touch us to find any friend, so straitly conjoined to us for public respects as they are, to be averse to a prince of his greatness, so near to us both for public and private considerations, whom we cannot abandon in any thing, that shall concern him in honour, for respect of any other. It shall be, as we conceive, a very good argument for you to use to them, if you shall find it needful, to represent how much the constitution of the affairs of the world do require a conjunction between all those princes and states, who profess religion, both for religion's sake and for politic respects; and not for private respects, which are of no moment to the public, to disjoin themselves from those common ends, wherein all their welfare doth require they should concur. Given under our signet at our palace at Westminster the 7th day of March in the 15th year of our reign of England, France and Ireland, and of Scotland the one-and-fiftieth.

*March 7.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Charing-cross.

My lord embassador,

I have sent your lordship a messenger express, and he is expressly by you to be returned, and with as much speed as you can. He carrieth a letter of his majesty to yourself, and one to the states of credence, which is to be used as your lordship shall see cause. The matter you will conceive by the letter to yourself; but I do not think, that your lordship will yet find any public notice taken thereof in that state; but what you can learn, or what you can persuade with those, with whom you shall deal, and what is like to be the issue, as touching them, you shall do well to write; for sir ANDREW SINCLAIR stayeth the return of this messenger. Hereafter if you see the matter like to be intermeddled with there, your lordship may pursue his majesty's directions. In the mean while get what you can by persuasion.

The matter, which, I perceive by sir ANDREW SINCLAIR, the king of Denmark doubteth, is, that his resolution being to win his bishopric for this son *a haute luite*, if he cannot get it otherwise, and to offer violence to the town of Breme; the states of these provinces, in regard of the league between them and the Hans towns, whereof Breme is a member, should assist, and so a rupture follow: in which case your lordship knoweth the king cannot abandon him, and much inconvenience might follow, which, if the states forbear, will be prevented. Now your lordship seeth the importance of their meddling or not, you will frame things the best you can to avoid the mischief.

I have been told, that his errand into the Low Countries was to have hired certain mariners and masters to have sailed some ships of Denmark to the East-Indies, and to have treated of an association with the states for that trade; and that, secret intelligence being had of his purpose before his arrival, a prohibition was made to the mariners of that state to serve no foreign prince in any voyage to the Indies. Your lordship can best tell, if there were any such thing; for to the king's majesty our master he hath said nothing.

Here is a rumour, that the assembly of your states there is dissolved without concluding any thing either upon the project your lordship sent a copy, or any other: and that the eight refractory towns do refuse to contribute, except their particular garrisons may be paid by the general. But we hear not of it from you, and sir NOEL CARON being with me this morning could tell nothing of it. So I commend your lordship to God, &c.

*March 7.* KING to the STATES GENERAL.

Letter of credence of sir DUDLEY CARLETON, to treat of the affair of the king of Denmark.

*March 10.* Secretary NAUNTON to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Whitehall.

That his majesty, who had been indisposed some weeks of one of his feet, was now pretty well recovered, and intended to go to Hampton-Court that afternoon.

*March 11.* O. S. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON:  
In favour of sir HENRY LEVINGSTON.

I received yesterday your lordship's last letters, with your book in French. Your synod cometh to that pass, which I always expected it would, that is, that the Arminians will not be decided against. And if a silencing of the question in public may serve the turn for these five points, I think it would not be disliked here; for if we were a popular state, as they are, it would make agitation here among divines.

*March 16.* KING to the STATES of Zealand: from Whitehall, concerning there-inforcement of col. SIDNEY's regiment.

*March 16.* O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the KING.

May it please your majesty,

In humble answer of your majesty's letters of the 7th of this present, received the 12th, concerning the king of Denmark's purpose to procure for his son the duke FREDERICK the archbishopric of Bremen, wherein your majesty requires to know how the states stand affected, as likewise to have all fit endeavours used to dispose them thereunto, I shall, when time serves, make use of the letter of credence from your majesty to the states general in this subject, whose assembly is now very small, by reason of the absence of most of their deputies, who (upon occasion of their meetings in their several provinces) are for the most part retired; the prince of Orange being likewise absent, upon whose direction and judgment affairs of this nature do much depend. Mean time having spoken with mons. BARNEVELT this morning in his bed (into which his weakness after an aguish indisposition hath cast him), and with some other the chief of the states, who are here remaining, I find this apprehension to be of the business; that in state as the archbishopric of Bremen now stands, some of them think it not unfit there should be with all conveniency a coadjutor chosen; though

others lay hold of a word, which Dr. JONAS CARISIUS let fall in his passage through Zealand, that the king of Denmark would be contented, so as the bishopric might remain in the state as it is, without naming of any coadjutor, whereby the election might rest free at the decease of the present possessor. All of them with whom I have spoken (and by them a judgment may be made of the rest) approve of a prince of the house of Denmark above all others, so as they may be well assured of the good affection of so near a neighbour; of which former disgusts do make them jealous. Howsoever the friendly letters, which were left here by Dr. JONAS in his passage towards your majesty, are well embraced; and thereupon they are in deliberation to send a solemn embassy into Denmark; for which count ERNEST of Nassau is spoken of as chief, in regard of his lady's alliance, whereby to make him more gracious; and according to his reception, and the contentment which will be given therein to the states, there is great appearance they will seek to dispose those of Bremen to accept the duke FREDERICK, hoping by that bond of amity to draw the king his father into the alliance of the evangelical princes and states; and to relinquish his correspondencies with the emperor and the two kings of Spain and Poland, which are judged here to be entertained by those great princes to abuse the forward spirit of that king, and to convert the same by persuasion and practice to the prejudice of this state. Here are letters from Lubeck advertising the king of Denmark's purpose, and advising this state to assist those of Bremen as their allies in case any thing should be attempted *par voye de fait*: and it is likewise written from one VIRRY, governor for the states at Hildesheim in the county of Ravensburgh (where they hold garrison in the right of the elector of Brandenburg), that the king of Denmark hath sent a commissary to Mynden, a place thereunto belonging, with commission to levy 3000 foot (over which one MARCUS PENS is to be colonel) and 200 horse. The prince of Orange doth advertise likewise from Arnheim, that he understands from several parts, there are levies of horse making in Lukeland and Gulick under the name of the king of Denmark, such being taken into pay, as were lately in the confines of France under colonel GENT, and others, which were in the service of the French king and the princes. All which alarms sound ill in these men's ears, who would gladly have the business of Bremen carried by way of negotiation: and whether (if they be called upon by the Hans towns, to whom they are joined in confederacy) they will stir or not, is very doubtful; and it is rather to be believed yea than otherwise; because a failing therein will weaken their alliance with those towns both in effect and reputation. But I will not fail to be watchful upon any such proceeding, and to divert the same, as much as I may, by your majesty's authority; which notwithstanding (in that I find of the disposition of those I have spoken with) I conceive may be of much greater use to the king of Denmark in this pretension, by obtaining their assistance in proceeding by peaceable means, than (if he run a course of violence) by stopping them from assisting their friends and neighbours, for which their late journey to Brunswick shews they have no less will than commodity. As I can discover any thing, which doth import this business, I will not fail with diligence to advertise your Majesty. Mean time in all humility I take leave, &c.

March 16. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE.

Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,



R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

I received much about a time, now five days since, your honour's letters, which accompanied his majesty's of the 7th of this present by an exprefs messenger, whom now I return, and your other of the 5th by the ordinary.

Touching the king of Denmark's pretensions to Bremen for his son the duke FREDERICK, I do advertise his majesty at large, by the letter which goeth herewith, what I find of the matter; which is in few words, that if the business be proceeded in by fair and peaceable means, it is like to have furtherance from hence: if by force and violence (in case the states be summoned by virtue of their alliance with the Hans towns) they will be here as forward *vim vi repellere*. Wherefore if this course be resolved of by the king of Denmark (as, by some advices we have here, it may seem it is), he must make short and sure work; otherwise it is but a few days march for the cavalry of this state (which is great and strong) to succour the place.

COUNT HENRY is gone towards Arnheim to see his brother the prince of Orange, who is there at this present, and withal to take a review of the horse troops, which is his charge as general. His journey lately to Brunswick succeeded so well with him, that he would not be sorry of the like employment at Bremen.

Since I advertised your honour of what was said unto me in confidence by one of the deputies of the count of Embden, I have received a letter from that prince himself to the same effect, which I send herewith, to the end his majesty may be more fully acquainted with his desire; to which I suspend my answer, until I may know hereupon his majesty's further pleasure. There is great choice amongst strangers of great fortunes, but few of greater use; for that reason your honour will observe underlined in the count's letter, now his majesty hath no footing on this side the seas.

The proposition, which was here made for restraint of the mariners and seamen of these provinces to serve any foreign prince in voyages to the Indies, had aspect as well to France as Denmark, where there is a company likewise erected, and shipping provided for that trade, which in short time will not quit the cost of the voyage, when the commodities they fetch from thence are grown more common, and thereby lose of their value; which makes these men hinder as much as they may all new adventures, and seek a conjunction with our men, who have already the knowledge and practice of those parts.

I have been once more here sent unto by the states of Holland since their last meeting (the same three pensioners of Dort, Rotterdam, and Enchuyfen, being the messengers), to assure me of the continuance of their purpose to send over CLIFF and ALBERSON into England, which they say hath been thus long deferred by reason of the sickness of ALBERSON, which he hath pretended a good while: and these deputies assure me he doth not counterfeit, but that his excuse is unfeigned: to which effect those of Enchuyfen have been with me again this day by order of the assembly, and shewed me an attestation of physicians, that the man is in danger of death by a flux: whereupon those of Rotterdam are commanded to send away CLIFF in the mean time, and ALBERSON is to follow as he is able.

Our

Our church-businesſes remain in this ſtate; the aſſembly of Holland continuè divided as formerly, one party requiring the national ſynod; the other oppoſite thereunto. The project in the mean time, which I ſent your honour with my laſt, is laid aſide.

The French embaffador hath made an oration in that aſſembly (where he continues his uſurpation of audiences contrary to all cuſtom), to perſuade accommodation and toleration: Upon which the Arminian party took hold for the advantage of their cauſe; but the other towns alledged in oppoſition the advice of his majeſty to the ſtates general; which proceeding from a prince of the ſame religion whereof they here make profeſſion, they plead to be of more authority.

Two letters have been written from that aſſembly to the prince of Orange ſince his going to Arnheim; the one by the Arminian faction, as the major part, in the name of the whole aſſembly, to adviſe him not to interpoſe himſelf in the affairs of Guelderland; Overyſſel, and particularly not to advance the national ſynod: the other by the well-affected towns, who counſel him as governor of that province and Overyſſel, to uſe his beſt endeavours to ſettle the ſtate of religion by way of national ſynod; and therein to quicken thoſe of Guelderland, and to win a conſent, if it may be, of thoſe of Overyſſel, who have hitherto reſted divided in opinion.

Of Guelderland there is no doubt but that they will perſiſt in their former reſolution; but I know not what to promiſe of Overyſſel by reaſon of the opiniatrety of Campen, one of their chief towns. Zealand, Frieſland, and Groningen, having lately held their ſeveral aſſemblies of their ſtates, have all taken a new reſolution in conformity to their former for holding of a national ſynod; the iſſue whereof we ſhall ſee at his excellency's return, who is expected within theſe ſix days; and ſoon after Eaſter (if it be ſo found good by him) there will come extraordinary deputies for this purpoſe from all the foreſaid provinces, and the well-affected towns of this.

Monſ. BARNEVELT fell ſick with ſome danger a day or two before his excellency's departure, which proceeded partly out of a diſtemper of body, partly out of diſquiet of mind, to find his project (for that I ſent your honour came from his pen) not to take place. To which was added, another *creve-cœur* of a libellous pamphlet published againſt him in print, of which he can have no great right, by reaſon of the deaf ear he lent to the ſatiſfaction I required againſt the author and printer of *The Balance*, to which this is in part an answer.

The prince of Orange took his way towards Arnheim through Leyden and Utrecht. At Leyden he was well received; but being gone from thence towards Utrecht, a letter met him from the ſtates of that province to deſire him to forbear coming into the town; which he answered by his preſence, going thither (notwithſtanding the letter) without ſtay or further ceremony; and the next morning parted from thence forward on his journey, nothing happening during his abode there worth the noting, ſave only that thoſe ſtates did diſcover a cauſeleſs jealouſy, by forbidding the gariſon to go into arms (as the uſe is always) when their general doth paſs through; or enter any town, which they could not have hindered (when his excellency was in town), if  
he

he would have commanded the soldiers to shew themselves, notwithstanding that at the self-same time they increased their new levies by 50 in every company; which, being poor men taken up in every corner of the streets, could not have stood in the way of the garrison. But his excellency's temper is much commended, in shewing them the folly of their *terrores panici* without further stirring.

The resident of Venice is gone into North-Holland, to muster his men, and to take a view of his shipping, which are all now in good forwardness.

I was desired by him before his departure, in the name of his masters (whose letters he shewed me), to make appear to his majesty their thankful acknowledgment of his grant for the levies they now make of men and provision of shipping in his kingdoms, and to beseech the continuance of his favour. Which offer I will think to have performed now I write the same to your honour; and if you will please to let their ambassador signor CONTARINI know I have not failed therein, it is that I earnestly desire. Here is a purpose to send a resident from this state to Venice, whom the senate hath advertised by their last letters; and so signor SORIAN hath declared in the assembly of the states general to be there expected with good devotion. The matter having met with many delays and difficulties, will make both that state and this acknowledge obligation to his majesty for their good correspondency. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

March 18. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Out of a desire to write with some more certainty, I have stayed this messenger these two days, knowing, that upon letters from sir NOEL CARON (which came hither the day after my receipt of his majesty's), the business of the king of Denmark was taken into consultation in the assembly of the states of Holland; and this morning those especially deputies, who had the visiting of the letters, which were left here by Dr. JÓNAS CARISIUS, and all other advices and papers which belong thereunto, having made their report, it is found good by that assembly to dispatch a solemn embassy to that king, and for this purpose they have given order for the framing of instructions. Touching the business in particular, they judge the same to be yet too raw to take therein any settled resolution, howsoever that they discover a good inclination in favour of the son of Denmark, whom they understand to have the nobility, and a good part of the canons for him; but the town not so well disposed. To interest themselves as assistants (which I made known to some of them to be his majesty's desire in this occasion) they say they cannot, until they see further into the matter; and to oppose the king of Denmark's proceeding, they profess not to have any meaning, but rather wish him all good success. This I have from one of his majesty's knights, monf. BERCK, the pensioner of Dort, who supplies the advocate's place in his absence; and he hath been with me twice this day, first to hear what I would say to them (which was in conformity to his majesty's letters), and after to acquaint me with the disposition of their assembly. Upon the whole matter I conceive the rest of the provinces will concur with the inclination of this; and that for the sending of the  
embassy,



embassage, it will be resolved of without much delay or difficulty. For the bishopric of Bremen, the king of Denmark, if he will stay these men's leisure, may in all appearance promise himself their furtherance. But for the town of Bremen (which is a jurisdiction apart, and one of the Hans alliances), if it be assailed, and their help required, they will hardly be dissuaded from succouring it. Your honour may please to acquaint his majesty with thus much, which may serve for a postscript to my dispatch. So I humbly take leave, &c.

P. S. The states general will not in all likelihood be assembled in their full college until the end of the next week, so as I may receive his majesty's commandments before I have opportunity of audience, if he please to alter or add any thing to my former directions.

*March 26.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Charing-Crofs.

My lord embassador,

His majesty hath been acquainted with your letters concerning the king of Denmark's business at Breme, and hath imparted the same to sir ANDREW SINCLAIR, who seemeth to be well satisfied therewith. He is not yet dispatched from hence, but shall be at his majesty's return from Theobalds on Saturday, and for ought I perceive by his majesty's discourse upon your letters, the effect of his dispatch will be an advice of his majesty to the king his master to seek that, which he desireth, in peaceable means, and to abstain from violence. His majesty liketh well of the embassy, which is going thither; and if your lordship find, that they are truly desirous of a good correspondency with that king, and shall be willing, that his majesty employ himself in it; I think he will be ready to bestow his travail therein; and if such a thing be intended by them, I am of opinion, that it were a good work of your lordship to handle it so, as that his majesty might be the mediator of it; for it would be to good purpose the world should take knowledge of a good assurance between these three estates.

Your lordship wrote to me of late of a fault of sir THOMAS DALE's, which his majesty and all men here condemn in him: but withal do think it hard, that captain WILLOUGHBY should suffer for his fault; and therefore his majesty, at the sollicitation of WILLOUGHBY's friends, is very well pleased, that your lordship does interpose yourself for him, and procure, that he may enjoy the company he hath paid for, being a man of desert otherwise, and one of whom they have for himself good opinion, as his majesty is informed. It is a work of charity to do it, besides his majesty's commendation; and therefore I doubt not but your lordship will do him what favour you may.

The post which brought your letters, came not till four days after your lady was arrived.

This court doth little matter, saving that we are busy about matters of thrift as fast as we can; and I do call upon payment for embassadors, wherein I hope shortly some good order will be taken. So I commend your lordship to God's protection, &c.

*March.*

*March 27.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall: received by MURRAY the 6th of April.

My lord embassador,

The answer your lordship hath written unto his majesty in the matter of the king of Denmark, doth content him well; and because his majesty doth conceive, that now at this assembly of the states you shall have opportunity to move them publicly, as before you have done to some in private, his majesty commanded me to send this bearer expressly away before the assembly should break, to let you understand, that he hath acquainted sir ANDREW SINCLAIR with that, which you have written about his master's suit; and that he doth not find by him, but that the king will like very well of the disposition of the states, the same agreeing with the advice his majesty intended to give him; that is, to work his purpose out rather by negotiation and interposition of friends than by force. So that now, which his majesty must expect from the states, is, that they will not only not cross the suit of the king of Denmark, but use their best means to further it: for that if they shall take any other way, they will lose both that king and his majesty, who cannot leave him in any just and reasonable cause. As for his shew of arming, you may assure them, that it is but his fashion of proceeding in all matters, which he doth earnestly affect, putting himself still in arms, when he hath aught in hand, thereby to be the readier against all events. And so his majesty understands by sir ANDREW SINCLAIR, that his meaning is no otherwise in this cause of Breme; who doth therefore wish, that the states would proceed with their purpose of sending an embassador unto him, and to entertain him by all good offices of kindness that they may; and if they will have his majesty do any thing to further the settling of a solid amity between them, his majesty will be ready to deal therein in any such sort as they shall desire. And so I commit you to God, &c.

P. S. This inclosed to the prince of Orange is a letter of condolance; and if you think not those offices, which you have done in person, to be sufficient, his majesty liketh well you should deliver this in person.

*March 28.* Secretary NAUNTON to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall:  
In favour of sir WILLIAM BALFOUR.

*April 1.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE:

In behalf of CLIFF, whom the states of Holland now sent to England, ALBERSON being still sick, as appeared from the testimony of PALUDANUS the physician, brought sir DUDLEY CARLETON a few days before by the burgomaster and pensioner of Enchuyfen.

\* Concerning CLIFF, who is the bearer hereof, being desired by mr. GROTIUS the pensioner of Rotterdam to accompany him with a letter of recommendation, or rather of excuse, I may not forget what was related unto me by JOHN BROWNE, that of the two captains, which took him, this was the least culpable: yet his majesty's grace will be no less towards him than the other, because the offence was common betwixt them

them both; and he doth so much more merit the same, by how much he doth shew the greater forwardness in giving satisfaction.

The encouragement I have given those, with whom I have treated in this business, not to make doubt of his majesty's clemency (which, besides what may be presumed of his majesty's natural inclination, I did upon good ground, having had divers letters from mr. secretary WINWOOD to this effect) makes me so much interested therein, that I shall be glad the states may find I have not lightly undertaken for his good treatment.'

*April. 1.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall: received by way of Zealand the 11th.

My lord embassador,

I have received commandment from his majesty to give you advertisement, that of late sir NOEL CARON was with him concerning the two men who took BROWNE, who should, as your lordship knoweth, ere this time have been sent hither; but requested his majesty, that because one of them, as he saith, is fallen sick, so that he cannot be here, he might be borne withal for six months, because his disease would require that time of cure. Whereunto his majesty's answer was, that he, that was able, should come presently away, for so his majesty's honour required: the other, who was sick, should send with his fellow a certificate under the physician's hands of his disease, and so might stay till he were able to travel without limiting of six months; and withal giving of assurance, that as soon as his health would permit, he would come. He moved also, that his majesty would be pleased to set those Hollanders at liberty, that are imprisoned for the same cause here. But his majesty utterly refused to do it. And this was all that passed between them, which his majesty was willing you should be acquainted withal, in case sir NOEL should write unto the states, or make other report of his majesty's answer than indeed it was. And so I commit you to God, &c.

P. S. We hear by letters from mr. WAKE, that the peace in Savoy is concluded; I mean all conditions; only it rested upon this, that DON PEDRO should give a note under his hand, that he would deliver VERCELLI.

*April 5.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to Secretary LAKE.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

Your honour's letters of the 26th of the last, which accompanied his majesty's of the 27th, I received by my secretary the 28th.

The states of Holland being as then assembled, though near a recess, I thought fit, in regard this province is chiefly interested in the herring-fishing, to make my proposition in conformity to his majesty's commandments, to the end the same being referred unto them (as the use is) by the states general, they might make his majesty's will known to their several towns, which they accordingly have done. But upon my  
speech



speech in general terms, I found it was expected (and it had not been amiss I had been therein well instructed) that I should have made particular instance in the persons of whom, and the wrongs of which, his majesty's subjects of Scotland do complain, to the end they might here have taken more exact information. And for the limit, which is set them for their fishing not to come within sight of land, they do *faire les ignorants*, as if they had never heard of any such use, or could not comprehend how to put it in practice: But upon their answer (which I will solicit) both the wrongs may (if his majesty so please) be more particularly expressed by way of reply, and his majesty's pleasure for redress thereof more punctually prescribed.

About four days since GROTIUS, the pensioner of Rotterdam, brought unto me CLIFF, one of the captains, who took JOHN BROWNE, desiring me to accompany him with a favourable recommendation to his majesty, he being commanded without further delay to make his repair into England, to submit himself to his majesty's mercy. ALBERSON of Enchuyfen hath the same charge, but he still excuseth himself by sickness: and though the deputies of that town brought me good testimony (at their being here) that his sickness is not feigned, yet I have sent thither expressly to be well assured his majesty should not be abused, and expect the return of the person I have employed thither within these three days.

The embassy to the king of Denmark is resolved of; and so much hath been told by the states themselves to dr. JONAS CARISIUS, who coming hither the 28th of the last went away towards Denmark the 30th without any more particular answer to the letters he brought, all being referred to their ambassadors. Who they shall be, is not yet fully determined; but count ERNEST of Nassau is chiefly spoken; and for his adjuncts he will have four of the states, whereof two shall be of Holland (and these are named to be the pensioners of Dort and Amsterdam), one of Zealand, and one of Friesland.

The nomination is not yet come out of Zealand and Friesland, but daily expected; and order is taken (in conformity to what your honour doth conceive will be agreeable to his majesty) when they are resolved amongst themselves, to acquaint his majesty therewithal, and to beseech his mediation with the king of Denmark; whereby to establish a good correspondency betwixt that king and this state, which I find here to be generally and seriously desired: and this may appear by their intended embassy, which is as solemn and honourable as they well can send.

All differences both in church and state in this province are remitted until the next meeting of the states of the 7th of the next month, order being taken in the mean time to communicate with the Vroedtschap, which is the common council of each town, all projects, writings, and papers, which concern these businesses: whereas heretofore they went no further than to the magistrates; and this to the end their deputies may come at their next assembly with full instruction and power to resolve of all matters.

The extraordinary deputies of the other provinces will be here about that time: but the day is not yet set down, which depends on the appointment of the prince of Orange,

who by his authority hath well rectified the affairs in Guelderland: and if he find before-hand appearance of working the same effects by his presence in Overysfel, he will likewise go to the assembly of the states of that province, which from the time was formerly appointed is put off till the 15th of this present.

There is by those of Guelderland an exemplary punishment used towards some, who have endeavoured to embroil that province with Arminianism by example of this, BRINIUS being put from longer continuance in the assembly of the states general, where he hath had seance as deputy of that province for the space of these years; and this for opposing the national synod, and protesting against the satisfaction I required against the author and printer of the *Balance*, contrary to the minds of their principals; one BISEMANUS, who ran the same way, and was one of the heads of the Arminian faction in Nimeguen, being likewise taken from an assembly of the states general, and condemned not to bear any office in that town, or the province of Guelderland, for the space of six years; and one BILLIUS, the pensionary of Nimeguen, who hath been formerly of the council of state, being degraded from his place, with sentence not to bear office either in that town or province during his life. These three are likewise put by solemn act upon the protocole (a register used in that province and Overysfel, wherein all public offenders for treason, mutiny, and other such heinous crimes, are notified to posterity) of which BRINIUS desired, in consideration of his house (being an antient gentleman) and his many years service, to be freed, submitting himself to the rest of the censure: but his request took no place.

The count of Culemburg, a principal man of that province, who hath been for the space of four months of the assembly of the states general, and, though he be allied to the prince of Orange by marriage, was in this time so gained by the Arminians, that he ran a course with BRIN and BISSMAN, finding himself to run the same fortune with them in disgrace, fell from justification and apologies to submission and entreaty, alledging his own want of knowledge and experience, and the merit of his father, whose house was razed at Brussels, it being the rendezvous of those who made the first association against the Spaniards. Yet went the matter so near with him, that of seventy-one voices in that assembly, he had but thirty-six to save him from the like animadversion as was used towards the other; which was changed into a sharp reprimand for what was past, and admonishment to govern himself more to the mind of his principals hereafter.

Here is a poor distracted merchant ( ) born in Harlem, but bred up for the most part in London (where of late days he lost his wits for love of a fair maid), laid in prison for saying openly he would kill the prince of Orange. And one DAN-KERKE, an old drunken notary (who in his young days was secretary to general NORREYS) is imprisoned at Amsterdam for making an infamous libel against monf. BARNEVELT, touching whom the fiscal is sent from hence to require he may be sent hither: But the deaf ear monf. BARNEVELT lent to the satisfaction required against the author and printer of the *Balance* doth now lie in his way; so as the most he will obtain, will be to have the man examined in the fiscal's presence, whereby many particularities concerning monf. BARNEVELT will come to be openly sifted, which in a great populous town, where he hath so few friends, were better concealed.

With



With this book (which fell from DANKERKE in Amsterdam, as he was drunk, and lighted into the hands of a friend of UTENBOGARD, by which means it was discovered) was a list of certain names of substantial persons, of whom DANKERKE promised himself a contribution towards printing thereof; all which are exposed thereby to mons. BARNEVELT's hatred and revenge; which (he being known to be vindictive) will make these affairs the more irreconcilable. We shall see hereupon at their next assembly a placart against libels and seditious pamphlets in general; and this merchant and notary in particular will not escape punishment. *Ex malis moribus bonæ leges*: and there is the better hope of reformation, when they begin to lay hold on madmen and drunkards, who were wont to plead privilege of the country.

I humbly thank your honour for that part I have in your care of his majesty's foreign ministers, wherein the quickness of expence in this place and the slow payments in the Exchequer hold so ill proportion, that they make my interest the greater; and I am therefore the more bound to remain your honour's, &c.

April 8. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the lord chamberlain: by PARSONS: directed to MR. RUDGARD.

Account of affairs in the United Provinces.

Proceedings in Guelderland against their deputies, who had joined with the Arminian party.

" The resolution for the national synod is there likewise confirmed, and new deputies chosen for that purpose. That, which the prince of Orange hath done lately in Nimeguen, in the change of magistrates, is approved as tending to the repose and safety of the town, with public thanks for his endeavours therein, and desire, that he will continue the same care upon the like occasions. Answers are finally made to good purpose to certain letters written from the states of Holland to that province in favour of the Arminian party. And though some good effect might have been promised of the states of Guelderland themselves, where there are divers worthy men well-affected, yet his excellency's presence (he going thither in quality of governor of the province) gave this perfect form to the matter so well prepared.

If he can promise himself any good in Overysfel (where he hath the same charge as governor), he will go likewise to that assembly, which is to be held the 23d of this present: and there is this appearance of good success, that the whole province consisting of three chief towns (Deventer, Campen, and Swoll), and the gentry of the first of these towns is well-affected, the second as ill, the third divided; but with them his excellency will have much authority, and if he cannot absolutely gain Swoll, he may assure it by the garrison, and that is a place, in regard of the enemy, of great importance.

The Arminians begin to startle at these proceedings, his excellency marching *à pied de plomb*, slowly, but surely; and the town of Utrecht (which is their citadel) takes the alarm openly, finding themselves environed in the upper parts of the river (which are the veins, through which the blood of this state doth pass) by the towns of Guelderland; on the lower parts by those of Zealand, and by Dort and the *Amstel*; before  
LIII



that the chief port-towns on the other side of Holland (Amsterdam and Enchuyfen) and all the frontiers, either actually now are, or be in likelihood to be, well assured; so as upon the apprehension of what may further succeed, they speak of more new levies, prepare beds for their artillery upon the walls, and bestir themselves in all things as if they expected a siege. *Fugit impius nomine prosequente.* Sure I am there is no design upon them; but their coarse entertainment of his excellency, as he went to Guelderland, makes them jealous of his affection, he complaining of it publicly, and in all places, as indeed it was very gross, they meeting him with a letter half-way betwixt Leyden and Utrecht, persuading him not to come to their town; which he answering by his presence, they suffered not the garrison to go into arms to do him honour, and all the night guarded him with their burghers like a prisoner. Soon after his back was turned, they changed the watch of the post towards Arnheim, which was formerly kept by a strong guard of the garrison. Sir JOHN OGLE hath in this whole proceeding so carried himself, that, notwithstanding his excellency heard him at large what he could say in his justification, I find him exceedingly ill satisfied of him. I have laboured heretofore both by letters and messages to reduce him into the way of *gens du bien*, such as most of the French, for the greatest part of other nations, and all his majesty's subjects, both English and Scottish, himself only excepted, do in appearance (but for two or three of whom there is some subject of jealousy among the chief officers), I may say do honestly and constantly follow: But *quem video periisse, perditum duco.*

Here have been of late some unhappy bruits of his excellency's being slain when he was at Arnheim; and a day or two before his return a poor distracted fellow (a merchant of this country, who lost his wits for love of a fair maid in London) was taken and committed to prison for saying openly he would kill his excellency. Some writings have been set up in cypher upon the church door to which his excellency doth usually go, tending to the like purpose; and every day produceth on the one side or the other malicious and calumnious libels, in which monf. BARNEVELT is not spared, his birth, life, and actions being narrowly sifted; for which a poor drunken notary is laid hold on at Amsterdam, one DANKERKE."

*April 6.* Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

My lord embassador,

Since I wrote last to your lordship concerning the count of Embden, his majesty hath considered further of his motion, and willed me to let your lordship know, that when you shall have cause to see him, or speak with him, or send to him again, you may fall upon that subject, and give him hope, not of the first place, because his majesty is engaged; but that you understand so much of his majesty's mind, as that he hath a good disposition to do it, and will find a time to remember him, and to let him thereby see how much he doth esteem him.

I have seen your lady, who hath acquainted me with your lordship's desire to come home for a time; whereof his majesty hath yet said nothing to me.

There

There is an advertisement from mr. COTTINGTON, that a ship should be come into Spain from Florida, bringing advertisement, that certain Englishmen, 250 leagues from thence to the southward, had found a rich mine of gold, which sir WALTER RALEIGH's friends do hope to be himself. So I commend your lordship to God's protection, &c.

*April 14.* Secretary NAUNTON to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Whitehall.

SIR,

His majesty being informed of the indisposition of your health, is graciously pleased to give allowance for your coming over hither; so that you absent not yourself above the space of six weeks from your employment and charge there, in a time so much requiring your assiduity and vigilant attendance, which hitherto you have performed to his majesty's special good contentation. He makes account to hear once more from you of the instant estate of their proceedings and affairs before you shall embark hitherward; and that you will be careful to choose such a time, and to settle such a supply for your own discontinuance, as his highness's service there may receive the least prejudice that may be. And so with my hearty commendations, I commend you to God, and rest

Your very loving friend assured,

Whitehall, the 14th of April, 1618.

ROBERT NAUNTON.

*April 14.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE: sent by EDAM and MONTFORD.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

MURRAY the messenger, by whom I received your honour's letter of the 27th of the last, the 6th of this present, made after his arrival here a quicker journey into the other world; for sickening of a malignant fever (which is here very rife) on Friday last about noon, he died on Saturday night.

Your honour's other letter of the first of this present by the way of Zealand, came to my hands the 11th, and met with the news of the decease of ALBERSON of Enchuyfen, which was sent me the same day by the committee-council of Holland, to the end I should advertise his majesty. He died upon Easter-eve.

His companion CLIFF, of Rotterdam, should by appointment be by this time in England; and if this man had lived, there was no question of his being sent likewise to his majesty, as soon as he might have been able to travel. And I believe the request of sir NOEL CARON for three months respite proceeded of himself; for here (though the deputies of Enchuyfen were with me to let me know the continuance and danger of ALBERSON's sickness) I heard no such thing mentioned. Wherefore their intention being real to give his majesty satisfaction will the more facilitate the delivery of those Hollanders, which were imprisoned upon this occasion; which, to avoid such rumours as some malignant spirits do spread abroad at this time of his majesty's disaffection to this state, your honour may please seriously to recommend to his majesty.

Touching

Touching the embassage of Denmark, I can yet advertise your honour no more than formerly, the states not being yet assembled in full body, nor the final resolution of the provinces come concerning the same: but both are expected within a day or two. I shall with the first opportunity perform his majesty's pleasure in the business of Bremen.

His majesty's letter to the prince of Orange in congratulation of that title I delivered, and found to be expected, he having had the like from the king of France and other princes. And though the duke of Venice was dead, that senate did not omit the ceremony, but sent him a letter with a mourning label (as their use is in an *interregnum*) which did somewhat suit with the occasion.

Here is much plotting and practising against the next assembly of the states of this province, and that of the rest of the deputies; both which will be here at the Hague about the 7th of the next. His excellency goeth the plain and open way, professing his purpose to live and die in the maintenance of the reformed religion; and to this effect makes it known he intends to go to Overyssel, there to use the same endeavours as he hath done lately in Guelderland, whereby to prevent those dangerous inconveniencies in other provinces, which, like an incurable disease, have possessed all Utrecht, and the greatest part of this.

The Arminians of these two provinces have a kind of settled secret council for the most part resident at Tergow, where they have daily recourse to their oracle VORSTIUS.

They have done (as deer use, who push forwards the rascals) caused the least of their towns Schonoven to stop so much of their excise (whereby the army is paid) as may serve for the payment of 150 they have newly levied and armed in that town; which will be followed by Leyden, Harlem, and Rotterdam, when they see how this is digested; and Utrecht doth already detain under other provinces the contribution of the generality.

MONS. BARNEVELT, taking occasion of the libels and pamphlets, which are daily published against him, hath composed an apology, which he sends in written copies to the several towns of Holland; and therein under the cover of the earl of Leicester (the opposing of whose counsels he alledgeth as a most meritorious service to this state) he doth *mutato nomine* seek to make the prince of Orange odious, shewing how the earl by intelligence with the churches, and under pretext of religion, did aim at the suppressing of their liberty.

This will cause old matters to be ripped *usque ab ovo*, and the service done this state by the succours the earl brought over in their greatest extremity, and the ungrateful usage he found at some men's hands (who do now glorify themselves in their work, and after so many years burial trample upon his grave) to be remembered in that sort, that it had been better omitted. For his main error was, that he would have had the absolute disposal of the finances in this state; wherein he and the states understanding one another better, it is evident, if he had lived longer, the states had  
been



been suitors to the queen for his return. But this cannot be imputed to the prince of Orange, who in all the time of his service had never to do with more of their monies than his own entertainment.

There is a discourse likewise presented by monf. BARNEVELT, but penned by GROTIUS, to the towns of Holland, to puff up their spirits, telling them how the antient *Batavi* were *socii imperii Romani*, with such like pedantical stuff; concluding, because that Holland is more antient and greater and richer than the rest of the United Provinces, *ergo* they must have no national synod.

Another writing hath been given up by UTENBOGARD in the name of all the remonstrants, full of ironical conceits in this matter of synod, and proposing for a more proper remedy a course of arbitrement, as if it were a question of process.

In monf. BARNEVELT's *Apology* he desires for conclusion, in regard of danger to his person and family, to be received into the protection of the states. Whether this be yet presented or no, I know not, but understand it is in readiness. The other two I have seen.

All are *ad faciendum populum* against their next assembly, which will produce something worthy his majesty's knowledge. Mean time I have thought these preparations not unfit to be advertised. So I humbly take leave.

P. S. We have the news of the death of JOHN Dux *Ostrogotiae*, the brother to the king of Poland, by whose decease the king of Swede is much advantaged, both in his title and possessions.

A ship newly come into the Texel out of the East-Indies brings letters of a fight betwixt the Spaniards and the Hollanders in the Manillias, where the Hollander having but ten men of war, and those divided into two fleets, of six and four, one part of these was encountered by seven galleons and some gallies, and three of the best ships lost, one by fire, another sunk, the third stranded.

April 15. Secretary LAKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

My lord embassador,

I know not whether this will come to you by your man or no, for yesterday night he was with me, sent by your lady, to know if I would any thing to you; and then I had not. But this morning his majesty gave me order to write to your lordship; so I have sent to my lady for her man, if he be not gone, and will give him a packet; for I must send this else expressly.

The matter is but that upon sir ANDREW SINCLAIR's taking of his leave this day, his majesty hath given him all manner of assurance from the states of furthering his desire for Bremen, and a good intelligence to be held hereafter between them; and would have your lordship to hasten the sending of their ambassadors, as they intended;

M m

and

and his majesty doth by sir ANDREW SINCLAIR prepare the way to advance things to good terms between that king and them.

Also his majesty's pleasure is, that from time to time you advertise the king of Denmark of all things, which you shall think fit, especially that may concern himself, no less diligently than if you were his servant: and when any thing is of importance, and of haste more than the sending hither will abide, his majesty will not mislike, that you send expresse to him, or consider of ways how it may come speedily to his hands.

These be the two points of my charge. I have no other matter, but that we long to hear how your disputes there will be accommodated. So I rest, &c.

For your coming hither, I think your lordship heareth of it by some other way; for there is nothing said to me of it.

*April 16.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE.

Concerning WILLIAM CARMICHAEL's suit of four years standing for satisfaction of the Dutch East-India company for goods taken from him in 1612, at Hito in the Moluccas by the officers of that company.

*April 15.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by HERMAN.

That he was visited the day before, in the name of the states, by four of those five designed embassadors to the king of Denmark, viz. the count of Culenburg (who goes in the room of count ERNEST of Nassau, as chief, that count having excused himself), the two pensioners of Dort and Amsterdam, BERCK and PAETS, and BURMANIA, a gentleman of Friesland, and one of the states general. Another is to be added of Zealand, who is not yet nominated, but it rests between MAGNUS and JOACHIM, the ordinary deputies for that province at the Hague.

' The cause of their coming unto me was to acquaint me with their charge, which (as they said) tended chiefly to the framing good correspondence betwixt the king of Denmark and this state, and withal to endeavour, as much as lay in them, to draw the king unto the union of the protestant princes; offering for inducement hereunto their intercession in the business of Bremen to procure therein the king's contentment for his son, in case he thought fit to use them therein.

' Hereof they desired me to advertise his majesty, and withal to beseech his majesty's favour and furtherance in seconding their endeavours, either by way of embassy to the king of Denmark, or otherwise as would best please his majesty.

' I told them in answer, by that I have formerly understood of his majesty's mind in this occasion, that I was well assured this embassy would be very agreeable to his majesty; and that I made no doubt of his furtherance, as well in respect of the prince to whom, and the state from which, it was sent, as likewise of the subject thereof.

Where-

Whereupon I promised to dispatch an exprefs messenger to his majesty, with signification, both of their purpose and desire, and accordingly to let them understand his majesty's pleasure.

‘ Their going is commanded by the states to be speedy, whereby to hinder (if it may be) the farther progress of the king's levies, at which their friends the Hans towns take alarm.’

... ‘ I find by them, and likewise by what passed formerly betwixt monf. BARNEVELT and myself upon this occasion, that their chief desire is, his majesty would be pleased to send an embassy as well for the substance of the business, which might by that means be more effectually treated, as for the reputation of the good correspondence betwixt the two crowns and this state; which in the view of the world would well counterbalance the external demonstrations of strict and near friendship, which the emperor, the kings of Spain and Poland, and the archduke, do cherish of late by solemn embassages betwixt them and the king of Denmark for advantage of their affairs.

‘ Having spoken with monf. BARNEVELT since the designed ambassadors were with me, he told me one particularity, which they omitted, which was, that the states had resolved, upon the king of Denmark's letters (wherein he shewed some doubt, that the catholic league of Germany, assisted by the Spaniards, would put some papist by strong hand into the archbishopric of Bremen, to join their forces with those of the king of Denmark, and to withstand all such violence. He recommended thereupon very earnestly the sending of an embassy by his majesty to the king of Denmark, as well upon these occasions, as other of great consequence, advice being come hither, that at Augsburg a great sum of money is remitted out of Spain to the king of Poland: and that there is a decret lately given by the emperor in favour of the elector of Cologne against the duke of Brunswick for the bishopric of Hildersheim, the execution whereof is referred to the Spaniards: by which it appears, that the Spaniards and the catholic league of Germany have some great designs by the Baltic sea, and in those parts, where the king of Denmark's friendship and conjunction with the princes of the union may best prevent them.

‘ What his majesty shall resolve hereupon I will beseech your honour to let me understand by the soonest; and withal if it shall be his pleasure, I should say any thing to the states to this purpose, either to give me a letter of credence of a fresher date than that your honour sent me, which still lies by me, or without delivering any letter (which will be as proper, since they do not write to his majesty in this subject) to ordain what I shall say, which I shall readily perform, and hope it will be graciously interpreted by his majesty, that in the carriage of this business I have suspended his majesty's instance to the states, whereby to suffer them to be suitors to his majesty in a business, wherein otherwise his majesty should have fought unto them.’

... ‘ Immediately before those designed ambassadors, the prince of Orange was with me, to acquaint me with his going to Overyssel, which way he sets forward this day, intending to return by the time of the assembly of the states of Holland, which



is put off from the 7th of the next, *filo novo*, to the 15th; this prolongation being caused by the multitude of writings and discourses touching their present differences, which will ask time to be perused by their several towns; amongst which is monf. BARNEVELT's *Apology*, whereof my last made mention, he having, for the avoiding the labour of copying, printed the same. His son-in-law, VANDER MYLE, hath likewise an *Apology* in the press, in which he speaks big; and they hope by these writings to stop mens mouths: but they will prove like that, which was prophesied of PASQUIN, when by an angry pope he should have been flung into Tiber, that all the frogs in the river would be turned into PASQUINS; and frogs are more frequent in Holland than in Tiber.

‘ I hear of some, who have already the pen in hand to reply to these *Apologies*, notwithstanding that monf. BARNEVELT's request to the states to be received into their protection is changed into a remonstrance, with which he concludes, to have some course taken against libellers; wherein the deaf ear he lent lately to a suit I made to him in the same kind, turns now to his own prejudice.

‘ The French embassador is a plaintiff likewise for somewhat printed in disgrace of his predecessors, JEANNIN and BUZANVAL.’

The French embassador demands license to buy four ships of war for the duke of Guise to serve in the Mediterranean against the pirates. The states grant two.

The vice-roy hath written to the prince of Orange for liberty to buy four ships of war to be employed against the pirates. ‘ But it being here suspected, that the vice-roy's intention is to use them against the Venetians, at the instance of the Venetian resident, there are letters written by the states to the several admiralities to forbid them.’

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON sends a particular relation of the action between the Spanish fleet and some Dutch ships in the Manillias; and of another between the English and Dutch about a month before the other, in the isles of Banda.

That he shall make use of his majesty's leave to return to England on account of his indisposition, when his majesty's service and the affairs here will best suffer.

P. S. ‘ I send your honour monf. BARNEVELT's *Apology*, as I recovered the same leaf by leaf out of the press, which time would not suffer me to cause to be translated.’

*April 25.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Acknowledges the secretary's letter of the 14th, whereby he understood his majesty's pleasure touching his repair to England for a short time in regard of his health; but that he laid aside all considerations in respect of his majesty's service, so that he should not make use of his majesty's leave till towards the end of the next month, N. S. the assembly of the states (which was appointed the 7th of the same) being put off till the 15th, ‘ when these disputes will come to their issue; for in all appearance, either some

settled and orderly course by way of synod will be then resolved of, and in some fit time after prosecuted, which will hold this people in expectation; or else they will fall in every town to matters of fact; and that, which hath so long rested in question amongst the ministers, will be decided by soldiers and burghers; which will prove a hard match for the Arminian party.

‘ The prince of Orange goeth this day towards Overysfel to use the same endeavours he hath done lately in Guelderland; but he cannot promise himself the same success, by reason of a chief town of that province, Campen, which is wholly corrupted with Arminianism. Yet his presence will assuredly do much good, in confirming the well-affected in other places, and gaining such as are wavering.

‘ The Arminians are as sedulous in writing and discourses; those of that faction here in Holland having forestalled his excellency’s journey to Overysfel by a letter in the name of the states of Holland, containing many reasons against the national synod, the furtherance whereof is his excellency’s labour. But his excellency goeth furnished with a protest against the said letter from the well-affected towns of Holland; and a letter likewise of a contrary tenour in favour of the national synod, grounded upon those reasons, which your honour may (if you please) observe in a translated copy of a writing, which I send herewith.

‘ Monf. BARNEVELT, to stay his excellency’s journey, and divert him from this course, sent him a long letter this last week by his son-in-law, monf. VANDER MYLE, wherein he chargeth him in covert terms, to be the cause of the troubles of these countries, by lending his countenance and protection to the contra-remonstrants; and by representing unto him things past, present, and to come, concludes him to be in a wrong way, both in regard of the public, and likewise of his own particular.

‘ His excellency took time to peruse the letter, and a day or two following calling to monf. VANDER MYLE, as he passed by his window, told him, he neither admitted the premises nor the conclusion; many things which were set down in the letter *de facto* for true, being apparently false: whereupon he recounted a story of an old man, who in his youth having feigned many things, and told them often for truth, believed them, when he came to age, to be true indeed; and would take his salvation upon them: which he left to monf. VANDER MYLE’s application, and the letter likewise without farther answer.

‘ Both the father and son do now publish their *Apologies* in print upon occasion of certain libels, wherein they have been of late days very unworthily treated. But their ripping up of old matters, which have lain long buried, and disclosing many secrets of their own state, and that which hath past betwixt them and the queen of happy memory, and his majesty likewise, whereby to value their dexterity in negotiating, assuming that to themselves, which proceeded of the benignity of our princes, had been in most mens opinions better concealed; besides that they discover in some sort their own weakness; it being called to mind, how at the siege of Utrecht, which happened since the truce, monf. BARNEVELT being then advised by some to frame an apology for justification of their proceedings, his answer was, that apologies were then needful,



ful, when they were weak, and depended upon the favour and courtesy of others; *nunc autem* (said he) *domini sumus, & facimus quod volumus.*

‘An old gentleman (one BRINIUS of Guelderland, whose name his majesty will remember by what I have formerly advertised concerning him) being deported by the states of that province in their late assembly from bearing of office, had this particularity alledged, amongst others, against him, that he was a cause, by his correspondence with the duke of Newburgh, that the states and his excellency went not timely enough to the succour of Wefel, whereby that good religious town fell into the hands of the enemies to religion and this state: the scandal whereof hath been cast for a long space upon his majesty’s minister, who was here at that time. But now his majesty’s honour is repaired in this point, as they say in England, true men come by their goods. If I should go on with particularities of this kind not unworthy the observation, I should never end. I will therefore reserve the rest to communicate to his majesty, when I shall have the happiness to kiss his hands.’

Indorsed by the secretary, *shewed to his majesty* 3 May.

May  $\frac{18}{21}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary LAKE, by JOHNSON, with a book.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

By this ordinary of the Hague I would not fail to advertise your honour of what is occurred since my last of the 25th of April, sent by an express messenger; and therefore I expect answer with much devotion.

For the embassy to Denmark, monf. JOACHIMI is preferred before MAGNUS by those of Zealand; and he is indeed by many degrees the more able man. Their rendezvous is at Utrecht the  $\frac{11}{14}$  of this present; from thence to take their journey by land; which is contrary to the advice of the wisest of them, who apprehend, that the careffes, which they cannot avoid at Lubeck and other places in their passage, will give subject of jealousy to the king of Denmark, as if the embassy were general as well to the Hans-towns as to himself. But the count of Culemburg’s desire to appear in a coach (which he makes expressly for the journey, and goeth besides in very good equipage) made the shew preferred before the substance; this consideration being added, that time would be thereby gained for their being assisted by his majesty, if he shall be pleased upon the states request (which your honour understands at large by my last) either to write or send.

The French ambassador, monf. DU MAURIER, hath had audience this week past in the assembly of the states general, to complain of certain men, Flemings and Hollanders, to the number of 24, taken out of the French ships (set out by the East-Indian company of that nation) by the Hollanders at Java; whereby the French were disabled to perform their voyage; for which the ambassador doth not only demand restitution of the men, because they are naturalized French, but reparation likewise of the damages to those merchants, who set out the ships. At the same audience he made answer to the instance of monf. LANGERACK, the states ambassador in France, touching the liberty of commerce in that kingdom; which they here pretend



tend to be infringed by the restraint of exporting of goods in any ships but those of that nation; wherein the French do persist, alledging their antient laws and customs before the time of their late wars and troubles; which they will now bring again in practice; and upon this point the embassador doth stick, but pretends to have some new overtures drawn by the sea-faring men of that nation for the contentment of both parts; which he hath not yet produced. His complaint touching the two French ships, which were unmanned by the Hollanders at Java, is referred to the East-India company of this country to be answered.

This company now within four years of the expiration of their octroy, are suitors to the states to have the same renewed for fifty, forty, or at least thirty years; which is much stood upon by five of the seven provinces, in regard that Holland and Zealand are only interested therein; and the rest do now require to enter, so as they will not assuredly yield to a new grant without alteration in the conditions.

The states of Holland are for the most part assembled; only Dort and Amsterdam do detain the coming of their deputies until the return of the prince of Orange from Overijssel, where his stay is somewhat prolonged, by reason of difficulties he meets with by those of Campen, who are professed Arminians; and yet his presence doth prevail much to reduce them to reason concerning these new levies, and other points, wherein dispute about religion hath bred disorder in the state.

Those of Utrecht begin at last to waver in their opiniatrety, some of them in their council having broken through the bounds, wherein they were kept long close by one LEYDENBERG, and two or three more of his faction, and spoken plainly and openly, that they were in a wrong way, their proceedings being justly stiled *gravamina status*; and therefore they should do well in time to recollect themselves. Whereupon a resolution was taken, contrary to the advice and practice of LEYDENBERG, to send to the prince of Orange, and to invite him to their town, which he meant to have avoided; as likewise not to hold so strait a hand upon those who, avoiding the Arminian assemblies, sought others both within and without the town, and were before subject to penalties, but are now freed. The prince of Orange suffering himself more easily to be intreated to come to their town, than to be forbidden as he went last to Arnheim, was now entertained with as much honour as before with four looks.

I send your honour herewith monf. VANDER MYLE's book in the language as it is here printed, presuming that you are not unprovided of a fit translator. He is more angry than his father in his *Apology*, as it is his nature: but lays himself less open to obloquy (the *Apology* being generally condemned as full of vanities and indiscretions, even by monf. BARNEVELT's best friends), but concealing his name, he will be thereby the less spared.

Those of the states of Holland, which are now here to prevent such writings as are expected in answer of those books, do press for the most part (in gratification of monf. BARNEVELT) to begin with a placart against libels; which those of Enchuyfen do hinder, as they may, until the coming of their friends of Dort and Amsterdam.

Thus

Thus hath your honour the whole state of our affairs, which may scarcely be termed state affairs; yet such they are, as do chiefly entertain us; all others being past over *par maniere d'acquit*, though of never so great consequence in comparison of the highest of these circumstances: which must serve for excuse of giving your honour trouble. And so I humbly take leave\*.

June 9, 1618. Mr. WILLIAM COLWALL to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, then at London†: from the Hague.

An account of what passed at Leyden the day before sir DUDLEY CARLETON left the Hague, in a riot occasioned by seizing a burgher of Leyden, who had delivered a remonstrance to BARNEVELT, who had begun to read it in the assembly of the states general, but upon reading two or three lines threw it to the deputies of Leyden. The people of Leyden rising, the prisoner was set at liberty, but banished from thence by the magistrates for twenty years; but he still continued there, and related his story to the prince of Orange and the states general.

An ambassador arrives at the Hague the day before from Muscovy, who was displeased at not being brought in with more ceremony. He had audience that day.

Count WILLIAM arrived here this day about ten o'clock; but the deputies of Overijssel are not yet come. This night it is hoped they will be here, and that the next week (by God's help) there will be some good course laid down in the assembly of the states general for winding out of the labyrinth, wherein they are.'

June 11. The council of North-Holland and West-Friesland to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, to move his majesty for the transportation of iron ordnance.

July 28. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON, from Imworth.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

' By a messenger dispatched expressly unto me by sir HORATIO VERE from Utrecht, I have received these inclosed, by which is at large advertised the wise and resolute course the prince of Orange hath taken with the new levies of that town, whom he hath disarmed without blood, notwithstanding GROTIUS and other boutefeux, which were there present, did use their uttermost endeavours to put all into confusion. Mons. DE BOISSISSE will by this means come late for his business; and I hope to be there speedily, being promised my money this day, for which purpose I have one attending expressly at the Exchequer; and I have obtained of my lord admiral one of his majesty's ships for my passage, of which I will serve myself, in case that, which I have written for from the states, come not in time. So as if I be not forced to stay for his majesty's letters, I hope (God willing) to be on the other side of the seas at the

\* The preceding part of this volume is taken from a register book of sir DUDLEY CARLETON in the Paper-office, in which book the letters of the secretaries to him are entered, as well as his own. The remaining part is copied from a volume of his original dispatches, amongst which none of those from the secretaries are preserved.

† He returned thither May 30, 1618. See *Camdeni Annales Jacobi Regis*, p. 32.

end of this week. Going in his majesty's ship, I must pass by Zealand, where I hope to procure his majesty's better satisfaction of GORSON BUCERUS. These letters from Utrecht your honour may please to send with all expedition to his majesty, they treating of a subject, of which his majesty will be well contented to be informed.

P.S. 'I shall be this night at Eton to meet Dr. ASHWORTH, whither this bearer comes to me; and by him I shall gladly understand what your honour hath to command me.'

July 14. O. S. JOHN BOGARMAN to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

That, after the appointment of a national synod, the deputies of the cities of Holland, who favoured the remonstrants, were using their utmost endeavours to prevent it, *atque eo tandem (unius istius viri suasu) audaciæ processere, ut literas adversarias ad externos principes scribere decreverint, quibus eos à synodo deterrerent.* The prince of Orange and count WILLIAM had therefore ordered him the day before to write to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, to inform king JAMES of this, and to request his majesty not to pay any regard to those letters, *aut à sancto proposito deterri.*

*Ingens & stupenda est, says he, istius hominis [BARNEVELT] pertinacia, quam utinam aliquando Deus frangat, corque mortalis emolliat.*

July 20. Monf. RANDWYKE to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from the Hague.  
Account of the state of affairs in Holland.

That the deputies of the provinces had resolved upon a national synod, and an extraordinary embassy to the king of France, and to ask the advice of the prince of Orange, count WILLIAM, and the council of state, about disbanding the Waertgelders, who concurred in the opinion of the necessity of doing it.

That the embassy to France was deferred till BOISSISSE (who was thought to be on the road) was arrived and had opened his commission; *estant à croire, que son voyage & commission est procuré d'ici, à fin de faire soutenir le partie Arminien, comme le plus affectionné au service de sa majesté.*

'En outre nous entendans non sans regret, que le contract de mariage entre monf. le prince DE WALLIS & l'infante d'Espagne seroit déjà bien avancé, & en termes de pouvoir bientôt estre arrêté. On juge, que sa majesté de la Grande Bretagne estant en pleine autorité, prospérité & conservation de ses royaumes, ait bien moins de cause d'entrer en ceste alliance, que non pas eut la France estant dechuë de sa fortune après le decès du feu roy, & comblée de toutes sortes des miseres & confusions. Item que sa majesté par ce moyen ici establiroit un appui & accroissement des factions papales & des partialitez en son estat. Ce qu'on trouveroit tant plus estrange, pour ce qu'on cognoist les devoirs & soing loyal, que sa dicte majesté tousjours a employé au contraire, a grand bien de ses subjects, estant jusques à present servi en la conduite des affaires des personnes signalez & loyaux ministres. Dieu veuille conserver sa majesté & ses royaumes à plein contentement de ses subjects & ses allies.'

N n

July



*July 24 and 25.* N. S. Extracts of letters from the Hague.

‘ It was resolved the 23d of July in the assembly of the states general, that out of the well-affected provinces certain deputies should be chosen to accompany the prince of Orange to Utrecht, to treat with the states of Utrecht upon these four points :

- ‘ 1. The licensing their new levied soldiers.
- ‘ 2. The approving the national synod.
- ‘ 3. Their bringing in their consented quota.
- ‘ 4. The liquidation of their old debts.

‘ This being known to the Arminian faction in Holland, they dispatched the next day, with all diligence, GROTIUS and three others of their party to Utrecht, with commission to animate those of Utrecht against the prince of Orange and the states, and to give them assurance both in men and money, in case of need.

‘ The 25th the prince of Orange went to Utrecht, accompanied with seven of the states general selected out of the several provinces of Guelderland, Zealand, Friesland, Groningen, and Overysse, and likewise with all the chief commanders and captains that were about the Hague, count WILLIAM only excepted, who remaineth there to prevent inconveniences at home, whilst the prince of Orange is abroad.

‘ Monf. DE BOISSISSE, the extraordinary embassador out of France, was not as then arrived, but daily expected.’

*Aug. 1.* N. S. MAURICE prince of Orange from Utrecht to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, then at London.

Account of his proceedings at Utrecht.

‘ Messieurs les estats generaux ayans declaré & resolu, qu’ils trouvoient la levée des nouveaux soldats ou Waertgelders, qui à esté faicte par les menées de quelques unes, au nom des messieurs les estats d’Utrecht, contre le service de l’estat, & nécessaire, qu’ils fussent derechef cassez, ont député quelques uns des leurs, & requis à moy, pour nous transporter ensemble vers ici, & de procurer, que la dite cassation se mit es effect.

‘ Pour quoi faire les dits deutes & moy nous sommes adressés ensemble devers les dits seigneurs estats d’Utrecht, & avons faict tout le devoir, qu’il nous a esté possible, pour les induire de vouloir eulx mesmes mettre la dite cassation es effect. Ce que n’ayans peu obtenir par l’instigation de GROTIUS & quelques aultres, qui estoient venus icy, non obstant toutes les raisons pregnantes, que nous leur avons remonstré, touchant la necessité de cecy, si l’on vouloit remettre l’estat en sa premiere splendeur & concorde, semblablement oster les deffiances, qui y font resultes parmy les magistrats & communaultés; j’ay trouvé bon de mettre hier au matin de bonne heure toute la gendarmerie de ceste ville es armes, tant à pied comme a cheval, & apres avoir mis garde aux places & avenues principales d’icelle, je mis suis transporté ou lieu, ou que se tient ordinairement la garde capitale; & trouvant illecques garde une des dites compagnies Waertgelders, je leur ay faict quitter leurs armes, & commander de se transporter devers leurs logis, sans plus retourner es garde; comme je l’ay aussi faict  
faire,

faire, & commandé de mesme aulx aultres compaignies de leur forte; le tout ayant ainfi esté mis es effect au mesme instant sans aulcune altercation, ains au contraire avecq joye & contentement de tout le peuple. Et avons esté remercies les dits feigneurs deputés generaulx & moy de messieurs les estats d'Utrecht maintenant icy prefens. Voici es somme ce que s'est passé au dite affaire.' \* \* \* Vostre tres affectionné a vous faire service,

MAURICE de Nauffau.

P. S. ' Monsieur, puisque l'ambassadeur de France s'avance pres d'icy, je trouverois fort à propos, s'il pleut a sa majesté de la Grande Bretaigne, d'envoier aussi devers messieurs les estats generaulx au plustost quelque personnage de sa part; & croy que cela serviroit de beaucoup pour remettre nostre estat icy en repos.'

*Aug. 1.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON, from Westminster.

That this day, and not before, he had received all things, which belonged to his dispatch, and would that evening set forward to meet the king's ship at Margate, where he intended to embark for Zealand.

That it would be expected, that he should give some answer to the prince of Orange and others, touching his desire and their expectation of having some person extraordinary sent from his majesty to counterpoise mons. DE BOISSISSE; wherein if it would please his majesty to give them satisfaction, he should be very glad: but if his majesty would rather rest upon what he was able to perform, he would then take the boldness to make this overture:

' That his majesty would be pleased to write two other letters of credence, one to the states general, and the other to the prince of Orange, to this effect, that having before, in answer to their request touching the national synod, given me ample charge to satisfy their desire, he now finding by advertisement of those parts, that their schism in the church is converted into faction in the state, and that some present danger may ensue upon the question of maintaining or licensing these new levies, hath given me farther commission to interpose his authority for the quieting those differences, to the end the present inconveniences in the state may be avoided, and their future courses in the church proceeded in with the more sweetness.

' This extraordinary commission I do not desire to be accompanied with extraordinary title, because I rather affect substance than shew, when his majesty's service is interested: and I know not how far the Arminian faction would question my seance in the council of state, if I had the title of extraordinary ambassador. But having the charge without the name, I am in the same condition sir RALPH WINWOOD was at the treaty of the truce; and this is understood by the French to be no less important business, as it may appear by the choice made of BOISSISSE in place of the president JEANNIN, and his going so well furnished with crowns, as his majesty is advertised.'

Sir DUDLEY desires the same allowance as sir RALPH WINWOOD then had, by augmenting his provision of diet from five marks to four pounds a day, whereas sir RALPH's was augmented from forty shillings to four pounds.

P. S. 'The French agent hath been with me, and lamented much the freedom it pleased his majesty to use with him at his last audience, in saying he had given me instructions directly opposite to BOISSISE; which he saith he hath written both to BOISSISE and DU MAURIER. But I have wished him to make this interpretation, both of his majesty's speeches and his own letter, that in case (as he protests) BOISSISE hath not charge to favour and countenance the Arminians, my charge is to hold good correspondence with him, as with all other ministers of that crown.

'I send your honour the copy of a letter from the Hague, by which it will appear to his majesty what were monf. BARNEVELT's consultations there, whilst the prince of Orange was in action at Utrecht.'

July  $\frac{20}{30}$ . Letter from the Hague to sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

GROTIUS and others sent to Utrecht the day before the prince of Orange went thither.

The importance of that prince's and the deputies not coming back from thence *re infecta*.

That it is evident, *quanti ad propositum suum momenti advocatus* [BARNEVELT] *judicet esse statum Ultrajectinum; quo scilicet instaurato, desperandum ipsi sit. Nec dubium quin ipsi cum deserturi sint Hollandi, quorum animos calumniis & spe magnarum rerum implevit, atque etiamnum detinet. Legatus Gallicus BOISSISE nondum advenit. Videntur in eo magnam spem posuisse, ejusque adventum anxie indies expectare.*

'Ultrajectini jam decreverunt præfidiarios sponte suâ dimittere, atque id in mandatis habebant, uti in conventu ordinum general. declararent deputati ipsorum. Verum cum huc venissent, à proposito abducti, & Ultrajectum remissi sunt ab advocato, ut ad vetera consilia resumenda cæteros flecterent. Sic ille eversum ita quicquid bene erat consultum.

'Expende, quæso, illustr. ac gener. domine legate, quâ ratione rex vester nobis hoc paroxysmo afflictis subsidio venire queat. Si quid boni (potest sanè plurimum) in commodum & levamen causæ sanctæ attulerit, rependet rex ille regum mensurâ pressâ, agitâtâ & superfluente.'

*Advertissement à toutes bons inhabitants & amateurs de ces Pais Bas, pour etre leu de chascung, & estre imprimé au profond de leurs cœurs, occasioned by the placart published in the name of the states of Holland against libellous books and pamphlets in favour of monf. BARNEVELT.*

Aug. 11. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON, from Margate.

That he had been detained eight days there by a strong contrary wind; and was now ready to set sail, though with a scant wind.

That



That he had that instant received letters from Holland with monf. BOISSISSE's first proposition in the assembly of the states general.

That the states general (in whose assembly the well-affected are the strongest) hold matters of religion to be common to all the provinces; and the Arminians, who are the greatest part of Holland and Utrecht, maintain, that as well matters of religion, as of civil government, are peculiar to each province apart, to alter and change as may be overruled by plurality of voices.

*Aug. 8.* Mr. WILLIAM COLWALL to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from the Hague.  
Account of the insolences of the Waertgelders.

The burghers remonstrance to the states general upon their oppressions by the Waertgelders, and the refusal of their magistrates to hear or redress their grievances.

The states general resolved yesterday upon publishing a placart, that all magistrates of such towns, where the Waertgelders are, shall license them within 24 hours after the publication of this placart, or else to expect such a course to compel them thereunto, as they with the prince of Orange shall think good.

That Dr. BOGERMAN had told him, that a letter was written to those of Leyden to cashier theirs within twenty-four hours. And that monf. GOAGH told him, that as soon as they heard of this resolution, before this letter could be sent away, they voluntarily said, they would cashier them. 'And I am sure, they were in the afternoon with the prince twice; and so likewise those of Rotterdam; and now this morning both the French ambassadors from eight to ten o'clock, in the opinion of all, to seek to divert the prosecution of this placart, but rather to give leave and respite with commodity to cashier them themselves of their own accord, and that the magistrates of those towns might remain in their places; which is the mark, at which fundry of their deputies here have earnestly aimed at.'

That the prince of Orange, count WILLIAM, and others of note, and abundance of the good commons, wished earnestly for the arrival of sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

'Your lordship's barber here (whose familiarity with great mens faces hath bred in him a custom of boldness) told me he had this morning trimmed monf. VANDER-MYLE and GROTIUS, and, as he saith, told them both, that the world did say they both must be put down, asking GROTIUS, if he would not sell his place? when he answered, *no. You will, said he, surely have it taken from you.* Then replied he, *I will put on again my lawyer's gown, and prate in court as I formerly have done.* This is a jest by the way; but certainly monf. AERSSSENS doth follow the former so closely before the commissioners, that he begins now to fly from his own challenge, and prays earnestly, that the cause may be laid aside till this ambassador hath ended his business; but it is denied him. He without doubt fears shame.

'I have also shewed your lordship in my last, that there is money come out of France, which, as monf. DU MAURIER in his last proposition hath declared, is for the  
year

year 1618; and that the arrearages of 15, 16, and 17, shall be by equal portions paid in certain limited months, which the states general so understand and require to have it paid into their comptoir; but the states of Holland say it belongs unto them, as part of what they have disbursed; and to this end (as I am informed) have seized themselves thereof.

*Aug. 14.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON, from Middleburgh:  
That he landed the day before upon the flat strand in that island of Walkeren.

That he had expostulated with the deputies of that province that morning about GERSEN BUCERUS's book, which they disavowed, as written and published without their knowledge.

That he had committed to his chaplain the letter recommended to him by Dr. YOUNG, dean of Winchester, by way of answer to that of BUCERUS to his majesty, to deliver to BUCERUS.

‘ I have here met with the states placart concerning the cashiering of the new levies (which they call Waert-gelders) whereof I send your honour a translation. It was published the 11th of this present by sound of drum, notwithstanding the Arminians used great instance to have the same suspended, offering a voluntary cashiering of them.’

*Aug. 19.* O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON, from the Hague.  
Inclosing his letter to his majesty of that date.

That there is now *securis ad radicem* of the Arminian faction.

*Aug. 19.* O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the KING, from the Hague.

‘ May it please your majesty,

‘ My first advertisements from this place, where I arrived on Tuesday night late (and sooner the wind would not possibly suffer) are of that consequence, that I hold it my duty to address them (and that with all diligence) to your majesty's own royal hands, without attending my first audience, whereof in due time I will give your majesty an account; the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM having excused their visits until this day; and until I have had speech with them, I shall forbear demanding my access to the states general.

‘ Yesterday being Wednesday, about nine in the morning mons. BARNEVELT being going to the assembly of Holland (to which the way lies by the prince of Orange's lodgings in the court) was called up by a servant of the prince under colour to speak with him; and there in the first room was stayed by the lieutenant of his excellency's guard, and arrested prisoner in the name of the states general. The like was done to GROTIUS and HOGEBETS, the one a pensioner of Rotterdam, the other of Leyden, but so like of disposition, that *qui utrumvis norit, ambos noverit*.

‘ They

‘ They were presently parted into several rooms of the prince’s lodging, where they remained that day as close prisoners, without suffering any to have communication with them; and to their number were added the lords of ASPEREN and SCAGEN, both Hollanders, who in the afternoon being both full *vino & ira*, offered with violence to have entered the chamber, where monf. BARNEVELT was kept; but they were again released before night.

‘ There is order gone to Utrecht for the retention of one LEYDENBERGH, who hath been long secretary of that province, and was dismissed from that charge at the prince of Orange’s late being there; and in that province are like to be brought into question SULEN the bailiff, GOIR the treasurer, with RISENBERGH and MUSBERGEN, two of the states.

‘ An account was given hereof the same morning from the states general by express deputies to all the public ministers in this place, in conformity to a translated copy, which I send your majesty herewith of a publication, which was that evening printed and affixed in all the corners of the streets.

‘ To the deputies (whereof one was of Guelderland, the other of Friesland) which came to me, and added to my welcome to this place this relation, saying farther, that these men being discovered to be the boutefeux in this state, there was no way left for the quiet and repose thereof, but by restraint of their persons; and that they hoped in that consideration your majesty would not disallow of their proceedings, they having found so many and so great effects of your majesty’s favours tending to the same end of the preservation of their state: I answered only in general terms, that I presumed so much of their wisdoms, that they would not proceed in this manner but upon good ground; and that being made apparent, such was your majesty’s love to this state, that I presumed you would not disallow of any lawful proceeding, which might tend to the quiet and repose thereof.

‘ Monf. DE BOISSISSE to the like message made (as I am informed) the like answer in the name of his king, without discovering any imaginable dislike of the accident, either by word or countenance: but there was observed in monf. DU MAURIER, the ambassador resident, much alteration, he making answer (when the deputies insisted upon the point, that what they had done, was done upon mature deliberation) in these few words only, *je le veux croire ainsi*.

‘ Monf. DE BOISSISSE is upon his departure, finding small use of being here, as the affairs of these provinces stand; which he perceives to be much different from the state and condition of them, as they were conceived in France, when he was dispatched from thence, they seeing in that court only by DU MAURIER’s eyes, and he giving his advertisements according to the humour of monf. BARNEVELT and VANDER-MYLE, by whom he hath always suffered himself to be totally governed, inso-much that monf. DE MARQUET, the lieutenant general of the horse (who was sent thither lately by the prince of Orange), brings relation, that he observed there nothing of those parts so contemptible in the mouth and opinion of most men, as the states general and the prince of Orange, nor nothing so highly magnified as the Arminian  
party



party in Holland and monf. BARNEVELT; as if thefe laft had been the fubftance of the ftate, and the reft but the fhadow: and accordingly at his firft coming he did govern himfelf, having been then avouched only by DU MAURIER, BARNEVELT, VANDER-MYLE, and thofe of that party; the prince of Orange being then at Utrecht, at whofe return, feeing the courfe affairs took there, he was better edified, and thereupon framed his public propofition (whereof I fent your majefty, through mr. fecretary NAUNTON's hands, a copy from Margate) with greater moderation than had been his private difcourfe: to which he received yefterday the anfwer in fair and general terms; only in particular the ftates infift upon their former requelt to the king, that he will give permiffion that fome of the reformed churches may come to their fynod.

‘ The difpute about this anfwer amongft the ftates of Holland is the true caufe of thefe apprehenfions: for on Saturday laft the fame being debated in their affembly, monf. BARNEVELT laying firft hold of the words in the propofition, *vofre eſtat ayant pour baſe & fondement l’alliance & confideration traité entre vos provinces ſous certaines conditions, qui regardoient la conſervation de la republique en general, & de chacune province en particulier, &c.* and after upon thefe, *le roy, mon maître, ne ſçait point la caufe de vos diviſions, vous ne luy en avez rien déclaré, &c.* preſſed earneſtly to have the caufe laid open to monf. DE BOISSISSE, and the power of every province in particular, without obligation to the generality, in a matter of this nature, expreſſed; and thereupon the deciſion of this difference to be referred unto him: and to this end, with ſecret underſtanding betwixt theſe two, it is thoſe words were ſo inſerted in the propoſition.

‘ This was much withſtood by the deputies of the good towns in that affembly, and by the ftates general utterly rejected, upon remembrance, that heretofore it being wiſhed and deſired by many well-affected perſons, that the compoſition of the church differences might be referred to your majeſty and the prince Palatine, monf. BARNEVELT answered, that whiſt he lived, and had authority, they would neither paſs *mer ni mon-tagnes* for any thing that belonged to their government either in church or ſtate. It was therefore found exceeding ſtrange, that he, that excluded the intervention of two proteſtant princes, ſo great friends to the ſtate, ſhould now deſire to refer all to the arbitrement of a popiſh prince, ruled by Jeſuits, and a popiſh embaffador, who, though a moderate man, yet is zealous in his religion.

‘ GROTIUS and HOGEBETS in the point of the fynod (to which they were likewiſe to answer, becauſe of the demand of ſome divines out of France to aſſiſt at the ſame) made new projects at the ſame time, that the national fynod ſhould not have abſolute power, but refer to a general council; and that none ſhould be bound to appear at the fynod but ſuch as would come of their own accord: which claufe he would have inſerted in favour of VORSTIUS, VENATOR, and ſuch like fellows, who may be in danger to be perſonally queſtioned.

‘ The ſtates general finding theſe men to continue in their wonted opiniatreté and deſign *perturbare omnia*, gave order to thoſe their committees, who were with the prince of Orange at Utrecht, to do that, which they ſhould think beſt for the quiet and ſafety

safety of the state; who with secret understanding with the deputies of the good towns of Holland, on Monday last, resolved of this retention, which was executed the day following.

‘ VANDER-MYLE was with me at the instant that his father was taken, who had neither knowledge nor suspicion thereof: and it may seem strange, that a resolution passing so many hands, in a place so open as this is, should be concealed from those who took themselves to be the only considerable persons in the state; and it was almost two hours after the fact before their friends had any knowledge thereof.

‘ BARNEVELT put on a good countenance, and seemed to take pleasure in discourse with the ensign of the guard, who hath the custody of him, inquiring particularly what was the voice of the people. GROTIUS was as much cast down, and silent. HOGEBETS demanded ink and paper, which was refused him.

‘ The states being presently assembled, and they entering into consultation touching this business, those of the Arminian faction being demanded their advice, as well of what was past as *de agendis*, were much confused. In the end mons. DE MATINESSE, one of the curators of Leyden, excused their silence and distraction, saying, *You have taken from us our head, our tongue, and our hand; and therefore you must expect nothing from us but to sit still and look on.*

‘ There is a prison preparing for these three in the court where the admirauté of Arragon was kept; and thither they are to be removed from the prince of Orange’s lodging this night.

‘ This action is diversely censured; by the well-affected party generally applauded, as the only means left for security of the state; by the Arminians as much condemned, as violent and insufferable *in liberâ republicâ*; by indifferent men (whereof there are few in this heat of contestation) judged unnecessary, because the synod seemed concluded, and the new levies were in all places absolutely licensed.

‘ The prince of Orange and the count WILLIAM, both coming in company to visit me now I am writing (and about them, besides their own train, great numbers of people even to my very door), I let them know, amongst other discourse, the speech of the world; to which they answered, that however the synod was resolved by most, yet was it contradicted and traversed by these three: and for the new levies, they now licence the colonel and other officers in chief, as they had done the soldiers; understanding by the colonel BARNEVELT, and the other two by the other officers.

‘ That, which will be chiefly laid to their charge, will be their going to Utrecht, when the prince of Orange and the states deputies were there, and their demeanor in that place; where they first sought to practise the soldiers of the generality, and to that effect carried letters of credence with them (as may appear to your majesty by a translated copy of one to sir HORATIO VERE, the like whereunto was delivered to the rest of the captains, which were upon the repartition of Holland), but failing of that

purpose, dealt with the new levies and the burghers of that party to stand upon their strength; so as if their advice had been followed, they had put all into blood.

‘ The prince of Orange doth acknowledge to have been well assisted in that place by your majesty’s subjects of both nations: only he rests ill satisfied of the governor, sir JOHN OGLE, not only for his former carriage of himself, but likewise for secret meetings he is accused to have had by night with GROTIUS and HOGEBETS, whilst they were at Utrecht; for which I find there is a purpose to take his government from him, if he have not the foresight to resign the same, whereby to prevent the disgrace.

‘ The count ERNEST is now left there as chief, and the whole government of the province is altered; whereby in the assembly of the states general the voice of that province is added to the rest of the well-affected; and here remains no more of the Arminian party but the eight confederate towns of Holland, who are now like a body without a soul.

‘ To prevent all popular emotions, the prince of Orange, by order of the states, hath sent for 100 men of count ERNEST’s company, 100 of sir HORACE VERE’s, 60 of sir CHARLES MORGAN’s; all which will be here this day, and shall be lodged in this town. Mean time the whole company of his excellency’s guard do remain in arms, and so have done ever since the apprehension of these men.

‘ I have not omitted at this first meeting with the prince of Orange to make him sensible of your majesty’s insatisfaction in his answer and theirs of Zealand touching GERSON BUCERUS: and therein I find him as ready to procure your majesty full contentment, as he is heartily sorry for the cause of your distaste; which both he and count WILLIAM doth ascribe rather to the indiscretion than malice of the person, with whom your majesty is so justly offended.

‘ Your majesty’s letters unto them I do not deliver until I have had audience with the states general; which I intend to demand against to-morrow morning.

‘ I have had a visit this morning likewise of count HENRY, who came to me as solitarily as his brother was well accompanied. Of mons. DE BOISSISSE I hear nothing, and I shall not much inquire after him. DU MAURIER hath sent me word I shall see him at his first leisure, which I shall answer after the same manner.

‘ It were a wrong to the courtesy of the magistrates of Middleburgh and Dort not to acknowledge it to your majesty, they having defrayed me, and furnished me with fit commodity of shipping in both places; and in Rotterdam I found as great signs of a revolution by the importunity of the magistrates of that place to stay me the whole night; which when I would not yield unto, they accompanied me on the way, and furnished me with boats to this town: which I note the more willingly to your majesty, because their use hath formerly been (of which I have had experience myself) to suffer your majesty’s ministers to lodge in their town, and pass through, unsaluted.



‘ I will end with addition of my most hearty prayers to those I find here in all honest mens mouths, for your majesty’s long life, perfect health, and prosperity. So for the present in all humility I take leave.

• Your majesty’s most faithful subject and servant,

From the Hague this 19th  
of August, 1618.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

*July 25.* French translation of a letter delivered at Utrecht by GROTIUS and HON-  
GERBETS to sir HORATIO VERE.

‘ MONSIEUR,

‘ Il vous est, & à chacun, notoire, que la plus grande, haulte, & moyenne com-  
mandements en la guerre, tant à cheval qu’à pied, estants à nostre charge payment,  
font tenus & obliges d’estre subjects fidels & obeissants à la province & villes d’Hol-  
land & West Frise, contre la defence de l’ennemy commun, pour conserver iceulx estats  
de la respective province, en laquelle ils sont employez, aussi pour observer & faire  
observer leurs resolutions (en estants admonestez) sans aucunement s’y opposer ou at-  
tenter à l’encontre de mesme, ne souffrir qu’aulture le face, mais de les y assister.  
comme il est convenable: et combien que nous avons pleine confiance, que vous  
acquitterez deuement de vostre debvoir en cecy, tant au regard des pais & villes  
d’Hollande & West-Frise, comme de la province & ville d’Utrecht, principalement  
en ce temps calamiteux, avons neanmoins trouvé convenable par ceste de vous admo-  
nester serieusement, comme aussi feront & entendiez de plus pres nostre intention de  
nos deputez illecq, que nous voulons d’estre entendus, creus, & respectez par vous,  
comme nous mesmes. A tant monf. prions Dieu de vous avoir en la saincte garde.  
De la Haye, ce 25 de Juillet, 1618.

‘ Estoit signé, Vos bons amis, les estats d’Hollande & West-Frise, & à l’ordonnance  
d’iceulx. Superscription,

*A Monsieur*

*Monsieur le General HORATIO VERE.’*

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON’s note in the margin of this letter.

‘ It is to be observed in this letter, that there is no mention made of the states general  
and his excellency; whereas the soldiers of the generality are bound by oath to be  
obedient to their commandments.’

*Aug. 20.* Sir EDWARD VERE to secretary NAUNTON, from the Hague.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup> sir,

‘ Having understood both by sir HORACE VERE and my uncle VAVASEUR, how  
it hath pleased you to take honourable notice of me, I could not choose but make  
this acknowledgment, with the offer both of my love and service for those favours  
proceeding so freely and so nobly from you, without the least desert of my part.

O o 2

Once

Once for all I must confess myself your affectioned servant, and will approve myself so in all occasions, wherein you shall please to command and employ me.

‘ This duty being discharged, I will now take the boldness withal to make you partaker of the common joy in these parts. You have heard, and, I am sure, are very well acquainted with the practices, that have been here for many years followed by our great advocate, BARNEVELT, and his associates of the league; as also what credit and authority he hath had here and abroad. All this greatness is suddenly fallen, and with it the bitterest enemy, and the most dangerous to our state, besides a contemner of his majesty’s person and actions. Yesterday as he was coming to the council-house in his carroche, being now something near approached to the court, his excellency sent his chamberlain to let him understand, that he would speak with him. At his entrance into his bed-chamber, the lieutenant of the guards told him, that he had order from the general states to arrest him; which at first amazed him, answering only, *who?* *me?* the other replying *yes*, and that he would shew him the chamber where he was appointed to abide, he obeyed. Presently after GROTIUS and HOGEBBETS, two other main heads of the league, were served in the like manner, and remain as yet all in several chambers; but we look this day to have them removed to the prison; as also divers others, as magistrates of towns and governors.

‘ This day there is a proclamation published by the general states against those three persons by name, shewing, that the discovery of dangerous and bloody plots hath given them just occasion to lay hold of these men for the settling of the public quiet, and declaring their meaning to examine them, and to bring them to account. I make no question but you shall shortly understand of many important and perillous correspondences and practices concerning both this state and ours. This is certain, GOD hath given a great deliverance to his church, the truth whereof these men, even with the subtilties of the devils, have sought to undermine and overthrow. As occasion shall give me leave and means to salute you, I will intreat your leave, that I may trouble you with my letters; as also that you will be pleased to continue your good opinion of me, and to command

Hague this  $\frac{22}{30}$  August,  
1618.

Your honour’s affectionate servant,

EDWARD VERE.<sup>2</sup>

*Aug. 28.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON, from the Hague.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ Your honour may please to advertise his majesty what is occurred in these parts since my first dispatch from this place by MARTEN the post of the 19th of this present; whereof herewith, for more assurance in the delivery, I send your honour a duplicate.

‘ I do therein shew the reason of the delay of my audience with the states general, which was that I might first speak with the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM, whereby to direct my speech for the best advantage of the affairs. Two days following I went into their assembly, where what I said in conformity to his majesty’s letters of credence and instructions, your honour will receive in a copy apart.

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‘ The answer, which was wont to be given by monf. BARNEVELT, as the mouth of that assembly, was now made by the president (as in right it should be) and that in few but good words; that the states general, in the name of their provinces, did acknowledge their great obligations to his majesty for his continual favours, and particularly for his good advice and counsel in this troublesome time; which was accompanied with help and assistance, they being as ready to prevail themselves of the one, as resolved to follow the other, and to pay his majesty the fruits of their best service in recompence.

‘ That afternoon I went to his excellency and count WILLIAM, and accompanied the delivery of his majesty’s letters with language in conformity to the contents of them; which they both answered with much thankfulness and manifestation of a zealous devotion to his majesty’s service.

‘ I renewed at that time to the prince of Orange the remembrance of the satisfaction his majesty doth require touching GERSON BUCERUS; and the day following spoke to the deputies of Zealand to the same purpose, who came unto me to my house, being six in number, and in quality the best of that province. Both they and the prince have written seriously to the states of Zealand, who hold their assembly the 30th of this present at Middleburgh; and I hope from thence his majesty shall receive such answer, as will be to his contentment.

‘ The prince of Orange hath put me in mind to call upon the publication of the states placart against the *Balance*, a book, which was here printed against me, and therein his majesty’s honour much interess’d. The states general wrote immediately to those of Utrecht, who now hold their assembly of the states, to put the same in execution; which they did the more willingly to have their authority acknowledged in all the provinces, as likewise in regard of TAURINUS, the supposed author thereof, a factious and seditious minister, who being fled for fear of being laid hold of, this placart being published (as now it will be, by reason of the change of the magistrates in Utrecht) will serve as an handle against him.

It fell out, that the same day this was propos’d, the French embassador both extraordinary and ordinary having formerly made a proposition (whereof your honour hath herewith the copy) against monf. AERSENS, requiring in the name of the French king to have him punished for certain passages in his writings against monf. VANDER-MYLE, prejudicial, as they say, to the king their master and his council, insisted earnestly for answer, which was then resolved to be given them, as it was presented afterwards in writing to monf. BOISSISSE, according to the copy of one from the states and another from monf. AERSENS, both which I send likewise herewith: which being brought unto him by certain deputies from the states, he refused to accept them, and went presently to audience, where he said, that the king his master should not enter into process with AERSENS, but that the states were to give him a determinate answer, whether AERSENS had done well or not; and according to their judgment of the cause, he required they would proceed with the person. At that instant he took leave, using large discourse, which he presented not in writing, but was to this effect; that in their differences they should come to some settled agreement, that  
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the king his master might know with whom he held alliance; and then he would embrace them with his wonted affection: that they would, as they had given him an account of the restraint of monf. BARNEVELT, and the other prisoners, exprefs to the king his master the true caufe of their retention: that they give fatisfaction for certain fubjects of thefe provinces naturalifed in France, which were taken by their men out of the French fhips by force in the Eaft-Indies.

‘ Touching AERSENS, fince monf. DE BOISSISSE refuseth to accept his answer, the ftates refer the examination of the whole matter to certain committees, who fhall hereafter treat concerning him, more particularly with monf. DU MAURIER. For their bringing themfelves to a fettled eftate, they fay they omit no care nor diligence, as may appear by the imprifoning of thefe perfons, which is done to that end; and hereof they promife to fend the king a more particular relation hereafter. Concerning thofe of thefe provinces, whom they took out of the French fhips in the Eaft-Indies, they infift upon the answer they have formerly given by their embaffador in France. And thus with a prefent of a chain of 400 *l.* value for himfelf, and 60 apiece for each of his two fons, is this extraordinary embaffador difmiffed.

‘ His charge (as I am informed) confifted of thefe three heads: the firft to fupport monf. BARNEVELT as the *feul bon François* in thefe provinces. The fecond to fuppreff monf. AERSENS as an enemy to monf. BARNEVELT. The third to conteft with the prince of Orange touching the principality of Orange; in which he was to prevail himfelf of fuch documents he brought with him for the French king’s right thereunto, and to ufe them as a bridle to rule and govern the prince: and after he had held a hard hand upon him, to loofen the reins, whereby, in confideration of favour fhewed him in this bufinefs, to make him run a courfe with BARNEVELT; and betwixt them both to overthrow AERSENS, partly for their own quarrels, and now laftly for the rough handling of BARNEVELT’s fon-in-law VANDER-MYLE, who, next to BARNEVELT himfelf, was in this place the chief friend to the French.

‘ He began with the laft point, touching the principality of Orange, in which the prince refufing to view his papers, faying he would not entertain a fuit with the French king, but reft upon the right left him by his anceftors; the fecond accident of the feizing upon monf. BARNEVELT fucceeded contrary to his expectation; which made the third point concerning AERSENS fall out in that fort, that notwithstanding thefe fharpe and violent complaints, he ftill remains *rectus in curia*; and the embaffador, who hath the reputation of wifdom and integrity, departs ill fatisfied for having been embarked in ruinous commiffions; which he imputes to the ill informations and paffions of monf. DU MAURIER; upon which it is thought he will not fear to caft the blame of his negotiation, when he comes into France.

‘ VANDER-MYLE is fecretly retired from hence: the common voice faith he is gone into France. UTENBOGARD, the chief of the Arminian preachers, who had a double charge, one in the French, another in the Dutch church here at the Hague, is gone likewise; and, as they fay, to Wefel, where he married his wife. Others of that faction, who have been moft bufy in thefe affairs, play leaft in fight.

‘ LEYDEN-

‘ LEYDENBERGH, the secretary of Utrecht, having been examined since his retention in that town (where he hath his house for prison, but is kept close in it with strict and strong guard) by two of the states deputies expressly sent for that purpose, doth charge BARNEVELT as the motive of all the late proceedings in that province.

‘ Those we have here in hold, BARNEVELT, HOGEBETS, and GROTIUS, were removed from his excellency’s lodgings to their prison in several chambers two days after their retention.

‘ BARNEVELT was much dejected at his first coming into that place, crying out with tears, *my sins, my sins, my sins*. Since he hath made often inquiry, whether the enemy or the people do not stir: of neither of which we see any sign. He was once discovered climbing up to a window, which is laid to him, as if he would have made an escape: but he excuseth it, as if he sought only to take air. He is now the third advocate of Holland in succession, who hath been subject to this disgrace; VANDER-END being the first, who died in that place in prison; and PAUL BUYS the second, who was likewise imprisoned and degraded, but afterwards delivered.

‘ The prince of Orange, whilst BARNEVELT is in hold (who being at liberty made his proceedings *Penelopsis telam*) for fear of the mutability of these men’s minds, who have taken this resolution, loseth no time in settling the affairs of this province; and for this purpose went yesterday to Sconeoven, to put out the Arminian magistrates, and place others in their rooms: which is the only way to dissolve the league of Arminian towns, and give the well-affected the advantage of voices in their public assembly. But this will be a thing of hard digestion, and subject to more noise in dealing with towns than with provinces; because what the prince did before by his journies into Guelderland and Overysse, and now lastly into Utrecht, was done in the name of the states general, and with their assistance: What he now doth is by his own authority, as governor of the provinces, which will raise much clamour, that he doth press upon the liberty of their towns. But affairs are brought to that exigent, that it is no time to prefer *rumores ante salutem*.

‘ The states of Holland, who did separate upon the imprisonment of their advocate, to give account thereof to their towns, do meet again on Monday next; when I shall hope to find them better disposed than formerly to receive the like impressions, as other provinces have done, of his majesty’s good advice and counsels; and until fit time I shall defer presenting his majesty’s letters, and demanding audience in that assembly.

‘ There is now no use of my going to Utrecht; yet I have acquainted the prince of Orange what commission I had from his majesty, that it might appear unto him, nothing was omitted by his majesty, which he judged expedient for the public service.

‘ It falls out likewise by the good success of affairs, that those other letters from his majesty, of which, as matters then stood, I thought it my duty to put his majesty in mind, would have been superfluous. But though it had pleased his majesty to have consented to that part of my humble desire, which concerned myself, I assure your honour,

honour, there would have been no superfluity. For I have much ado, with my former loss, by reason of slack payments of my money, and my present charge in regard of the condition of the time, to strive with necessity. Howsoever I render your honour my due thanks for making my state known to his majesty, whereof I will promise myself, that his majesty, when he seeth his own time, will please to have a gracious consideration. So I humbly take leave,

Your honour's most faithfully to be commanded,

From the Hague this 28th of  
August, 1618.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

‘ P. S. I have omitted to advertise your honour, that I have been solicited by the wives of VANDER-MYLE and GRUNDEVILLE (son to BARNEVELT, who came to my house as to other public ministers), to intreat me to mediate with the states and the prince of Orange, that their father, in regard of his age and indisposition, might have his house for his prison; which I excused as a matter of that nature, wherein I could not shew myself without commandment from his majesty.

‘ Sir JOHN OGLE hath likewise written unto me to deal in his behalf with the prince of Orange, who, if he had followed in time the advice I gave him by commandment from his majesty, would not have been in need of intercession. One FAMA, a colonel of this nation, is like to have his government.

‘ My Lord of Oxford is come into this country in his way for England.

‘ There hath been no correspondence since my coming hither betwixt mons. BOISSISSE and myself; the excuse whereof to his majesty for my part I recommend to my lord marquis of Buckingham.’

Aug. 28. Sir THOMAS LAKE to secretary NAUNTON.

That no post was come with letters from Holland; but that QUESTER had brought him just then the placart of the states general upon the imprisonment of BARNEVELT, HOGEBETS, and GROTIUS, which came over by a pink of Flushing. ‘ I thought good, *says he*, his majesty should know it. If mons. DE BOISSISSE's going have wrought none other effects, he will have no great honour of his journey.

• ‘ I would be glad to hear from you something concerning myself of some comfort concerning my suit, having never yet heard any: And I beseech you, let his majesty see this mine humble suit, in hope whereof I rest yours to do you service.

THOMAS LAKE.’

Aug. 29. N. S. Placart in Dutch of the states general, upon the imprisonment of BARNEVELT, HOGEBETS, and GROTIUS.

English translation of that placart.

Aug.



*Aug. 29. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.*

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I have detained my messenger until the French embassador, monf. DE BOISSISSE’s departure, whereby to advertise his majesty of the last act of his play.

‘ The chain, of which I write in my dispatch, being brought him yesterday about noon by certain deputies of the states general, he refused to accept thereof, saying, that since they would not vouchsafe to enter into communication with him touching these their important affairs, about which he was expressly sent, they making no use of his presence, he could not excuse himself to the king his master, if he should take their present. This answer being returned to the states, and he gone out of the town before the reply could come, three of them were sent after him to Rotterdam (where they are now) to fasten it upon him, if it be possible. He was conducted out of the town by the count HENRY and count WILLIAM.

‘ The prince of Orange (against whom he doth except for being absent both at his coming and going) arrived on Thursday night at Schonehoven, where the count ERNEST met him from Utrecht, possessed himself of the Stadthouse with forty musqueteers, which he brought with him in waggons, and alighted not until he came into the market-place.

‘ Yesterday the magistrates were changed in that town; such as have suffered in these late contentions (whereof two had their houses pulled down, which they lent for preaching places to the people, who abandoned the Arminian churches) being placed in the room of those who were then in authority. Those, who are now excluded, cry out upon these, by whom they say they were abused, laying the blame upon BARNEVELT and the Arminian preachers.

‘ The prince was not yesterday resolved, whether he would go to Gorcum before his return: but he will assuredly go to the Brill, to settle the magistrates there, as a place of most importance; and from thence come back by Delft for the same purpose.

‘ Until the towns be thus reformed, that he may have plurality of voices in the assembly of Holland, he doth not proceed against their advocate. But mean time matter is preparing against him; and all those, who of late days have spread writings against him secretly for fear of his authority, do now discover themselves, and bring in their informations.

‘ I have heard some of the states repent themselves of a great error, that when they took him, they did not seize themselves of his papers. Others begin to be sorry they are gone so far, now they see how matters proceed, and they know not where they will rest.

‘ I will not fail diligently to advertise his majesty of all occurrents; and I shall humbly desire, that his majesty having (as he shall, God willing, from time to time)

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a true and particular account of these affairs, that he will be pleased to give me his directions for that which in his princely wisdom shall seem best for his service. So I humbly take leave.

Your honour's most faithfully to be commanded,

Hague this 29th of Aug. 1618.

DUDLEY CARLETON,

Sept. 8. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ Your honour’s letters of the last of August came to my hands by this bearer WILLIAM DIESTON the 4th of this present, very opportunely to satisfy the prince of Orange, and such of the states as rested with great and earnest desire to know how his majesty understood the apprehension of BARNEVELT, with the rest of their proceedings; wherein though they wanted before no comfort or encouragement I could give them in private, yet I thought it not fit, in presence of their public deputies, to pre-judge what should come from his majesty.

‘ To the same deputies (who, upon my desire to speak with them, came unto me by order of the states) I delivered, the same day of the receipt of your honour’s letters, what I had in commandment from his majesty in approbation of their doings; and did let fall unto them by way of discourse upon what point in particular his majesty, having yet seen no more than their short declaration, which was published in print, did ground his judgment, in that it was apparent to his majesty, by that which was presented to his own view in the demand of assistance to the national synod, the states requiring one thing, and BARNEVELT another quite opposite to their desire, that he ran a course by himself contrary to the public service: Whereupon they, confessing to have the like advertisements from Paris and Heydelberg, laid hold immediately as a fit crime to charge him with amongst others of like nature.

‘ I took the liberty hereupon to tell them, that though BARNEVELT had continued in his wonted state and authority, yet I had charge from his majesty to have let him know, how strange his majesty found this manner of proceeding in a man of his place; that thereby it might appear unto them his majesty did not sway with the time, but that he saw and condemned his fault, even in the height of his fortune.

‘ To the prince of Orange I used the same day the like discourse; and added further these encouragements, which he might well take out of the constancy of his majesty’s favour, and the present condition of affairs; in both which he rests so well satisfied, that by the help of the one he hopes in short time to give perfection to the other.

‘ At Schonehoven and the Brill he hath fully effected what he went about, insomuch that these two towns, which were wont *jurare in verba magistris*, by virtue of a general commission to approve whatsoever BARNEVELT did propose, sent now their deputies with express order to concur in their resolutions with the prince of Orange, and the well-

well-affected towns; infomuch, that they with the rest (which are now the major part, and use the name of the states of Holland) have already approved the imprisonment of BARNEVELT, and have named deputies to join with the other provinces in the framing his process, and desired the prince of Orange to go on with the good work of the reformation of this province; of which he hath taken their act in writing, and intends this week to make a journey through the rest of the towns of Holland: which being now publicly required, he may do upon better grounds, though not without much clamour of the declining faction.

‘ The noblesse of Holland (which hath a voice in the assembly of the states of that province) of which the advocate is the mouth, having been from the beginning of these troubles combined by means of the advocate with the Arminian towns, doth still persist in their opiniatrey, notwithstanding that the prince of Orange hath often dealt with them by way of persuation to reform themselves: which not prevailing, he now lends ear to a remonstrance of four other chief families of Holland, Buckhurft, Sweten, Raphurft, and Cronenburgh, who have been long kept out of the rank of noblesse, and may by authority of the governor of the province, with consent of the states, be admitted; and they, with some of the antient noblesse, who are well-affected, and the assistance of the prince of Orange (who both by example of his father, and right as governor, may have seance in their meetings, though he hath hitherto not used it), will over-rule the rest.

‘ The people of Alcmæer have sent deputies to the prince of Orange expressly to desire him to change their magistrates, those they have being Arminians thrust upon them heretofore by violence. VENATOR, a minister of that town, who set down a new form of divinity in a book which he stiled, *Theologia vera & mera*, is fled into France in the disguise of a soldier. TAURINUS (who, as I advertised in my last, fled from Utrecht) is gone to the archduke’s side. He is discovered by confession of the printer to be author of the *Balance*; and the states proceed against him according to his merit. UTENBOGARD, who was said to be gone to Wesel, lies secretly (as is now informed) in the Arminian towns, betwixt which he travels to and fro by night, to animate them against the synod. It appears, the new levies, against which the states general do most formalise, were projected by BARNEVELT, but taken on by the towns chiefly at the solicitation and urging of these men; by which, though churchmen, they are subject to the temporal censure, and therefore shift for themselves. EPISCOPUS, GREVINCOVIUS, and the rest of that faction, have their private meetings, in which they resolve to stand it out, and not appear at the synod.

‘ VANDER-MYLE hath much incensed the states by his flight into France, for which they have written unto their ambassador, to have a diligent eye over him and his doings: and he being one of the noblesse of his province, a curator of their university of Leyden, and one of the council of state, hath by going into another dominion without license brought himself into much trouble, though there were nothing more to be laid to his charge.

‘ The intent of his going is said to be chiefly to suppress those informations, which may be recovered from thence against his father-in-law and himself, for such things,



as have past privately betwixt them and the chief instruments of that crown, without knowledge of this state; and to procure the French king's intercession in behalf of his father, and the rest of that faction: in both which he will profit little, having hurt himself and his father for the first point *suo indicio*: for he, in his quarrel with AERSENS, having charged him to have endeavoured, during his embassy in France, to have introduced the profession of popery into these provinces, and to have transported the absolute sovereignty of them to the French king (to which effect he produced and published in print two several memorials, with which AERSENS came charged hither out of France); AERSENS, on the contrary, makes it appear he did nothing without exprefs order from BARNEVELT. And for the point of intercession, the states call to mind how in the business of the duke of Bouillon, and after of the prince of Condé, they had not only their mouths stopt by the French ambassador here resident, but were here hindered likewise by BARNEVELT from using any manner of solicitation in their favours, as a matter unfit for one prince or state to interpose in the affairs of another; which now proves his own case.

‘ Monf. DE BOISSISSE being departed, and gone as far as Antwerp, was met there with exprefs order to come back to this place; where he arrived on Friday last in company of madam DE TREMOUILLE, who, being at Spa, and coming from thence hither to see her brothers, found him at Rotterdam.

‘ His return, having had so absolute an answer from the states (that matters went not so ill here as was related abroad, and that they were more in need of assistance of divines at their synod than of ambassadors in their assemblies, which was implied by their answer) seems strange to all men; and the more in regard he went away so ill satisfied, that upon no persuasion or intreaty he would accept the states present: whereupon they have here fastened a by-word upon him in this Dutch language to this sense, that, having forgot his chain, he is come back to fetch it.

‘ Yesterday he had his audience, accompanied with the resident ambassador DU MAURIER, in the assembly of the states general, where he presented a letter from the French king in general terms of affection and well-wishing to the states; and for a testimony thereof, he had given his extraordinary ambassador order to stay here, if he could be found on the place, or to return wheresoever he should meet with his letters, and to perform those offices which might best tend to the quieting their troubles, and settling their affairs. His speech was to the like effect; which when he shall have presented in writing (as it was required of him), I will not fail to send his majesty the copy.

‘ With the prince of Orange, who met him on the way betwixt this and Delft, and with whom he had private conference before his audience, he used fair language, no way blaming any thing which hath been done, or seeming to intermeddle in what is intended; so as the external appearance of his employment is hitherto very pleasing: but the secret intention thereof I have cause to persuade me is this; to procure favour for BARNEVELT and his complices: to divert the prince of Orange from the course he hath in hand of changing the magistrates in these towns of Holland: to cross (if it be possible) the national synod.

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‘ These things I gather out of MAURIER’s discourse in BOISSISSE’s absence (upon whose informations BOISSISSE’s employment hath been grounded (he wishing the prince of Orange, now he is gone so far, to lay by the thought of ecclesiastical assemblies, and to finish his work by authority (a sound not unpleasing to great men’s ears); but withal so to use his authority, as may be without discontentment of the towns in general, and free him from reproof of seeking particular revenge.

‘ Touching BARNEVELT, they yet say nothing; and indeed it is no time to speak. In the second point at their conference with the prince of Orange, though BOISSISSE was silent, MAURIER did press to have the proceedings in the towns pass rather by way of accommodation than reformation, offering themselves as instruments to go from town to town, and so shew some fruit of their endeavours in some small place at first: to which the prince of Orange answered, it was not for the dignity of a great prince to be a stickler amongst burghers in a small town. The third point concerning the synod, I am informed, they have especially in charge, there being nothing more apprehended in France than the strict correspondence this synod may breed betwixt all the reformed churches, and the necessary dependence the settling of religion in these provinces will enforce this state always to have upon his majesty: whereas distraction of religion by these new opinions doth distract these men’s affections, and cause them to be as indifferently dependent upon other princes.

‘ This is thought to have been one of the main scopes of BARNEVELT in favouring these novelties, contrary to that which he professed to be his opinion in religion; he shewing himself always disaffected to our alliance in comparifon of France. But things are now in so good a way, these embassadors will have subject enough before long to advertife, but little to negotiate; for within these two days the states of Holland intend to make a recess purpofely of their assembly to give the prince of Orange commodity with less prejudice to their authority, than would be *sedente curiâ*, to visit their Arminian towns, which he will do with assistance of soldiers, if need require; and in Leyden (which is indeed *locus febris*) he doth purpose likewise to reform the university, and here, after his return, the courts of justice. Touching the synod, his majesty will perceive by a letter from the states general, which is recommended to my conveyance, how they persist in their former resolution; the same being now consented unto by all the provinces; and they have lately written to Geneva, as likewise to certain churches in the confines of Germany, called *Veteravian diocese*, to send their assistants, which was omitted through confusion and distraction in the sending out of the first summons.

‘ It is doubted here will be no assistants out of France at the synod by permission of the king: but DU MOULIN, the minister at Paris, writes hither to his private friends, that he will come of himself, accompanied with some other minister of those churches.

‘ GERSON BUCERUS is sent for hither by the prince of Orange, having stood upon terms of the jurisdiction of a churchman with the states of Zealand. I hope that course will be taken with him, as will be to his majesty’s contentment.

‘ LEYDEN-

‘ LEYDENBERGH is sent for from Utrecht, to be confronted here by BARNEVELT, upon whom he lays the blame of all his doings. So doth GROTIUS in a long letter to the prince of Orange.

‘ I have seen an instruction signed by LEYDENBERGH, and framed betwixt him and BARNEVELT this time twelvemonth, when BARNEVELT was at Utrecht, by which the captains of the new levies are bound by an expresse article to serve them by whom they were raised and paid, within and without the province, by water, and by land, wheresoever and howsoever they should be employed, without submitting themselves to the commandment of any else whosoever.

‘ These men being afterwards animated by LEYDENBERGH, GROTIUS, and the rest of their complices, to withstand the deputies of the states general and the prince of Orange, makes the matter very foul, as a direct conspiracy against the states. Yet I do not think the states will proceed to blood with any of those prisoners; but that BARNEVELT’s sentence will be perpetual imprisonment; and with the rest, who discharge themselves upon him, somewhat more moderate.

‘ The states general are in deliberation to send three of their body, with four of the chief directors of the East-Indian company, into England, touching the trade of the East-Indies, and fishing upon the coast of Scotland, and in the North seas, where are many disorders and violences yearly committed betwixt his majesty’s subjects and theirs.

‘ The prince of Orange doth now dispatch one VOSBERGEN, a counsellor of the provincial court, to Paris, touching his affairs of the principality of Orange. The states are in speech of an extraordinary embassador thither.

‘ The first day of mons. DE BOISSISSE’s return hither, I sent my secretary unto him to give him the *bien venue*, with intention to have seen him myself, if he had answered the same by any message of kindness: which he failing to do (as he did likewise neglect me, when I came out of England), I forbore to visit him; and so shall, unless his majesty command otherwise. The Venetian resident is as ill satisfied of him for not returning his visit, when he was here last, in which regard he doth no more come at him.

‘ I do hitherto forbear making use of his majesty’s letters of credence to the states of Holland, and so shall hereafter, unless there be greater occasion than is yet offered of going to that assembly; lest the states general, who now have much improved their authority above the particular provinces, should dislike thereof: which consideration, I well call to mind, made his majesty, being heretofore moved, to give me the like authority as had been practised by the French embassador, unwilling to swerve from the wonted form of negotiating.

‘ Here is a pasquin faith, BARNEVELT hath his ambition in treading the states general under his feet, and GROTIUS and HOGEBETS theirs in being strongly guarded with soldiers. The first of which is understood by the place of his imprisonment, which



which is in a room higher than the chamber of the assembly. The other alludes to their being now under guard of the soldiers of the state; whereas their endeavour was heretofore to have brought their new levies into the Hague, as into other towns.

‘ In Utrecht the boys having pulled a live hen, and courting it about the streets, were found to follow it in sport with a cry of commiseration, *O armen han*, (oh! poor hen!) and indeed the Arminian, to which name this alludes, being lately very proud of his plumes, is now stript so bare, that he is a subject to some of commiseration, but to most of scorn.

‘ This I have added for recreation at the end of a tedious dispatch, like a farce after a tragedy. So I humbly take leave.

From the Hague this  $\frac{8}{18}$  of  
September, 1618.

Your honour's most faithfully to be commanded,

DUDLEY CARLETON.

‘ I send your honour the copy of the French ambassador's proposition, as it was even now presented to the states. They resolve to give him a round and resolute answer, to cut off all hope of intermeddling with their business.

‘ LEYDENBERGH is brought hither from Utrecht; and even now the prince of Orange is advertised, that UTENBOGARD was seen at Sevenbergen passing into Brabant.’

Sept. 15. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Acknowledges the secretary's letters of the 4th instant, ‘ wherein, says he, I cannot well say, whether I take more comfort and encouragement concerning my own private, or care and thought touching the public; for the complaints of our men are greater, and the satisfaction of these men less, than can stand with the profession of good amity and neighbourhood. And now that his majesty was borne in hand by sir NOEL CARON; that deputies should go from hence to accommodate all differences with his majesty's subjects, I find the states waver in that resolution; for though they have had it in deliberation to join some of their own body to such as should be sent by the East-India company, and three were once named for this purpose, they are now at a stand, by reason of a difficulty cast in the way by the two provinces of Friesland and Groningen, which having no part in that trade, and being desirous to enter with Holland and Zealand at the expiration of the octroy (which hath now but four years time) they suspect, and not without reason, that if they should concur at this present in the treaty of conjunction of the two companies English and Dutch (which may draw on a necessity of renewing the octroy in terms as it hath hitherto stood) they should be perpetually excluded. In this regard the deputies of those provinces have refused to consent to the nomination of any of their body, notwithstanding that they have been seriously dealt with both by count WILLIAM (as governor of those provinces) and myself, not to let their private respects hinder their public good: whereupon they have written, and one of them is gone to their principals to advise better of the business. Count

WILLIAM

WILLIAM hath written likewise to both provinces seriously to the same purpose. But the business is of that nature, that it cannot well attend the time of their answer. Wherefore the prince of Orange (who was with me on Saturday last, before his taking his journey) is of opinion, that the company will forthwith send their deputies, though the states cannot resolve: yet all will attend his return.

‘ I do not find, that though the states should now send with the company, that their deputies should have commission to treat of any thing but the business of the East-Indies; which is neither that his majesty expects, nor the present occasions of differences amongst our men in many places require. Wherefore, if his majesty give me order for any thing to be said to this purpose in their public assembly, I will beseech your honour to let me have the particularities of the informations, whereupon to ground my complaint.

‘ It falls out unseasonably, that the states are now so busied in their affairs at home, which makes them less intent on those abroad. But this reformation they have now in hand, I will hope, will have an extent to these harsh businesses betwixt us; they being all matters belonging to sea, wherein Holland hath the greatest part; and Holland hath for our age been only guided and governed by BARNEVELT; the haughtiness of whose spirit and disaffection to our nation hath been generally observed.’

With regard, to sir WILLIAM COCKAINE’S business, sir DUDLEY CARLETON is no ways informed how it rests; but had recommended it with much earnestness in general terms.

‘ The prince of Orange, according to appointment, began his progress amongst the towns of this province yesterday; but altered his purpose of going first into North-Holland, and began with Delft and Schedam; in the first of which towns he changed fourteen of the old council; and in the latter, where was less corruption, six only: the manner whereof was this. After the burgomasters and the town-council (which they call the *Wrootschap*.) were met, his excellency came hither, and made a short speech, how heretofore he had been with them, to give them warning of some disorders, that were crept into the state; but found, that he had effected little with them; and therefore did discharge them all of their oath and places: presently whereupon they all departed, saving the secretary; and such as were good were called in again by the huissiers, man after man, by a note that was delivered them. Those that were bad were left out, and others called in their stead. When they were all come in again, the prince repeated much of the same things he spake before; adding, that both in the towns and provinces, the government of all affairs had passed through a few men’s hands, to the bringing in of dangerous innovations; which hereafter they should be thoroughly acquainted withal. Then he toucht how these few men had purposed to turn him, and all worthy deserving ministers of the land’s affairs out of the lands; with a protestation of his own inclination and desire to do all things with the hazard of his fortune and life, both for the time past, present, and to come, that should be behoveful for the good and honour of the state; wishing every man in his office to discharge his duty with the same affection: and so ended and departed. This I have set down at greater length, because his majesty may see thereby all that is to be done in the rest of the prince’s journey. The

‘ The prince is gone this night to Dort, and intends to go through all the rest of the towns before the next assembly of the states of the province, which will be held again in this town about fifteen days hence.

‘ These French embassadors have been moved in the name of the states of Holland to accompany their request to the French king for assistants out of the reformed churches of his realm to the national synod of these provinces, with their letters of recommendation: to which they seem to lend a willing ear; and we hear now out of France, that the provincial synod of Cevennes hath named four deputies for this purpose; who now sue by the means of monf. LANGRAC for the king’s license to come hither, CHAMIER, DU MOULIN, RIVET, and CHAUVÉ.

‘ LANGRAC hath made by his letters a good report to the states of VANDER-MYLE’S carriage of himself, since his arrival at Paris; and VANDER-MYLE hath written to the prince of Orange, that he will return speedily hither, alledging *domesticas tricas*, and the cry of women, in his father-in-law’s house and his, for the cause of his journey: but the states are in deliberation, against his return, to demand a more strict account of his journey; only they apprehend a danger (if they should question him too narrowly what he did in France) of embarking these French embassadors in his defence, and by consequence interressing them into their affairs; which they are very studious to avoid.

‘ The states have given order for their answer to monf. DE BOISSISSE’S last proposition, which is, *mutatis mutandis*, the same they said in the former: which when it is delivered unto him, whether he will rest satisfied, and depart therewith, is yet doubtful: for there be, who suspect he hath matter of greater shew in store about the renewing the truce, or some such like overture; whereby to set a lustre upon his return in the eye of the world; and to escape the reproof of *bis ad eundem*; for to come twice *ad concilium* uncalled and unaccepted, will have but small reputation.

‘ He hath well answered the welcome I gave him by a visit, and confessed his own error at his last being here; which he excuseth upon his having dispatched his business before my arrival. I find him a man of those good affections, that he is worth the careffing, especially in a time, when the ministers of that crown forget themselves so much, as it seems now they do. Such discourse as hath passed betwixt us, with some other particularities, I advertise his majesty by my lord Marquis in answer of the letters, which I received for his lordship inclosed in your honour’s. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

Sept. 19. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ An accident, which I now advertise, is of that nature, as if I should date from Afric; *aliquid monstri*.

‘ LEYDENBERGH, the secretary of Utrecht (who was brought hither to be confronted with BARNEVELT) having murdered himself in his bed this last night with two knives, whereof he made provision three days before; with the one of which he

Q q

ript



ript up his own belly, and with the other cut his throat; and both with that silence, that his son (who was permitted to lie in his chamber with him, but had a bed apart) was not awakened therewith, until he heard the blood, which gushed out of his father's throat; which made him call the guards: but before they came, LEYDENBERGH was dead.

‘ Here is much noise upon this occasion, some imputing it to an impatency of restraint; others to an apprehension of torture and punishment; but he was a man reputed rather base and timorous than of any stoutness and courage, and therefore *ne moriari mori* may light upon him. The states, who assembled this morning extraordinarily upon this occasion, make this judgment hereof, that there is some greater secret than they have yet discovered, which he was jealous might be extorted from him. Upon those confessions they had from him at Utrecht, and here at the Hague (where he hath been more reserved than he was there) they have now given order to the two advocate fiscals of Utrecht and Arnheim (two experienced and well-affected persons) to frame interrogatories for the other prisoners, and consequently their process.

‘ TAURINUS, a factious and seditious minister of Utrecht (who since his flight from thence hath been confessed by the printer to be the author of the *Balance*) is suddenly dead in an open village on the archduke's side; and it is suspected he was poisoned; whereby to conceal such, as contributed their conceits to that libel. The states have written hereupon to those of Utrecht, to take the same information of the translator of that book into French, as they should have done of the author, if he had lived; hoping thereby to have some light of those they look after.

‘ The translator is upon much presumption thought to be one NIELLIUS, a French preacher at Utrecht, who for scandalous doctrine is suspended by the French synod lately held at Delft, until the national synod, where he was charged with this book for the translation, which he denied faintly.

‘ VANDER-MYLE being returned from Paris as far as Antwerp, hath written to the council of state, that he will yet absent himself for a fortnight or three weeks; which he desires them in a friendly manner not to misinterpret. The states in the mean time have made a decree, which is sent to the council this morning, that they are not to receive him again into their number, until he hath given a good account of this journey.

‘ I have seen this morning the minute of the answer, which shall be carried to mons. DE BOISSISSE this afternoon from the states general. It contains much compliment; but this in substance, that they are sorry the state of their affairs was so much traduced to the king, and he thereby so greatly alarmed: That the industry of the prince of Orange had well overcome such small difficulties and differences, as were amongst them; and that he was now in a good way of reducing them to a more settled estate than ever: That if there had been need of the French king's help in this occasion, they would have prevented his offer by their request: That by reason of some divinity disputes they have need of aid and assistance from abroad, in which respect

respect they lay hold of the king's forwardness, desiring him to shew the fruits thereof in this occasion; which for conclusion they recommend to the *entremise* of monf. DE BOISSISSE.

' The states have now in hand a placart against the Jesuits, which come of late days with extraordinary freedom into these provinces. They have resolved of a guard of horse (thirty in number) to be continually attendant on the person of the prince of Orange; which they have presented unto him by a letter now in his progress, which he goeth on withal very successfully.

' Before his return (which will not be yet these eight days) I will give your honour an account what I shall have done with the states, in conformity to your honour's letters of the 8th of this present, which came late to my hands this last night. For though his presence were behoveful, delay in cases of this nature breeds danger; and the states having already had in deliberation the sending deputies to his majesty, I hope they will be so quickened with that which I shall say, that they will lay aside their private interests in regard of their public good. I have already spoken in private with some of them, who do much lament these just occasions of complaint given his majesty's subjects, and think, that these animosities and partialities at land (which reigned chiefly in this province, and were nourished by those who have sat long at the stern of the state) had their extent even to the sea. Hereafter we may promise ourselves better, and the rather because there is a purpose immediately after the synod, before winter shall expire (for in that time there is no fear of diversion by the enemy) to reform the union of Utrecht; which being penned somewhat reservedly, according to the condition of the times past for matters of religion, a clearer expressing themselves in that point (which now they intend), with exclusion of all men from magistracy which are not professors of the true reformed religion, will inforce a more strict dependence than ever upon his majesty's crowns, and thereupon a greater necessity of giving contentment. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

SIR DUDLEY CARLETON.

							<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
<i>Diet.</i>	Sept. Oct. Nov. 1617	—	—	—	—		303	6	8
	Decem. Janua. Febr. 1617	—	—	—	—		300	0	0
	March, Apr. May 1617 and 1618	—	—	—	—		306	13	4
	June, July, Aug. 1618	—	—	—	—		306	13	4
<i>Intelligence.</i>	March, Apr. May 1616, 1617	—	—	—	—		125	0	0
	June, July, August	—	—	—	—		125	0	0
	Sept. Octob. Nov.	—	—	—	—		125	0	0
	Decemb. Janua. Feb. 1617	—	—	—	—		125	0	0
	March, April, May 1618	—	—	—	—		125	0	0
	Transportation	—	—	—	—		100	0	0
	For charge of the secretary at the Leaguer	—	—	—	—		32	0	0
Totalis							1973	13	4

Sept. 29. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to Secretary NAUNTON.

That he had, in conformity to the secretary's letter of the 8th from Windsor, spoke to the assembly, what was proper to convert their long deliberation of sending to his majesty into a speedy resolution; of which proposition he sends a copy, with a translation of a note of the states general.

That this morning he had received larger instructions to the same effect in the secretary's letter of the 24th from Hampton-Court; by which he should govern himself at the return of the prince of Orange and the assembly of the states of Holland, with the arrival of certain deputies from Zealand; all which was expected before the end of this week.

' Mean while I thought it my duty to give his majesty an account of what I have already performed; which should have been sooner with your honour, but that, finding the states ever since in daily deliberation about this business, I have expected to receive some answer from them. And though hitherto they are little advanced, no more than a ship can make good way when there is none at the helm (for in that state they yet remain since the remove of BARNEVELT) yet I find a general disposition in them to guide the business *a buo porto*; and the disorders hitherto they are willing enough to cast upon him; some for his disaffection; others for his imbroiling himself so much with the affairs at home, that he neglected all abroad, save what had reference to their domestic factions.

' The difficulty betwixt their provinces they have laid aside; but two others are raised, which cause this delay; the one concerning the choice of their deputies; the other touching their instructions.

' Of the first there is *facilis inventio*, but *difficilis electio*, the present occasions of the state requiring their best men here; and they find it no wisdom to send into England such ill-affected persons, as the last time. GROTIUS (who was then employed) hath had the confidence since his imprisonment to alledge in a letter to the prince of Orange (which I have seen) the merit of that service to the state, and to intimate how useful he could be again upon this occasion. But his wings are too much limed to fly over the sea so suddenly, though for satisfaction of the states he offers to confess not only all he knows; but likewise he probably suspects against BARNEVELT. The states have desired of me his letter to the archbishop of Spalato (with which his majesty is acquainted) which I have reserved for so fit an opportunity.

' To send their deputies, when they have named them, so fully and largely instructed, as his majesty doth require, will ask some time; for the manner here is (from which they never swerve) for the states general (who are the resident commissioners of the several provinces) to receive in such cases their order from their principals. And hitherto I find they have thought of nothing but the business only of the East-Indies, touching the conjunction of the two companies. But these affairs chiefly (and it may be said only) concerning Holland and Zealand, they may the sooner resolve, in regard the states of Holland now assemble, and those of Zealand will be speedily here in good number.'

That



That GERSON BUCERUS had been twice terrified by some of our countrymen in Zeeland both English and Scots from going to England; but that at his coming hither (where he is expected in company of the deputies of Zeeland) the prince of Orange will press him to submit himself to his majesty's clemency.

That he could not learn of any person of the name of TRESELLIUS about sir NOEL CARON, unless he be lately come unto him.

That there was some suspicion there, that TAURINUS's death is but an invention, though his brother and friends go in black as mourners for him. For which reason the states of Utrecht, by order of the states general, proceed in his citation, and likewise in the information of the translator of the *Balance*.

‘ Upon UTENBOGARD's flight, the French chapel in the court is reformed, a new preacher with other antients and deacons (all persons well affected) being put by the French synod lately held at Delft, in the room of those who possessed the places before, and were all Arminians; so as now the old prince's dowager of Orange and the count HENRY must either forsake all congregations, and retire to their house, or abandon their old friends, to whom they have been so constant.

That monf. de BOISSISSE had taken the states answer in good part, and written to the French king to permit some ministers of the reformed religion to come to the national synod.

‘ The day following, that this answer was brought him, three deputies from the states presented him likewise an answer touching AERSENS; which having heard read in his presence, DU MAURIER being by, they both fell into high terms, wherein they were as well encountered, one of the states letting fall by way of hot discourse (they lighting upon the match with Spain, which BOISSISSE would have beneficial to this state) that the nearer France approached to Spain, the farther it was from the United Provinces: whereupon BOISSISSE broke out into anger, that he now saw well from whence their diffidence proceeded, and where they fastened their dependence; intimating his majesty; and repeating the obligations the states have to the French king above all others since the truce. Which argument the states would not dispute; but insisting upon the business of AERSENS (in which they were employed), BOISSISSE seeing them so stiff, told them, for conclusion, he was sorry to see them make themselves parties in favour of one, whom he stiled impostor and many worse titles, the judgment whereof he would refer to the king his master, without pressing them farther; neither would he receive their answer.

‘ The states do hereupon write to the French king very round letters, which accompany the answer, and that is to be presented to the king and his council by their ambassadors: the copy of both which I send your honour.

‘ BOISSISSE protracts his departure, hoping the opiniatry of some towns, or some unexpected accident, may give him subject of negotiation, whereby to recover the reproach of a double unuseful employment, the disgrace of which might better have fallen upon a worse man. But unless some great mutation happen, DU MAURIER, who

who concurred with BARNEVELT in drawing him hither, will pay *la folle enchere* of his journey.

‘ How careful the states are not to have him intermeddle in their affairs, may appear by a change of the last word of his first answer, which was done upon mature deliberation not to err in words, since they are cautelous in matter.’

That the negotiation of the Hans embassador was at an end, before he was well entered into it, by his sickness and death.

‘ The prince of Orange succeeds well in his progress. At Horn he found a hard business of it; the magistrates and people having resolved not to receive him into the town with any troops, nor to admit any change of magistrates. But he won them by stratagem, and having put out twelve of twenty of the common council, and chosen others in their places, he hath left a strong garrison in the towns (where was none before) of English, Swiss, and Frisons, under a governor at his devotion, who was lately captain of his guard.

‘ Not to be put again to the like exigence, as he found himself in there amongst rude people, without strength, he hath sent the ensign of his guard to this place for eighty musketeers, who went on Sunday night in waggons to meet him at Alcmaer, where we think he is this day; and there he will take counsel upon the place, whether he will come this journey to Harlem, or make another with better strength.

‘ There are at this present two provincial synods holding here in Holland; one in the north quarters, as the use is, at Enchuysen; the other in the south at Delft. In this at Delft they have this gravamen amongst many others; *Annon CONRADUS VORSTIUS editis suis libris, atque aliis modis, in tantum peccaverit, ut indignus judicetur, qui in his provinciis ullam sive ecclesiasticam sive academicam adeat functionem?* Of which he having knowledge was once packing away to prevent the disgrace; but was stayed by those of his party, who, I conceive, can protect him no longer than the time of the national synod; and then he will find in all likelihood by some public censure and sentence of banishment, if he prevent it not before, that *quod defertur, non aufertur*.

‘ There is one EPISCOPIUS, a professor of Leyden, a hot Arminian, commanded by express letters from the states to assist at the national synod in the same manner, as is POLYANDER, another professor of the same university, a man well affected; which the states do out of this counsel, that hereafter those of that faction should not say, they were not called or admitted to this synod. But this EPISCOPIUS being a suspected Socinian, I find the churchmen here resolved not to admit of his seance amongst them, or appearance but as a *reus*, nor of some others of the like kind; so as there will be some dispute at the synod even *in limine*: and though all things go smoothly on hitherto since BARNEVELT’s imprisonment, it will be a miracle amongst so many discontentments and distractions it should so continue both in church and state.

‘ Here hath been a question of precedence cast out by some opposite to the synod betwixt the English and French assistants; which I have wished those, who have men-

tioned the same unto me, not to draw into dispute betwixt those, who come publicly authorised by their prince, and those, who at the best can come but by connivance. And there is difference to be made betwixt the most flourishing reformed church of Europe, and that, which is yet *sub cruce*; beside the quality of the persons that are employed: with which considerations they seem to rest here well satisfied in favour of our men above the French.

‘ Divers of the churchmen here have spoken unto me to procure, that his majesty would send some Scottish men to their synod, lest those of that nation should take it ill they were not thought of in it; as Geneva hath much stomached, that they were so long forgotten; and the strangers in England have expostulated with their friends here, that they were not written for. In answer I have let them know, that if the states should require me to write for more or others than are nominated, I would readily do it: but this the states forbear, because they will not prescribe to his majesty, whom he should send, but refer all to his pleasure. Yet I find, if his majesty should be content to send any Scotsmen, though they were added to the number of those his subjects who are already named, it would be very agreeable unto them here, and avoid the dislike, which they suspect may be conceived in Scotland. But this being more than I have undertaken to write, his majesty need take no more notice of being moved therein, than may seem good to his wisdom.

‘ The synod holds as yet at the appointed time and place; and there is a solemn fast and prayer commanded by the states general through all the United Provinces the 14th of the next *stylø novo* for the good success thereof. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

Oct. 3. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Sends a writing, which he had not ready for his letter of the 29th of September touching the business betwixt the French ambassador and mons. AERSENS.

‘ The prince of Orange returned yesterday from Alcmaer, where he reformed the magistrates without impeachment. There now remain only Harlem, Rotterdam, Leyden, and Tergow; which being the worst affected towns of Holland, he doth not willingly adventure himself in them without a guard of soldiers sufficient to keep the burghers in devotion.

‘ I have been with him this morning, and acquainted him at large with our merchants complaints; of which I find him sensible, and desirous therein to procure his majesty and his subjects, by his best endeavours with the states, all possible contentment.’

That the states of Zealand were not yet come, but hourly expected, till whose arrival he forbears making his proposition, for which he had his majesty's order in the secretary's letter of the 24th of September.

The French lost a man of war built at their charge at Enchuyfen, being overblown on Monday last in fair weather betwixt that and the Texel for want of ballast.

‘ VAN-



‘ VANDER-MYLE since his return out of France hath written a long letter to the states general, and sent a copy thereof to the council of state, by way of apology for his journey; in conclusion whereof he desires leave to relinquish his place of counsellor; wherein he is willingly heard: but for himself, he does not yet appear, neither is it known where he doth remain, his letters being without date.

France.

‘ The practices of 268 for assistance of BARNEVELT and his party begin to discover themselves. One of them will appear to his majesty by a bill, which is divulged as given by LEYDENBURGH to his son, which is suspected to come out of the shop of the French embassadores of 190.

‘ Two days since a writing inclosed in a quill, and so put into a pear, was intercepted, as it was sent to BARNEVELT by one of his clerks; the contents whereof were a particular account of what had happened in Holland since his imprisonment; letting him know, that since the states of Holland are changed, whether he were to answer before them or the states general, he must make account to answer before his enemies: yet that he should not be dismayed, because his friends had met secretly at his house at Losdune (a villa near the Hague, which BARNEVELT bought lately of sir NOEL CARON) where they spoke French; but must yet a while *reculer pour mieux sauter*. There was this further word in the writing, *Den English spoken de vyer*: The English kindle the fire.

‘ I hope it will be so kindled, as to warm these mens affections to their best friends, and to give them light to see and know their enemies, which are visible enough in all commonwealths (save here, where they have been long kept in darkness by art and practice) and those are the authors and nourishers of faction and disunion. Thus I must humbly, &c.

Inclosed in this letter,

‘ Je sçay qu'on veult de moi statuer un exemple; me confronter avec mes meilleurs amys; me torturer; puis me convaincre de faussetez & contrarietez; & sur des points & pointilles fonder une sentence ignominieuse: ce qu'il faut pour justifier l'emprisonnement. Pour lequel prevenir je m'en vais me rendre à Dieu par le plus court chemin.’

*Oct. 12.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Upon the arrival of the deputies of Zealand he has audience in the assembly of the states general.

‘ I am well informed, that after my departure the whole assembly by common voice assented, that if those complaints could be verified, both their respect to his majesty, and the reputation of their justice, did require due satisfaction and exemplary punishment; and immediately they took resolution to send unto his majesty three commissioners of their body, besides those formerly appointed by the East-Indian company, which was accordingly related unto me by two of them, which were then chosen, mons. GOGH of Guelderland, and VANDERDUSSEN of Holland, who visited me

me by the order of the states the day following. But not being satisfied until I had the resolution in writing, it was brought unto me this last night late by the greffier AERSENS, and therewith I thought it my duty to dispatch a messenger expressly.

‘ The prince of Orange coming to me while the greffier was with me (and this is the third visit I have had from him within the space of a week), I acquainted him with the states answer; which, because it is in general terms for the subject which those commissioners have to treat, I desired him to remember to the states, what would be expected by his majesty, that they should be particularly instructed, and fully authorised in all and every one of those points, which are specified in my proposition: which speech I likewise used to the states deputies and the greffier, when they were with me.’

Sir DUDLEY represents also the complaints of the English merchants to the deputies of Zealand (who were all with him at one time the second day after their arrival), and particularly the affair of sir W. COCKAINE. They refer the whole to their commissioners, who are now going to his majesty, amongst whom they are to have one for their province, though he be not yet named, by reason of the differences among themselves; besides a deputy for the East-Indian company, who is of the town of Zealand.

That he had obtained a letter of the prince of Orange for a ship of the admiralty of Rotterdam for the transportation of the English divines to Dort, ‘ where two of the states deputies (those are named before to go to England) have been to appoint their lodgings; as likewise for other strangers, which are there expected. Those, which come out of Swisserland, Geneva, and Germany, meet at Cologne, from whence they shall be conducted by a convoy of horse sent expressly for that purpose.

‘ The provincial synods, which are held in this province and Utrecht, meet with many difficulties; most of the Arminian party refusing to appear at them, and those, which do appear, some of them, tying themselves to the five articles; others admitting of no limitation: by which it is evident, that UTENBOGARD was their director, in that, whilst he was here, they governed themselves, and their proceedings, by intelligence one with another. Since his flight they are *arena sine calce*; and their tower, which hath been these many years a building, is thereby going to ruin. Your honour will see the same in a picture, which I send herewith in company of a book, the one of which doth set down *statum questionis* better than any of the great multitudes of volumes, which have been written in this argument: the other, according to their use here of ridiculous interpositions, contains the whole history of what hath passed in the confederate Arminian towns since the beginning of these differences, where the prince of Orange is painted sifting these people through a sieve; and he makes himself merry, that the old woman, who looks through her fingers on the top of the tower, is his mother, the princess dowager, because she still maintains her favouring of that party with *nescio quid mali faciunt*.

‘ This day the prince goeth to Leyden, whither he sent four companies of soldiers yesterday, with order, that if they were not received and billeted, according to use, by the burghers, they should lodge themselves before the gates: which being under-

stood by the magistrates, they took them into the town without much dispute; and this morning the drums are beaten in this town for the marching of the company of his excellency's guard the same way; so as now he proceeds *aperto Marte*, which he may the better do, having been publicly desired by the states of Holland this last week to finish without further delay this good work of reformation.

‘ From Leyden he goeth to Harlem, so by this town back to Rotterdam and Ter-gow; in the last of which places he will find most difficulty, in that, when he hath put out the ill magistrates, there is no choice left of good: yet the change, though it were from bad to worse, will keep them in devotion.

‘ At my last audience I did use some words of recommendation of the business of the king of Swede, without presenting the same in writing; because I would not adventure on the misinterpretation of his majesty's favour to that king by the king of Denmark; and therewith the ministers of the king of Swede are very well satisfied; and so have written to their master, having obtained their desire.

‘ Here passed by this last week the Venetian ambassador of the house of Donato, who goeth to reside with his majesty. He had audience of the states, and performed all other visits, but all consisted in ceremony.

‘ Monf. DE BOISSISSE, having often written for his revocation, hath yet no answer out of France; so as having nothing to do, he remains here with much disquiet of mind. Yesterday the states were advertised from their ambassador monf. DE LANGERACK, that the king of France, having called a council extraordinarily upon letters received from monf. DE BOISSISSE, wherein he signified the states answer concerning monf. AERSENS, resolved, that because he had so little contentment given him in that business, none of the French ministers should come to the synod; though before he had given leave to DU MOULIN and RIVET, two of the four which were elected by the French churches for that purpose.’

That the French ship sunk near the Texel, and endeavoured to be weighed up, was thought to be irrecoverable.

‘ I have even now letters from the admiralty of Rotterdam, that the ship, wherein I passed last into England, shall go presently over to fetch those reverend persons his majesty doth send to the synod; and I do by this bearer appoint it to attend their commodity at Gravesend. Thus I humbly, &c.

P. S. ‘ Sir JOHN OGLE is come hither, and doth accompany his excellency this journey, as do many more, who have not been before of his train. And though they come, as they did in the gospel, *circa horam undecimam*, yet are they all accepted, and well treated by him.’

*Sept. 2. Answer of monf. AERSENS to the states, upon monf. DE BOISSISSE's proposition.*

*Oct. 19. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.*

The



‘ The prince of Orange changed the magistrates this last week at Leyden and Harlem, with much applause of the people, chiefly at Leyden, where in his journey thither he was met with great multitudes half way to this town, who carried him in with public cries, and gave him a title, which he could not receive from his ancestors, their *Verlosser* (that is their *Deliverer*), from the *Arminians*.

‘ These people are ingenious in many things, but in nothing more than in extolling where they please, or making a man or matter odious, when they are distastèd: which appears by multitudes of pictures and papers in praise of his excellency, and scorn of the *Arminians*; and amongst other things in this kind, the boys marched about the town with a flag and a drum (as the use is there sometimes in a public *incanto*) telling *Arminians* by the dozen.

‘ This day his excellency goeth to Rotterdam, and from thence on Wednesday to Tergow, with the same troops he had this last journey, whereof the greatest part are already received into Rotterdam, so as all will pass without difficulty.

‘ The examination of BARNEVELT is deferred until this work of reformation of the magistrates in all the towns be ended; at which delay he growing impatient, sent an expostulatory message this last week to the states by his keeper: to which answer was made and so delivered unto him, that the business he and his party hath bred in this state by their practices, is so great and troublesome, that it doth yet ask some time to settle the public: which being done, he in particular should be then talked with.

‘ His professed enemy AERSENS, with monf. MARQUER (who was employed lately by his excellency to Paris) are naturalised of this province by the states of Holland; by which they are made capable of any preferments. This is much stomached by the French ambassadors; and therefore the states of Holland have given poor PAULO DE LA RAVOYRE as *pastor* unto them, having in their contemplation given a sentence of condemnation against him in a suit, which hath hung these three years betwixt him and the Chartreux, wherein the Chartreux were favoured by the French king both with express letters and several propositions made in that assembly by the resident ambassador. There is only a proviso in the sentence for security of RAVOYRE’s person. The rest is more rigorous than can stand with the reputation of their justice.’

*Oct.* 19. N. S. Answer of the states to sir DUDLEY CARLETON’s two propositions, in which they resolve ‘ d’envoyer au premiere jour vers Angleterre quelques leurs commissaires, comme aussi quelques deputez de la compagnie des Indes Orientales, avec telle resolution & charge respectivement, comme ils trouveront pour le service & contentment de sa majesté & celui de ces pays convenir, dont il plaira au dit sieur ambassadeur donner avis à sa majesté, & ailleurs, ou il convient, afin que toutes ulterieures plainctes & instances puissent cependant cesser.’

*Oct.* 29. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Sends an account in inclosed papers of what he had done and said at the presenting the four divines on Tuesday last, and how well they acquitted themselves by a

speech delivered by the bishop of Llandaff in the assembly of the states general, which was at that time very great, the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM being both present: 'to which end I deferred demanding audience for a day or two after their arrival (which was on the 23d) during the absence of the prince, because he might assist, as the use is, when the states require him: and finding so fit an opportunity of the presence of all the deputies of the province, both ordinary and extraordinary, and his excellency, whose advice they commonly take in all affairs which appertain to sea, as, before the entrance of the theologians, I delivered his majesty's mind concerning them, the synod, and matters of that nature; so after their departure I thought it necessary for his majesty's service to renew the remembrance to the states of those points, with which his majesty doth expect the states commissioners should now go instructed and authorised; seeing by the answer they gave me in general terms (which I sent your honour with my dispatch of the 12th of this present), as likewise having understood by private information, their purpose to be only to treat of the two last occasions of the East-Indies and Greenland, and for the rest to pretend want of order from their principals.

' It fell out, that a passionate Arminian, one of the noblemen of Holland, the lord of Matheneffe, was president that day (he being one, who some years since was joined in office of the curatorship of the university of Leyden with VANDER-MYLE, and a particular patron and protector of VORSTIUS); and though he put on a better countenance than heretofore, yet the coldness of his answers shewed his disaffection. Besides, he forbore demanding (contrary to the custom) what I and my lord bishop had said, to be delivered in writing. But being since desired by the greffier AERSENS to give him copies of what passed for help of his registers, and some of the states themselves (who wish well both to the cause and his majesty's service) having wished me underhand to send both my proposition and the bishop's speech to their assembly, I have accordingly performed the same this morning in that manner as they are here set down.

The same day of our audience I conducted my lord bishop and the rest to the prince of Orange, who with count WILLIAM gave them a very kind reception; and both for the choice of their persons and care in their instructions (which I told them had reference by his majesty to me, and so to the states, and his excellency, to the end nothing may pass, which is disagreeable to their minds) they do all rest infinitely satisfied, ascribing to his majesty his due commendations of wisdom and prudence in a business of this moment, of which they promise themselves here, with the church in general, much fruit, and to his majesty the chief honour.

' Yesterday they went to Dort. . . .

' We are out of hope of any assistants out of France, the states ambassador LANGERACK having written hither, that DU MOULIN and RIVET, who were expected here, have a charge laid upon them, on pain of life, not to go out of the kingdom; which, he saith, is in consideration, that the French king hath no better satisfaction about AERSENS: and in this regard I conceived it necessary to explain his majesty's affection

so much the more, in not laying hold of the like subject of excuse, though that of BUCERUS was more proper.'

That BUCERUS came to Delft the last week, but falling sick of an ague, desired the pensioner of Trever to come to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, to request that he might not be ill thought of, if for his health's sake he returned home. Sir DUDLEY answered, if he intended to go thence to England upon his recovery, he might do as he liked best: otherwise it were fit he should hear what the prince of Orange would say to him before his return. Upon which he resolved to stay, but sir DUDLEY had not since heard from him, nor of him.

' The prince of Orange having effected the change of magistrates of Rotterdam and Tergow without difficulty, went further unexpectedly to Amsterdam, to put some busy Arminians out of that magistracy likewise; whereby to make all sure, lest that faction should *pigliar la rocca per la porta del soccorso*; as indeed there was some small beginning in that town (where his excellency having been once before, and changed nothing, they thought themselves secure) to work a revolution.

' Here at the Hague there was yesterday some stirring likewise by the magistrates and burghers of the Arminian party to support TAURINUS, a minister of this town, brother to him, that died lately near Antwerp, who was silenced by the provincial synod at Delft, as unduly called to this charge: which carried these men into so much distemper, that they spake publicly against the convocation of the synods both provincial and national; as likewise against the authority of the states now assembled, as unlawfully chosen, and put into place by violence. Whereupon his excellency went this morning to the stadthouse, accompanied in the same manner, as in other towns, and changed these magistrates, as he had done the rest.

' The examination of BARNEVELT will now be taken in hand, against whom there are daily published most opprobrious pasquins and pictures in that high degree of contempt and scorn, that it doth produce a strange effect. His *Apology* did purchase hatred; and these libels move commiseration. I send your honour a hasty translation of one of them, though I know your more important affairs cannot suffer you to give it a reading.

' The commissioners now going to his majesty have, amongst their other instructions, order to acquaint his majesty with the carriage of these affairs touching these changes and revolutions. But how they will carry themselves in the relation thereof, will give his majesty matter of observation, and it may be of merriment; for some of them, being chosen for this employment before his excellency went through the towns (as particularly VANDERDUSSEN of Delft, one of the states general, who goeth in the name of his province), have since dropped through the sieve, of which your honour will receive a printed paper, where you will observe his excellency, count WILLIAM and ERNEST, with their followers on the one side, and the deputies of the well-affected provinces on the other, winnowing of Hollanders. The other two, GOGH of Guelderland, and LIENS, now newly named for Zealand, are honest sufficient men and well-affected.

The



‘The states upon this my last speech have resumed their instructions whereby to enlarge their commission. Their ship is in readiness at Rotterdam; and so their commissioners promise to be within the space of a week.’

That the states had sent two deputies, one of Holland and another of Zealand, to him to intreat him, that if any order be (as they were informed) for staying their East-India ships, of which they expect three about this time, it might be countermanded, lest proceeding by force should interrupt a treaty, wherein they profess to go sincerely-minded to bring the same to conclusion for the good of both states.

‘I told them, as it is true, I understood of no such order given by his majesty (and, under humble correction, no time is so improper to alienate the minds of these people as now), that in regard of the disposition of affairs here, and their sending to his majesty, they are in a fair way of stricter conjunction to his majesty than ever: and all times will serve for reprisal, if his majesty find by the effects of this treaty they deserve no better of him.’

‘Touching PAULO DE LA RAVOYRE, my last did advertise your honour what hard course is taken with him. He hath my best assistance to procure him some recompence of the states by way of petition, which is all I can now look after. Thus I humbly, &c.’

*Oct. 30.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

That he had received by the hands of one of the burgomasters of Middleburgh a letter in favour of PETER COURTEN, a principal merchant there, whose ship had no share in the violence lately used to his majesty’s subjects in Greenland.

*Nov. 3.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Sends this letter by sir HORACE VERE, who had diligently followed the prince of Orange in all his progress through Holland, wherein he had given both his excellency and the states much satisfaction.

‘There are now four deputies authorised by the states of Holland, to assist with those of the other provinces at the examination of BARNEVELT, one of the noblesse, and three chosen out of Dort, Amsterdam, and Enchuyfen, besides a greffier of the provincial chamber; so as that business will be presently taken in hand; and it is needful so to be, because the delay thereof doth not pass without murmur.’

‘At Rotterdam some tumult hath been stirred this last week by one GREVINCHOVIUS, an Arminian preacher, who being sent for hither by the states, he incensed the people out of the pulpit, not to permit the magistrates of that town to convey him thither: and on Sunday last, whilst the contra-remonstrants were preaching in the church (which is allowed them since the late change of magistrates by turns with the remonstrants) one SLATIUS, an Arminian minister himself (who hath no charge  
in

in that town, but in a village adjoining) took the boldness to preach to the people in the streets: which disorders the states do intend to bridle with a garrison.

‘ We do not yet hear what is done at Dort: but it was expected the synod should begin yesterday; for which purpose the states deputies, who are to assist at the same, went thither on Sunday, and in their company two ministers, who came hither the day before.’

That the commissioners of the states general, who were going to his majesty, came to him on Saturday, to acquaint him, that the states were advertised from Brussels, that the earl of Argyle, having there settled himself and his lady in their return from Spa this last summer, seeks the command of a regiment of the king’s subjects for the service of the Spaniard, which, as it would turn much to their prejudice, by debauching both the English and Scots soldiers, who are ever ready upon such new occasions to run to the enemy, they beseech his majesty not to give way to it: to which effect his majesty will be moved in their names by sir NOEL CARON; and they alledged his majesty’s service to be likewise interested therein, in regard such a new regiment on that side would prove, like that of the Irish, a nursery of disaffected persons to his crowns and kingdoms.

That the commissioners would embark for England with the first wind.

‘ Here arrived on Saturday last dr. JONAS CARISIUS, a servant of the king of Denmark, who, being employed three months since into Germany, comes to this place before his return, to carry the king his master informations of the mutations in this government, having letters of compliment to the states general and his excellency, but without further credence, so as he hath not demanded audience, but having delivered his letters to the president of the states general, he departs to-morrow towards Denmark; and in this small time of his abode here hath found subject enough not to dislike of mons. BARNEVELT’s disgrace, in that, besides that he was the chief instrument of the league with the Hans towns, it appears by his own Apology, and other circumstances, that in the differences betwixt the two kings of Denmark and Swede, he was partial and engaged to Swede.

‘ The king of Denmark pretends a promise of the states, made unto him at their ambassador’s last being there, that they would write expressly into the East-Indies not to have his ships molested by those of this state: which not being hitherto performed, and yet in confidence thereof one of the king’s ships being already gone that voyage, this may prove a new occasion of difference betwixt that king and this state.’

*Nov. 14.* O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ I do use my best endeavour, both here in this place, as likewise at Rotterdam and Enchuyfen, by some men, who have acquaintance in those admiralties, to recover a copy of the commission specified in your honour’s letter of the 26th of the last: and for the omission, which your honour doth note in your other of the 3d of this present,

present, I have supplied the same by a memorial to the states general, whereof I send your honour the copy.

‘ I must confess I was rather apprehensive of blame for excess than defect in my last proposition, because what I then urged concerning the dispatch and instruction of these commissioners designed to go to his majesty, was without charge. But it proceeded of secret information, that, notwithstanding what I had formerly delivered in his majesty’s name, the states were determined to wave the two points wholly (that of Tare, and the other of fishing upon his majesty’s coasts), and only handle the two others of the East-Indies and Greenland; and therefore I insisted particularly in the fishing of Scotland, because it was no new matter, but that wherein the states (by what had formerly passed between them and me on that subject) were engaged to give his majesty further satisfaction; referring them notwithstanding to my former propositions, and particularly (as I do now in my memorial) to that I presented them in writing the 18th of the last; wherein, with the other three points, I reckoned *leur privilege pretendu de pescher librement sur les costes de tous les trois royaumes de sa majesté*.

‘ Upon what I then said in the prince of Orange’s presence the business was resumed; and their instruction hath been since somewhat enlarged: and if it be not fully to his majesty’s contentment, I assure your honour, as well by that I have said to the commissioners themselves in private, as to the states in public, they cannot lay the fault upon the want of a remembrancer.

‘ The deputies for the merchants of the East-Indian company took the alarm so hotly of a purpose in England to arrest their ships (which came first by private letters, and was afterwards confirmed to the state by sir NOEL CARON) that some of them withdrew themselves from the journey, saying, they would not venture their persons, where there was no safety for their goods. But now that jealousy is removed, they are all come to this town, where they meet with a new difficulty, or rather an old one revived by the states of Friseland, who, resolving to be no longer excluded out of that commerce, will give them liberty to conclude nothing with our men for more than four years, which is the time of expiration of their octroy. But they conceiving this restraint will be an impediment to the business of the conjunction of the companies, desire to have power to treat with our men as may be best for the common cause, and afterwards to compose the matter amongst themselves by way of arbitrement; which course is so generally approved by the states and the prince of Orange, that those of Friseland will be over-ruled. I see no other impediment for their journey, but that they may take (and so they seem to resolve) the first week.

‘ One of the three ships they now expected out of the East-Indies is newly arrived in Zealand richly laden; so as this is the eighth ship they have had from thence this year: all which they value at ten millions of florins.

‘ It is now no small question, whether their good success and prosperity will help or hinder the business of the conjunction of the companies: for as, on the one side, it may puff them up with pride, and make them less tractable, so on the



the other, the sweet, of which they have so amply tasted, may make them the more desire the continuance thereof; which cannot well be without joining with our men. For to monopolise that trade, and maintain it by strong hand both against enemies and friends, will in short time consume all they have gained; and any misfortune either by sea or sword (to both which they will be subject, when they are at wars with all the world) will be their utter ruin. Of this the company being sensible, do give these deputies (as I am well informed) full power, not only to treat, but likewise to conclude: whereas GROTIUS and the rest (who went into England some few years since upon the same errand) had only commission to talk and dispute. Yet to have reason at their hands, those who know them, and have interest in the advancement of the business, say, they must be roundly dealt with, and rather by way of intimidation than persuasion or inducement. For, though they are all able and substantial men, and have great part in the adventure; yet they are diversely affected. RICCARD of Amsterdam, and SUNK of Horne (who is one of the college, where I sit, of the council of state) are both of them good and moderate men. But BASSE of Amsterdam, MEERMAN of Delft, and BURREL of Middleburgh, are of the Arminian faction: great dependents upon BARNEVELT; and therefore less affected to any conjunction with our nation.

‘ BARNEVELT hath been examined daily for the space of these eight days past, and so continues still with much diligence and secrecy; the committee for that business being charged not to communicate what passeth, so much as to the states general, until all be ended: so as all I can yet understand is, that for the manner he doth answer as a criminal *teste nūe*, and standing, until in regard of his age and weakness (which he doth sometimes pretend) he be willed to sit. And for the matter, he doth discharge himself upon his masters of Holland, as their servant, by whose resolutions (which passed by plurality of voices) he saith he governed himself. But there be, who tell him, that since, in his printed *Apology*, he arrogates to himself the honour of all the good actions of this state, he must not cast upon others the reproach of the bad; and that the plurality of voices (which was a confederation of Arminians) were rather his instruments than he theirs. He carrieth himself with good assurance, and yet with humiliation enough, inasmuch, that he once made this request to the states, that they would put his good services in balance with his errors, and pardon that, which might proceed rather of weakness than malice.

‘ MONS. DE BOISSISSE (who waits still upon this occasion) coming from Skeveling two days since (where he had been to deceive the time) fell into an apoplexy, out of which he is since recovered, but remains still weak.

‘ The opinion (of which I wrote formerly) that his fruitless employment hither, in favour of BARNEVELT and his party, shall be covered by some more specious negotiation before his departure, and particularly by some overture of renewing the truce, is augmented by the sending of the counsellor mr. STENHUYSE from Brussels to Paris, touching the canal of Graveling, which, considering the quality and ability of the person that is sent, is thought but the pretext to cover a greater business: and that there is some such matter in handling, is rather believed by a discovery, that is here made, how when the archduke was last at Bruges and Ghent, a certain number

of papists of these United Provinces, about 14 or 15, presented a supplication unto him in the name of the rest of their profession, desiring him to begin the treaty in good hour before the expiration of the truce, and to condition in their behalf for liberty of religion.

‘ We have here news of the death of the archduke MAXIMILIAN, and that the emperor may be said to be dead likewise *civiliter*, being absolutely brought *sub tutela* of the king of Bohemia.

‘ The Bohemians have written to the states for a sum of 600,000 florins of that country upon good security: which business, though they laid it aside upon the first receipt of the letters, they now begin to take into consideration, as that, which doth much import them to keep the house of Austria busy elsewhere, now towards the time of the expiration of the truce.

‘ LANGERACK, the states ambassador at Paris, hath advertised hither of the mutual revocation of public ministers betwixt his majesty and the French king: and lest those distempers should grow to greater rupture, hath recommended to his masters, as common allies to both, the care of a reconciliation, as much as in them lies: whereupon they have written both to LANGERACK and sir NOEL CARON to perform those offices in that behalf, as they judge may not be taken offensively in either place; they apprehending, as well how unfit it is for them to be too forward in interposing betwixt two so great princes, as on the other, how much they are interested in the good or ill correspondence betwixt these crowns.’

That the Dutch commissioners, who were going to England, were ordered to endeavour to satisfy his majesty concerning BUCERUS, who in the mean time had commandment to write to his majesty an humble letter, and one in answer of that, which he received from the dean of Winchester. That he excused himself from going to England on account of weakness, but offered, in case his majesty be not satisfied with what he now writes, to leave *both land and living*.

‘ The national synod at Dort having made their entrance with decent forms resolved of a citation of the remonstrants before they would examine the five points, which are chiefly controverted; so as letters mandatory were written from the temporal lords, to those your honour will see noted in a paper, which goeth herewith, and others in more mild and brotherly manner from the ecclesiasticks, desiring them to appear within fourteen days after the receipt of the said letters. Mean time they hold the assembly together by treating the *Gravamina* of the church, particularly they have resolved of a new translation of the Bible, after the example of the English; this of the Dutch language being full of imperfections.

‘ Those, who raised lately the tumult at Rotterdam, one of them (that is SLATIUS) is fled; the other, GREVINCHOVIUS, silenced.

‘ There is a resolution taken to deprive CRANINGPOLDER, the second son to BARNEVELT, of his government of Bergen-op-zoom.

‘ Sir

‘ Sir JOHN OGLE, knowing the states purpose, not to continue him longer in his government at Utrecht, is gone thither of himself to fetch away his family. For his regiment he will not be questioned.’

*Nov. 15.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

By the same messenger with the former.

That the commissioners have their commission delivered to them by the states general, with order to use all possible expedition in their journey.

‘ There are three curators of the university of Leyden chosen in place of MATHENESS and VANDER-MYLE; that is, DUVENVORD, for the gentry of Holland; PAW, the pensioner of Amsterdam, for the towns; and VANDEN-HONERT, a counsellor, for the high court of justice.

‘ One RIHOVEN (an antient captain of horse) shall succeed BARNEVELT’s son in the government of Bergen-op-zoom.

‘ Mons. DE BOISSISE hath been taken with a fever this morning, which will go hard with a man of his years, being above 70.

‘ LA HAYE, the only Arminian preacher which was left (the rest being either fled or silenced) here at the Hague died this last week: which is as great a revolution as can be in a church, in that, since my coming to this employment, none appeared in these pulpits but Arminians. ROSEUS, who made the first separation from the Arminians, and was therefore silenced by the states of Holland, was restored this last week by the same body, but composed of other members.

‘ The states of Holland are separated until the first of the next year.’

*Nov. 21.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Letter of recommendation of the three commissioners of the states general, and five deputies and an advocate of the East-India company, the same mentioned in his former letters, except LODESTAIN in the place of MEERMAN of Delft.

*Nov. 21.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Account of his speech to the assembly of the states general, in conformity to the secretary’s letters of the 11th, insinuating upon the necessity of his majesty’s using the same course which is practised by other princes, to prevent transportation of coins; because they are very sensible of the search which is daily made in Spain, to the great molestation of their merchants.

‘ In answer I was told, that my motion was very seasonable, in regard that at this present they had here their officers, whom they call *Generaux des monnoies*; and that



that they would endeavour to give his majesty satisfaction. Yet I do not find, that they have authorised their commissioners to treat hereof, who part this day, and expect (as they say) to have all defects of their instructions supplied by letters.'

That the commissioners have none of them been formerly employed abroad, but are all honest and sufficient men; and though VANDER-DUSSEN of Delft suffered in the late change of magistrates, he is esteemed much more moderate than those who were departed with him. MEERMAN, one of the deputies of the East-Indies, hath excused himself from the journey; in whose place one LODESTEIN is employed (who is of Delft likewise) a man much better affected.

' Mons. DE BOISSISSE is recovered of his sickness, and had yesterday with DE MAURIER long audience of the prince of Orange; the subject whereof (as far as I can understand) was drawn from a visit he had the day before by three deputies from the states general, who understanding by letters newly received from their ambassador at Paris, that great complaints were made in that court, that neither of the ambassadors extraordinary or ordinary were respected here as was fit, but handled with much strangeness and diffidence, these deputies desired him to make better relation of their doings, since they found themselves guilty of no defect towards the ministers of that crown. To which he replied somewhat warmly, saying, that in the changes lately happened in this state, he being upon the place expressly sent, they should not have proceeded so far without communication with him.

' It doth appear by what falls from him in discourse, that when BARNEVELT's cause comes to farther trial, he will insist, that if it can be proved he had any intelligence with the Spaniard, he should suffer for it: otherwise, if his transgression be only within the state, and that he be overborne by his opposites, that that may serve for his punishment.

' Mons. DE CHASTILLON is expected here within few days; and it is thought, that by him some express order will come concerning BARNEVELT; for which purpose he is sent, who otherwise would not have come at this time.

' Madam DE LA TREMOUILLE went yesterday from hence by the way of Brussels towards Sedan, where she will stay some time before her return to Paris, expecting the French king's papal dispensation for a match betwixt the duke, her son, and a daughter of the duke of BOUILLON, her niece. She had a present at parting made her by the states of 2000 crowns, to be bestowed in tapestry at Antwerp.

' What passeth at the synod your honour will see by the journal I send herewith, if your greater affairs will permit you to give them a reading. But these hitherto are *velitationes* only; the encounter with Arminians not beginning until the next week; of which some of them are so apprehensive, that TAURINUS made on Sunday last a public recantation of his doctrine in the church at Delft. The like is said to be done by another Arminian preacher at Harlem. VENATOR died lately at Orleans, whither he was fled; and his body was yesterday brought by his son through Leyden to be buried at Alcmær, where he was so much adored.

' P. S.

P. S. We have here a strange comet of an unusual length; which I saw in the east  
 ‘this morning about five o’clock.’

[Sir DUDLEY CARLETON’s letter of the 4th of December, wanting.]

*December 9.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Sends a copy of the answer of the states general to the French embassadors proposition in favour of BARNEVELT.

Sends at the earnest request of the Swedish embassador a packet from the king of Sweden addressed to his majesty: and, at the desire of captain FRANC, who lieth at the Hague, secretly for the affairs of the states of Bohemia, conveys to the king a sealed letter from those states, with their apology, in Latin, and their proscription of the Jesuits in High Dutch. He sends at the same time a copy of the captain’s proposition to the states general; ‘the deliberation whereof will (as the use is of all things, which concern the wars) be referred to the council of state, where I shall be glad to govern myself by your honour’s directions, according to that, which will be most agreeable to his majesty’s mind.

‘Three of the Hans towns, Lubeck, Bremen, and Harborough, have sent each of them five commissioners to the king of Denmark, to pacify him in the displeasure he continues still on foot against them for the ill treatment of his embassador, at the siege of Brunswick. To which effect they have a letter from the emperor, wherein he declares himself at this time not to be well informed of the business; nevertheless intreats him, that he will not proceed by way of hostility. The states have written, likewise, to the king of Denmark in behalf of the three towns.

‘We hear, that the Bohemians are entered into Austria, to ravage that country, with 3000 foot and 1000 horse; which shews, that all overture of reconciliation is laid aside betwixt them and the emperor.’

That a Chiaus was arrived there from England with seventeen in his train, and was visited at his lodging by the prince of Orange, count WILLIAM, and count HENRY, and the Venetian resident led the way to public ministers. ‘I find him very well satisfied of his majesty’s favour, and the courtesy of the court; but he complains of our merchants, as being close-handed.’

*December 10.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

That mr. BALCANQUAL arrived at the Hague on Saturday the 6th instant, and preached the day following a learned sermon in our church, and on Monday morning was presented by sir DUDLEY to the states general, with a speech of sir DUDLEY’s, representing, that his majesty having been informed of the discourse of many here amongst them, as well churchmen, as others, who wished that he would be pleased to send some divines of Scotland, as well as of England, to the national synod, his majesty did readily concur in their desire, and accordingly resolved upon one, about his court,  
 a pro-

a professor in divinity, who, a Scotsman by birth, had made the first plantation of his studies in Edinburgh, which he hath since cultivated in the universities of England.

The speech, which Mr. BALCANQUAL used upon this subject, Sir DUDLEY gave him, and was much applauded, and desired of him by the president in writing.

In the afternoon Sir DUDLEY presented him, as he did before the English divines, to the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM, by both of whom he was well received.

He was sent the next morning to Dort, in company of two of the states, who promised to place him next adjoining to the English, so as he might have communication with them.

Sir DUDLEY sends a translation of a placart, ‘published this day, upon occasion of an assembly of Arminians, who met at a sermon on Sunday last, which was preached by a young scholar of Leyden; in a garden-house of this town; for which the owner of the house, and another, who was the contriver of that meeting, were imprisoned the next day: but by the cry of their wives, and a multitude of women and mean people, who filled the court Monday and Tuesday following, they were set at liberty on Wednesday. Any that offend in the like kind, after the publication of this placart, will be punished with rigour. For this purpose the reinforcing of the men, which are here in guard of BARNEVELT and the rest of the prisoners, having been deferred, in regard a speech was raised thereupon, as if there had been some execution towards, is now again resolved, with addition of some whole companies, both here in this town, and at Delft, to be ready upon all occasions.

‘This stirring here, and impertinent delays, which are bred in the proceedings of the synod at Dort, are suspected to arise out of practice of the French ambassadors; who, on the one side, endeavour to value their advertisement in France of a tumultuous estate of these provinces by an event answerable thereunto; and on the other, *de tailler la besongne*, to the prince of Orange and the states, whereby to induce a necessity of using them as mediators of accommodation: in which office, their offers of themselves have been so often excluded to their own and their master’s disreputation.

‘The deputies from the states general are gone to Utrecht, for the taking farther examination concerning BARNEVELT; and lodgings are prepared here for more prisoners; of which, mons. REYSENBERG, a chief man of the states of Utrecht, will be one, if he can be met with: but he is said to be retired to Embden.’

*December 16.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Sends two letters received from France, one addressed to his majesty, and another to himself; wherein overture is made of two businesses of great importance, to be performed in this national synod, besides the composing of these present controversies.

‘The same matters, I find here, have by the same hand been recommended to some of his correspondents here since the beginning of the synod, and by them they are sent



to some other at Dort to be consulted upon: which course, finding the business no secret, I have likewise taken; having written this day to our divines there to let me know their opinions touching the same: as likewise, I have had speech upon the same subject with the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM, who do much suspect, that propositions of this kind concerning the general state of the church might hinder the particular proceedings in these provinces: yet touching the first point of a general confession, when the business of these present controversies is ended, they then think, that at his majesty's motion a general confession may be well framed by the synod; which those, which are deputies for the several churches may undertake, as far as in them lies, to procure to be accepted in all parts, where the reformed religion is professed; they being able to go no farther at the present, not having commission to treat of more than the points that are now in question. And touching agreement and toleration betwixt our church and the Lutherans, count WILLIAM likes best of this course, that his majesty should rather be sought unto by the national synod, to interpose his authority with the king of Denmark, the duke of Saxe, and such other princes as have most interest therein; which he conceives to be a better manner of proceeding, and more like to take effect, when it passeth betwixt princes, than when it is undertaken by churchmen.

‘These affairs are of great importance for the present, and fame to posterity for those who have the happiness to carry them forward; but withal are as prejudicial to be undertaken, and not fully effected: which makes me endeavour to give his majesty the best light, I may, what is feasible at this synod; and when I receive the opinion of our divines concerning the subject, I will not fail likewise to advertise the same.’

That he received yesterday a joint letter from our divines, that the air of Dort not agreeing with Dr. HALL, dean of Worcester, he desired leave to return; and they recommended in his room Dr. GOAD, chaplain to the archbishop of Canterbury, and desired sir DUDLEY CARLETON to write to his grace, to procure the same of his majesty.

That the prince of Orange wished, that the dean would come to the Hague, ‘to try, whether change of air would help him; and in the mean time, if it please his majesty, by way of provision to send another, and that the dean should find himself better, they might here enjoy the benefit of all their assistance; they finding so great use thereof by the proof they have had of the sufficiency and discretion of our men, by whom the rest of the strangers are guided, that they rather wish their number augmented than diminished; particularly, they are unwilling to spare mr. Dean, of which they take particular note.

‘—We are once more put out of expectation of the coming of any French divines; those, which were now on the way, being returned to their homes upon new inhibition from the king, which they met with at Geneva.’

That DIODATI, the minister of Geneva, had been at the Hague during the recess of the synod, and preached in the court chapel both yesterday and to-day, in the presence of the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM, the princess dowager and  
count:

count HENRY, and a great concourse of men and women of both factions: which is a preface of a good agreement, but withal a kind of riddle, that a small chapel should hold more than a great church; for these men have not seen themselves together in one church this many-a-day.

‘ On Sunday last, and these two holy days, which is our Christmas, the soldiers newly come to this town have been continually in arms, but especially at church-time, whereby to hinder the assembly of the Arminians. Some few of the chiefeft burghers of that faction, to the number of fourteen or fifteen, being discovered to be met at a consultation in a private house, the prince of Orange sent an officer unto them, to will them to separate, and retire to their severall homes, which they durst not disobey.

‘ This round manner of proceeding causeth them to look about them, and to try a new way of submission and intreaty; and, in conformity thereunto, it is expected we shall hear of fairer language of France: of which I, for my particular, have had this sign:

‘ On Friday last I was visited by both the French ambassadors, which they had long forborne; on Saturday by count HENRY; and on Sunday by the president VANHUSEN, who married BARNEVELT’S daughter; and BARNEVELT’S two sons, GRANDEVILLE, the premier veneur of Holland, and CRANNINGPOLDER, the late governor of Bergen. The first visits were complimentary only; but the last supplicatory, to give a favourable advice, when their father’s cause came in question, in case the opinion of the ambassadors should be demanded by the states: which it seems they and other of their friends will seek to procure.

‘ They endeavoured to clear their father of having at any time done any disservice to his majesty; and insisted particularly in the matters of VORSTIUS, concerning whom CRANNINGPOLDER saith, his majesty had assured him, when he waited upon him some years since at Royston (which was soon after the remove of VORSTIUS from Leyden) that he rested well satisfied.

‘ I told them, I would deal freely with them, that for late years his majesty had no cause to satisfy himself in the carriage of affairs in this province of Holland, either for that which concerns his majesty or his kingdoms, or those negotiations he hath had in these provinces; and particularly touching VORSTIUS, that his majesty had received a new offence by his book in answer of SLADE, which was full of impieties, and mixt with many ironical scoffs touching his majesty himself; of which having made my complaint, when I first came to this charge, by express order from his majesty, who, seeing VORSTIUS could not *filere* nor *mutare pellem* (which were his majesty’s words), wished to have him sent out of these provinces; and having presented my proposition in writing to this effect, which was recommended by the states general to the states of Holland; it was suppressed by the committee-council of Holland, without ever communicating the same to the states of the province, or taking the matter so much as once into deliberation. The like ill-dealing was used in the satisfaction I required in his majesty’s name concerning the *Balance*: which notwithstanding (I told them) I was no man’s accuser, neither had I commission from his majesty

jeſty to intercede for any; ſo as, if the ſtates ſhould require my opinion concerning theſe priſoners, as a public miniſter I muſt be ſilent.

‘ They have been ſuitors in the ſame manner to the prince of Orange, with whom, as with myſelf, they made their father’s greateſt crime to be his endeavour to procure a toleration of both the opinions here in controverſy; and to this ſame effect they have preſented a remonſtrance to the ſtates general. His excellency gave them this anſwer only, that their father had done better to have followed his counſel heretofore in meddling leſs with theſe affairs, and thereby have freed himſelf of danger, and the country of trouble.

‘ Yeſterday in the morning, and likewise in the night before, HOGEBETS ſhewed to his guards many tokens of lunacy, by calling for his children, diſpoſing of domeſtic affairs, and other things of the like kind, as if he had been in his own houſe: which, whether it be real or counterfeited, is not yet diſcovered.

‘ P. S. At the cloſing hereof I have been viſited by the baron DHONA, a counſellor of his highneſs the prince a Palatine, employed to his majeſty touching the renewing of the union and theſe Bohemian affairs: concerning both which in his return he is likewiſe to treat with the ſtates; which he forbears now in his journey, having only ſpoken with the prince of Orange. This laſt night he arrived here, and to-morrow morning ſets forwards towards England.’

*December 12.* Mr. JOHN HALES to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Dort. \*

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>, my very good lord,

‘ It was upon Monday laſt injoined the remonſtrants to provide their conſiderations upon the confeſſion and catechiſm, and exhibit them to the ſynod, on Friday the 12<sup>th</sup> of this preſent. The time being come, and the ſynod ſat, the remonſtrants were called in, and were required to give up their conſiderations. With that they brought forth a writing, and began to read. The præſes, conſidering to what purpoſe their prefaces and narrations had heretofore tended, interrupted them, and told them, that they were willed to give them up. Whether or no they ſhould be read, that the ſynod would think of. They urged to have it read, but in vain; and ſo the prologue married. Theſe conſiderations now exhibited were only on the confeſſion. For the catechiſm, they pretended the time was too ſhort. They were divided in their conſiderations; for one part of them was ſubſcribed by thoſe of Holland only, EPISCOPIUS, ARNOLDI, DUINGLONIUS, and POPPIUS. Another part was ſubſcribed with the names of the reſt. The præſes, requiring the remonſtrants a while to withdraw, commended unto the ſynod the conſideration of this their fact: firſt, whether it was according to the decree of the ſtates and the ſynod. Secondly, whether or no they would have their preface to be read. In the firſt the præſes thought they had not given that ſatisfaction which was looked for; firſt, in that they gave up their conſiderations *conjunctim*, which they ought to have done one by one, every one for himſelf. Secondly, in that they had given up none upon the catechiſm,

\* This letter is not printed in his *Golden Remains*. Published at London in 1659, in Quarto.



which they undertook to do. Thirdly, it seemed a marvel to the synod how it came to pass, that some of them upon Monday last openly affirmed, that they had but few; others, that they had none at all; yet now, upon so short a warning, they bring so large a bill subscribed with all their names. For their preface, which they would have read, it was delivered to the secular delegates to consider of. They having perused it, thought it might be read; and so forthwith it was. It founded to this purpose; that whereas by their citatory letters they were first to deal only concerning the five articles, and after that concerning the confession and catechism; yet since it had pleased the delegates to invert this order, *ut probare possint obedientiam suam*, they were ready to give up their considerations. That the occasion of these considerations was this; whereas, *Ann. 1597*, some controversies had arisen concerning the confession and catechism, which troubled the church, this gave occasion to the states to think of a national synod to be called, for the settling of these broils. Many meetings there had been, and consultations concerning this synod, which still were crossed by some, who would by no means endure, that there should be any revision of those writings. That at a synod in Delft, *Ann. 1607*, commandment was given, that inquisition should be made into the confession and catechism, and at that time some of the remonstrants had gathered certain points together to be advised of, not to quarrel withal. This their endeavour they thought did deserve thanks, but they found, that for their pains they gained only the reputation of men ready to unjoint and unsettle all things, and set up an arbitrary religion. That these their considerations were called for by the states, and so exhibited to them, and left in their custody. Besides these, they had no other, neither yet copy of those; yet upon command had they gathered others together, in which they did not call any doctrinal point into controversy, but only proposed certain phrases and forms of speech, or some things concerning order and method, which they thought deserved to be considered of. Their enemies, they know, thought, that there did *latere nonnulla horribilia dogmata & pestilentia*; but *confundet illos Deus*, they doubted not, in good time. That they never were guilty of any heresies; and thus much would their public writings witness in their behalf. That these considerations they exhibited with no ill intent, but only for the ease of the national synod, that they might have an inventory, in which they might find what things they were, which had bred scruple in some men's minds. That their considerations upon the catechism they now gave not up, because the shortness of the time limited would not give them leave. This was the sum of their preface. The considerations themselves were not read, only there was order given, that the next day at nine o'clock, one of each company should be deputed to come to the synod-house, and transcribe them.

' After this the synod began to pass their judgment; where FESTIUS HOMMIUS having first taken the same exceptions which the Præses had formerly done, he added a long narration by way of answer to that historical part of the remonstrants preface; wherein they strived to derive the envy of the delay of a national synod upon the remonstrants, and shewed what it was, against which the contra-remonstrants took exceptions in the point of the revision of the confession; namely, that a synod might not be called for that purpose, and that the clause of revising the confession might not be put amongst the causes of the synod, lest peradventure it might be thought, that the states did make doubt and question of it.

' That

‘ That the remonstrants had been often required to exhibit their considerations, but for some years space they hung off, and could not be brought to do it. At length, with much ado, they brought in a *syllabus* and catalogue of certain places in CALVIN, BEZA, and PISCATOR, which they thought did not agree with the confession; and thus, instead of considerations upon the catechism, they brought nothing but accusations of other men. But the truth of these things should farther appear, when the story of them, which was now in hand, should come abroad.

‘ The foreign divines went on to deliver their opinions, when old GOCLENIUS could not let the remonstrants pass without a jest, such a one as it was; for being asked his judgment, he put off his hat, and told us, that the remonstrants were *canonici irregulares, regular irregulars*, and put on his hat again. Where the sap of this jest is, I know not; but the gravest in the synod had much ado to compose their countenances. An old man, a deputy of Utrecht, standing up signified, that how demurely soever the remonstrants spake of their considerations, yet, indeed, they did harbour greater matters; for it is well known, that at Delft one of them openly said, that shortly they would bring another kind of divinity into the Netherlands: and whereas in their catechism to many questions they answer *yea*, they should be taught to answer *no*, & *à contra*. Here come in a decree of states to this effect, that in this manner of exhibiting their considerations, the remonstrants had done neither according to their promise, nor according to their duties; and therefore they did strictly command them to have greater respect to themselves, but greatest of all to the magistrate, whom God had placed over them: that they warn them henceforward to leave all cavilling about the words of the citatory letters: that as far as they could, they should exhibit those considerations mentioned in their preface, which they gave up, to the states of Holland; and that they should, upon Thursday next, give them up, not *in communi*, but every man by himself. For the states did acknowledge, besides those of the antient reformed religion, no other body of a church in the Netherlands. This decree put an end to that business. Then did the præses propose unto the synod, whether it were fit they should proceed to propound to the remonstrants certain interrogatories concerning the five articles, or defer it until they had brought in their considerations upon the catechism. For, because the remonstrants had given their judgment upon the articles perplexedly, the synod formerly had thought good to propose them certain questions, the better to wring their meaning from them. It was concluded, that these interrogatories should not be proposed unto them, till they had given up their considerations, because it might be some hindrance unto them in that business. The remonstrants were again called in, and the judgment of the synod made known unto them, that they had not obeyed; first, in that they gave considerations only on the confession, whereas they should have brought likewise upon the catechism: then, that they gave them up *conjunctim*, which they ought to have done every man by himself. Thirdly, that the synod marvelled, that these, who the last session had no considerations at all, should put their hands to so great a number. They were warned therefore better to remember the duty they owed unto the synod, and to call to mind, that whereas they pretended shortness of time, they had as much time given them as they required. Then did the præses inquire concerning the considerations given up to the states of Holland, when, and to whom they were presented, and whether these, which now they had given, were the same



with them. EPISCOPIUS replied, he gave none up at all. Others answered, that they were the same considerations, and more besides. CORVINUS replied, that these considerations were given to the states, not to any particular man. Another replied, that the considerations were left in the house of UTENBOGARD, to be by him exhibited; but what became of them, he knew not. Then was the decree of the states read to the remonstrants; and EPISCOPIUS required a copy of it. The præses politicus asked him, why? *Ut pareamus*, said EPISCOPIUS. No, said the same præses, *it is only, that you may find some words to cavil at; and therefore they should have none. It was sufficient, that they knew the meaning of it.* This at first seemed to me somewhat hard: but when I considered, that these were the men, which heretofore had, in prejudice of the church, so extremely flattered the civil magistrate, I could not but think this usage a fit reward for such a service; and that, by a just judgment of God, themselves had the first experience of those inconveniences, which naturally arise out of their doctrine in that behalf. It was thought fit, that these men, who thus against the decree of the synod had joined themselves in one, should yet be pulled asunder. And therefore the præses examined them one by one, how far they were interested in these considerations, and whether they move doubt and scruple in all their minds. H. LEO answered, that he made no doubt in any of them; who was presently told, he needed [not] then have joined himself unto them.

‘ The four of Holland stood to their’s. PYNACKERUS answered, that he meant not at all to acquaint the synod with any doubt of his. Some answered, that they doubted only in some of them, and not in others; some, that they had not yet sufficiently considered of them. The most general answer, that was given, was this, that though in many of these considerations themselves made no scruple; yet when they saw them, they thought the synod might well advise of them. To which was answered, that the synod required their own considerations, not their judgment upon the considerations of others. The præses then further inquired, whether they had any more considerations? Some answered, that peradventure they might have more, if they had time to bethink themselves. Some, that more came not yet into their minds. The most replied, they had none; only HOLLINGERUS replied, that he had one, which he presently gave up in writing. What this one was I know not; for it was not published. Then were they commanded to give up their considerations upon the catechism, together with their reasons, upon Thursday next after Christmas-day. EPISCOPIUS answered, they would do what they could; and so they went out. The præses then requested the synod to think what they would do with these considerations, since they saw in them *tantam judiciorum disparitatem*: and so warning them to meet again *pleno conventu* upon Thursday next, he concluded a long, a troublesome, and fruitless session.

‘ There is an intermission of the synod until Thursday next. Your honour peradventure looks, that, according to your appointment, I should return for some days unto the Hague. Your lordship therefore shall understand, that though here be no synod, yet there will be every day fundry things to be written, of which, for your lordship’s better information in the proceedings of the synod, it may be necessary to take some copy. Again, I take no pleasure in travelling, and therefore am well content at all times to stay there, where my business is, so long as it lasts. Until, therefore, it shall please your honour to call me home for good and all, I shall best like to remain here.

Thirdly,



Thirdly, I am but a silly traveller, and conveniently I cannot travel without a guide. The days being short and the tide coming somewhat late, night would quickly come. Now for me to go by night, having neither language nor any to conduct me, must needs be very inconvenient. So commending this my excuse to your honourable consideration, remembering my humble duty to my lady, I take my leave, your honour's chaplain, and bounden in all duty and service,

From Dort this  $1\frac{1}{2}$  of December 1618. Received the 15th.

JOHN HALES.

Dec. 8. N. S. Dr. PETER DU MOULIN to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Paris.

This letter is that mentioned above in sir DUDLEY CARLETON of the 16th O. S. to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ Monf.

‘ La cognoiffance, que j’ay de vostre vertu, & du zele que vous avés au service de DIEU, me donne la hardiesse de m’adresser à vous pour estre aidé en une affaire, que concerne le bien general de l’eglise, laquelle j’eusse proposée au synode nationale de Dordrecht, si mon voyage n’eust esté empesché.

‘ Le fait est, que j’estime, qu’une si notable assemblée ne se doit pas contenter d’appaiser les troubles de l’eglise des Pays Bas, mais aussi doit prevenir les maux futurs, & establir un ordre, qui puisse empêcher, qu’un tel inconvenient ne puisse arriver cy-apres, non seulement en Pays Bas, mais aussi par tout ailleurs.

‘ Ce remede seroit, qu’en synode present se dressât une confession de foy composée des confessions de l’eglise de Angleterre, & des eglises de France, & des eglises du Pays Bas, Palatinat, Suisse, &c. Laquelle confession contint les points de doctrine, esquels nous convenons tous par la grace de DIEU sans y faire mention de la police & discipline ecclesiastique, sur laquelle je ne pense pas, qu’on se puisse accorder à suivre une mesme forme. Que cette confession estant signée & approuvée par les députés des diverses nations, qui se trouvent au synode, soit remportée es pays, d’où ils sont députés, pour estre signée & approuvée par l’ordre ecclesiastique d’Angleterre, & par le synode national de France, & ainsi es autres pays. Et que ceste confession estant ainsi generalement establié, ce reiglement soit fait, lequel soit le ciment de nostre union, que deormais, si en Angleterre, ou en France, ou en Pays Bas, ou en Allemagne, ou en Suisse, quelque nouvelle controverse se meut, rien ne pourra estre conclu ni innové sans le consentement de toutes les provinces & eglises entrées en cet accord; lequel se conclurra par lettres reciproques. Pour exemple; nostre synode national prochain escrira aux chefs de l’ordre ecclesiastique d’Angleterre, & au synode des Pays Bas, & a celui de Suisse & du Palatinat, les lettres certifiantes, que les eglises de France entrent en ceste union, & veulent garder inviolablement cet ordre. Le mesme se fera par les autres pays.

‘ Il y a une autre affaire non moins importante, sur laquelle il seroit a desirer, que le synode de Dordrecht travaillât; qui est de faire un project d’accord & reconciliation entre nous & les eglises Lutheriennes; & que pour y parvenir, lettres communicatoires soient.

soient escrites par ce synode aux princes, academies, & eglises Lutheriennes, comme à freres en JESUS CHRIST, pour les inviter à accord, avec nous. A ce que par l'entremise & communication mutuelle des princes, quelque lieu puisse estre assigné, auquel dans six mois se trouvent des theologiens de part & d'autre : non pour disputer, mais pour aviser aux moyens d'accord & tolerance mutuelle : lesquels moyens j'estime faciles & faisables ; sur tout s'il plaist au roy de la Grande Bretagne y apporter son autorité, & faire cette proposition au synode, ou par vous, monf. ou par les theologiens, qu'il y a envoyés. C'est la substance des lettres, que j'escris a sa majesté.'

*Dec. 17. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.*

Sends it by baron DHONA, and recommends him.

Incloses a memorial, sent unto him the night before by the deputies of the count of Embden, who was imprisoned in that city.

In the postscript he observes, that those deputies had been with him, and desired him to speak to the states to use their authority in the count's behalf ; for which purpose he had demanded audience.

Memorial of the deputies of the count of Embden, dated at the Hague *Dec. 26, N. S.*

*Dec. 30. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.*

That the prince of Orange being absent, on whom the direction of affairs doth now chiefly depend, especially those which belong to the sea, as admiral, and the commissioners letters concerning his majesty's resolution not to enter into treaty with them, unless they procure such authority from hence as is required, not being yet arrived, he had hitherto forborne demanding audience, for which he had received his majesty's orders by the secretary's letters of the 21st and 22d, the first of which came to his hands on the 25th, and the second on the 26th, knowing, that whatsoever he should now say, would be laid aside till the prince's return, which was expected to-morrow or Saturday ; and until the states hear from their own men, his proposition would be of less force, and not so much as taken into deliberation.

He suspects, that the towns of Holland will not authorise their deputies to come to a resolution, agreeable to his majesty's desire, in the point concerning the fishing on the coasts of his three kingdoms ; and his doubts are particularly grounded upon what the prince of Orange said to him, when he took leave of Sir DUDLEY on Monday last, at his departure to Utrecht, ' in regard the magistrates of these towns of Holland, being newly placed, and yet scarce fast in their states, who do authorise the deputies, which come hither to the assembly of the states in all things they are to treat and resolve, will not adventure, for fear of the people, to determine of a business, on which the chief livelihood of fifty thousand of the inhabitants of this province doth depend.' Sir DUDLEY replied, as from himself, that though his majesty, finding his right opposed both by their statesmen and men of war, as appeared from the writings of



GROTIUS and the taking of JOHN BROWN the last year, neither could nor would desist from having his right acknowledged by this state, as well as by all other princes and commonwealths: yet this acknowledgment of a right and a due was no exclusion of grace and favour, and that the people of this country paying that small tribute upon every one of their buffes (which was not so much as disputed by any other nation whatsoever) such was his majesty's well-wishing to this state, that he presumed of his permission to suffer them to continue their course of fishing, which they might use thereby with more freedom and less apprehension of let and molestation than before, and likewise spare the cost of some of their men of war, which they yearly sent out to maintain that by force, which they may of courtesy. The prince answered, that for himself, at his return from Utrecht, he would do his best endeavour to procure his majesty's contentment: but he doubted the Hollanders would apprehend the same effect in their payment for their fishing, as they found in the passage of the Sound, where at first an easy matter was demanded by the king of Denmark, and now more exacted than they can possibly bear. And touching their men of war, he said, they must still be at the same cost with them in regard of the pirates.

‘ Having had the like discourse with count WILLIAM, who visited him the next day after his excellency's departure, in regard I find much to be attributed by the states to his advice and counsel, he alledged the same difficulties of the small authority these new magistrates of the several towns of Holland have over the people, they being yet forced to keep them in obedience by garrisons of soldiers; and therefore wished, that either this question had been put to its utmost trial before, or might be with his majesty's good liking deferred for some time, because the distaste of the refusal would then have lighted upon others; and these, which are now put in place, he would not have give his majesty any discontents. Withal he cast out a question with me, whether this freedom of fishing might not be redeemed with a sum of money? To which I answered, that it was a matter of royalty more than of utility, though princes were not to neglect their profit. And as I saw this was his private conceit, so I did not so much as take upon me to propose it to his majesty. My endeavours shall be, besides those ample instructions I have from your honour, with the copy of the answer of my lords of the council (for which I render your honour my humble thanks) to make appear in my proposition, these businesses not to be now first set on foot, as if his majesty did prevail himself of the present conjuncture to make a breach into their state through their divisions and factions, or were thrust on to those resolutions, either by information of any man from hence, or instigation or particular interest of any person about his majesty, for which the notice the states have of GODFREY BOOT's undertaking, and their suspicion of those in his majesty's court to whom he addressed himself, and the counsels they frame thereupon, doth give me subject.’

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON vindicates himself, that he had not been negligent with respect to the defect in the commission of the states to their commissioners.

‘ True it is (as I have since understood) that the states did then resolve amongst themselves to acquaint me no more either in public or private with their purpose, before the dispatch of their commissioners, whereby to free themselves of further importunity.



tunity, hoping by their commissioners to give his majesty contentment; which even at the last hour of their parting I assured them they would not do, unless they went amply instructed and fully authorised: to which their answer was only in general terms, that they went furnished with what they hoped would satisfy his majesty.

‘ Concerning the place I have in the council of state, your honour may please to understand, that I have small advantage thereby to know what is done by the states general, which is an assembly or college apart, to which, in deliberation of matters of state, those of the council never come but *vocati*; one of the chief works of monf. BARNEVELT’S authority and opposition to the prince of Orange (who hath ordinary *seance* likewise in that council) having been to draw all affairs of state, which were at the first institution of the council only managed there, to the states general, where he did prædominate: whereupon their use hath been of late years to meet daily, and to embrace and dispatch all business, which they were wont to do but monthly, or according to extraordinary occasions.

‘ The prince of Orange’s journey to Utrecht is to make a new reformation of the magistrates, by sifting them somewhat more narrowly than was fit to be done at first. He is accompanied by his brother, the count HENRY, the prince of Portugal, and monf. CHASTILLON; who (as many more) begin to sway with the tide: only the Arminian preachers, and some few which they lead by the ears, persist in their opi-niatreties; which I advertise your honour more particularly by other letters.’

GODFREY BOOT, mentioned in this letter, is particularly taken notice of in another letter of sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the secretary of the 10th of December, having brought to him the secretary’s letter of the 18th of September, on the Sunday before. He observes, that every body admired at his new dress (having been imprisoned in the common jail as an intelligencer of the archduke), and that before his arrival he made himself be expected by the vanity of his letters as a knight, a pensioner, a sworn servant, and an agent to his majesty to be assistant to his ambassador; all which qualities he now takes to himself: ‘ but making himself so publicly known, how he will acquit himself in his secret undertakings, is to me a great mystery.’

Thus he had an office in the customs at Gorcum, and was deprived of it for his ill conduct in it. That being seized as an intelligencer of the archduke, and his papers examined, it was found how he had abused the archduke under pretext of drawing money from him to distribute in these parts; and would have lost his head, but in regard of his friends, and BARNEVELT’S making it appear to the states, that he was no dangerous man. By the elector of Brandenburg’s council (where he had insinuated himself by large undertakings) he was cast off, when he was better known, as a man *nullius pretii*. Now he, that he hath deceived so many, if he can do his majesty any service, deceives me most of all.

‘ This I have thought it my duty to write, lest by some needy instruments of his, he may under one pretence or other engage his majesty any farther, before trial be made of him. And for better execution of what he hath undertaken, the time serves to his advantage, in that the ill success of this year’s herring-fishing (which hath lost the





stabbed into divers places of the body, and drawn into a ditch with a cord about his neck, where he was left half-alive and half-dead by those who committed the fact, when they had taken his letters from him. These are advertised to be two couriers, which were dispatched after this man from Paris by post upon a bruit generally spread there, that the prince of Orange was slain here at the Hague; and the prince conceived, that it was done by order of mons. DE LUVNES, who hath his eye upon the principality of Orange; and upon such an accident might have an ambition to step into it. This effect is wrought thereby, that count HENRY having the same apprehension, doth now adhere to his brother, seeing their house aimed at as well in France, as in this place.

‘ In the synod of Dort, the remonstrants continuing in their opiniatrey in not answering, order is taken to proceed against them out of their books; and mean time they have commandment, that they shall not go out of that town, but be present, as the synod should have occasion to call for them, which is done, because they should not incense the people in other towns. A placart is published by the states general against printing of books, libels, and pamphlets, *sine privilegio*; for which the French embassador’s speech, which was going to the press, gave occasion.

‘ By that I understand from the bishop of Llandaff, I do not find, mons. DU MOULIN’s projects so well tasted by our divines, as by some other strangers, who have had them in consultation: but since his majesty doth not dislike to have trial made of them, it shall be performed with that caution, as your honour doth recommend. I have had the dean of Worcester for the space of these ten days here in my house, who continues very weak, but is much comforted with his majesty’s gracious care of him, and leave for his return; of which he will make use, when his strength will suffer.’

That upon closing this dispatch, he was now visited at night by the same persons from the states of Holland, who had been with him in the afternoon, who said they had called to an express assembly (since they had been with him) two of those, who have charge of examination of the great prisoners, who find much matter against BOOTE, and particularly that he was a confidant of HOGEBETS, and an instrument of UTENBOGARD, to carry matters of intelligence betwixt him and the audiercer VERREYKEN at Brussels. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON wished them, that since they had so much matter against him, and of that nature, they would not by their interrogatories make a mixture of other affairs; because it might be, in his journey into England, he might have valued himself by offer of some particular services within his majesty’s kingdoms, wherein his majesty may as well serve himself with strangers as other princes: and this man being known to be full of forgeries and chimeras, somewhat be found among his papers, which being his own projects only, might, if they came abroad, give subject of some other jealousy. Wherefore I desired them, that whatsoever they found of his concerning his majesty, might be suppressed; assuring them, that neither this man was sent by me into England, nor sent for by his majesty; and therefore they must distinguish betwixt undertakings and employments. In this they promised they would have a regard to what I recommended, and I conceived it to be necessary to put this unto them by example of the respect the states general bore to BARNEVELT’s papers, wherein



wherein those of Holland were interested: in which consideration they went untouched (though they since much repent themselves of that nicety), because I was informed they had found out a secret lodging, which BOOTE had at Riswick, where they have seized on his stuff and papers.

‘ I have omitted to advertise your honour, that the *Generaux des Monoyes* having two days since made their report to the states general, they advise the states to treat with his majesty, and by his means with other princes, for a certain reglement of monies; and in the mean time to publish a placart against the inhancement of their valuations in these provinces hereafter, and to reduce those, which are now so excessively raised, to a more moderate rate. Thus I humbly, &c.

London.

‘ P. S. I understand, that the taking of BOOTE proceeds of letters from 102, the deputed council of Holland. B A S. Amsterdam. D E P U, written to 187, by 14. 10. 52. 68. 69. of 176, one of the 19. 20. 46. 56. T I E S. the Low-Countries. 34. 20. 27 52. 70. 71. for 204, who hath discovered his opposition to their business. And for the rest, I find by his friends he hath out of vanity discovered himself notwithstanding his protestation, which your honour will see in a paper, which he found by the hands of a Brabander subject to the archduke to convey unto me out of prison.’

In this letter of Sir DUDLEY CARLETON is inclosed that of BOOTE to him from his prison at the Hague, *January 10, 1619. N. S.* desiring him to let him know what he shall answer, *si je suis obligé & tenu de reveler les secrets du roi mon maistre . . . vous assurant sur ma foy de n'en jusques à present avoir revelé.*

*January 3, 1618. Monf. DIODATI to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Dort.*

In favour of the protestants of the marquifate of Salluces, who performed some acts of their religions, and were exposed to the resentment of the duke of Savoy.

*January 14. Dr. GEORGE CARLETON, bishop of Llandaff, to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Dort.*

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. my very good Lord,

‘ Though I have written two letters yesterday to your lordship, yet I could not omit the occasion of our worthy host Sir JOHN BERCH his coming to the Hague, a man, that hath somewhat favoured the side now falling, but of a moderate disposition, and free in his judgment of both sides, censuring and perhaps censured, condemning the judgment and proceedings of the remonstrants. In a kingdom such a man might be more esteemed than in a free estate: for in a free estate a man must be engaged in the one side, or displease the other.

‘ Concerning the thing which I wrote last of, I was long in writing, thinking that there should be no cause of writing until we were ready to set upon the work,

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The thing, when opportunity serveth, may be done without much difficulty; for though I have no leisure to the business, yet I think how it may be done. We will first draw a confession out of the English confession, which is allowed; and that we will present to the Palatines, and the rest here. They may add what they think fit, and after thus far proceeding it may be sent to his majesty. It may be, that some few things may be added to the English confession; or taking any thing out of the English confession, there is no doubt to be made of any thing, save one, which before-hand I would communicate to your lordship, that it may not be a rub in our way in time of doing it. The thing is this: in the expounding of these words, *he descended into hell*, the English church hath otherwise expounded those words, than the Palatine church doth. Now the question is this; if we lay down the bare words, *descendit ad inferos*, and the Palatines shall add the words of their confession, for expounding those words; this question, I say, would be known, whether his majesty and the church of England will suffer their exposition to pass. I suppose, that in other things there will be no great difficulty. And yet because I am in these questions, some things may be questions beforehand, to prepare the business. It would be known, whether in framing the English confession (for this, I resolve, shall be first done, to which the other may give their consents or additions) whether, I say, in framing it, we may not take this liberty, to order it in method, and to supply the articles (if in them some defect may be found) out of the Scottish confession and JEWEL'S *Apology*. For though the *Apology* be not established by authority, as the articles are, yet considering the time of publishing both, it may appear, that the same hand wrote both.

‘ These things being known before-hand might set the work in some forwardness. And now by thinking of these things more difficulties do arise, which are to be answered before we can proceed. In doctrinal matters there will be no great difficulty; and this was the thing, which I intended, when I wrote before, that the thing may be done without much difficulty. But in the articles of faith and religion, which contain the confession of the English church, there are two things, which must be considered in this business: the first of Homilies to be read in the church; the other is *de episcoporum & ministrorum consecratione*. The question is, what should be done with this, seeing the consecration of bishops is a thing, which other churches use not: and the Homilies are only in English, and may not bind a consent of other churches, who know not what is contained in them. I think, that now I have moved all the doubts and rubs, that may fall in this business; or if any should fall, they will be such, as may soon be removed, if first these might be satisfied. If there be a consent first between our church and the Palatines, all the rest will easily come over; for the Palatine confession is that, which carrieth most authority in these reformed churches.

‘ The synod matters proceed now in good fashion; and, we hope, will do better and better. They are desirous to have many sessions, though little be done in a session; I mean the deputies desire it. We think, that we might more forward the synod with fewer sessions, by preparing the work.

‘ Yesterday I took upon me a kind of episcopal authority. I sent for one chief of every company of the *exteri*; and here we hold a little synod. I proposed to them the necessity of our mutual consent, what scandal might arise, if any of us should fall  
from

from the other; and shewed them how we had framed our judgment upon the first article: to which I intreated their consents, that the work might be so far prepared for the synod. They came all off with great facility and with many thanks for devising a way to draw them together. All, I say, came round, saving one, for whose sake and satisfaction the meeting was partly intended. He seemed to stick at some things; but we hope to quiet him in the end. We kept him at dinner, and omitted no kindness. He shall neither want kindness to draw him, nor reasons to satisfy him. Our intention is to forward the synod, which we think was more procured here in two or three hours, than is done in many sessions.

‘ Thus in my prayers commending your lordship and your good lady to God’s holy protection, I rest.

Your lordship’s always assured,

Dort, January 14, 1618.

GEORGE LANDAVEN.

Jan.  $\frac{5}{15}$ . Mr. HALES to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Dort. Printed in his *Remains*.

Jan. 8. ENNO count of East Friseland to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, *ex arce mea Auricand*.

Thanks for Sir DUDLEY’s zeal for his releasement, which he had attained upon the arrival of the deputies of the states general at Embden.

Jan. 23. N. S. Copy of the proposition of CHRISTOFERO SURIANO the Venetian resident to the states general.

The republic of Venice sorry, that *les affections & amour entre les deux couronnes de France & Angleterre auroit pris quelques alterations, qui en ces conjunctures ne pouvoit reüssir que d’interruption aux bons effets du bien commun universel, mais principalement au particulier (ce qui touche à la serenissime republique) de ces provinces unies, s’approchant le tems de l’expiration des treves: & selon que les dites deux couronnes se sont tous jours employées, & avec bons offices ont procuré le bien & service de la liberté de ces estats, ainsi la serenissime republique desire; qu’entre les princes une bonne reconciliation s’en suivit. Or s’estant monf. le duc de Savoye interposé avec le moyen de monf. le cardinal son fils, desirant sa serenité coadjuver la bonne issue d’un tel effect, a commandé à ses ambassadeurs tant à Paris qu’à Londres, que sans point desbourber le premier mediateur, ils apportent leurs plus bons offices, & tels qu’ils estimerent plus propres pour l’effectuation de son desir, qui n’a autre but que le bien de l’intention commune, ce qui m’a esté commandé de communiquer à V. V. E. E.*

That the Spaniards augmenting their forces, it was to be apprehended; their design was either against Venice or the United Provinces: and therefore, that the republic of Venice desired, that the states general would order their captains of their vessels.



vessels sent against the pirates to attend to and observe the proceedings of the Spaniards, and to keep a good correspondence with the ministers of the republic of Venice.

Jan. 27. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ I have had (upon occasion of these delays about the businesses which concern his majesty) some speech with the prince of Orange, advising him to take upon him the managing of public businesses in that manner as the prince his father did (wherein I was seconded by count WILLIAM, who was present) or else, that he would make election of some well-affected and able men of the body of the states, to whom public ministers might address themselves. For the confusion of affairs (whilst they are handled, as now, in common) will impose a necessity in the states to intrust some men with them, in time, above others: and therefore the prince cannot do better than in time to bethink himself, who are the fittest persons for this purpose; and thereby oblige them by his choice. For himself, I find no disposition in him to undertake more, than, according to occasions of extraordinary importance, to have advice heard; which is now done more frequently, and with much more respect, than of late years. And for the nomination or recommendation of any, he doth not yet think the time proper, until the states, who do now (to use his own words) *sortir hors de page*, finding themselves in a labyrinth (which must needs fall out in multiplicity of affairs, and slowness of dispatch) do of themselves consult with him of this business: which though they should not think of, of their own accord, yet the synod being ended, the prisoners one way or other dispatcht, and the renewing and reviving of the union of the provinces (which is now likewise in speech) finished, he doth then judge it a fit time to recommend it unto them. I write this at greater length, to the end his majesty, seeing in what state we stand, may be pleased to use his accustomed wisdom in continuing his good treatment of their commissioners; though the dispatch of such affairs, as concern his majesty, be not for celerity, or in all respects, for substance, answerable to his mind. And though I find yet much of the old leaven amongst these men, I doubt not, *en les laissant faire*, but his majesty will see them before long thoroughly reformed. For this conclusion I make, that when they have gone through with their prisoners, settled their affairs of the church, and explained their articles of the union of Utrecht in the points which concern religion, though they will be then in better state than ever, of continuance, yet of themselves subsist they cannot. Wherefore, in respect of religion, their dependance must be necessarily upon his majesty more than any other prince; and by consequence his majesty will have better reason of them in all his just and reasonable demands. In the proceedings against BOOTE it will not lie in my power to keep him from being questioned for his old offences, the whole process of which is in the hands of the provincial court; and his friends think (at least so they have said unto me) that so he be not charged with his undertakings in England, he can shift well enough. And for that point, I have taken good order; as likewise they have my best help in all things else, which concern him. For though either for wit or honesty he be not considerable, yet because he hath the title of his majesty’s service, I do no ways fail him. But his delivery must be, as before, out of compassion of his weakness, as a man half distracted;

or

or else he will run hazard of his life. For his renouncing of his religion, and practising with the Spaniard, are very gross and palpable: and for the monies he received in recompence (of which he very unwisely kept a register) they have an account under his hand. This, which is now spoken of, concerning his dealing with HOGEBETS and UTENBOGARD, will not (as I wrote formerly) much hurt him: for though it appears he was tampering that way, yet these men have too good heads to trust such a one as his.

‘HOGEBETS’s frenzy went no further than to one fit; which he excused afterwards by a distemper for want of sleep: but it is conceived to have been counterfeit, whereby to move compassion, and have means to speak with his wife; whom during that time he often called upon.’

A particular account of the case of PAUL DE LA RAVOIRE, which sir DUDLEY CARLETON ends with observing, ‘that the states of Holland (not to distaste the French ambassador in all their affairs at once) have gratified them in this; and in time the business may be renewed again to RAVOIRE’s better contentment. These new states of Holland do many extravagancies, not to seem inferior to the old; and therefore for the present he will do rightly to surcease his suit.

‘I must let your honour understand, that upon a discontentment I had here, of  
BARNEVELT GROTIUS  
 which the world took notice, against 159 and 165, for the small satisfaction they  
R A Y D Y R E  
 gave me about a book, which was here printed against me, 50. 10. 56. 42. 61. 51. 20. 68. 69. offered himself twice unto me to be employed with some others to lay violent hands upon them. This sheweth a good will rather than a good mind; and I write it  
*ut noscas hominem*, hearing he sues to be received into his majesty’s service.

‘Herewith I send your honour a book written by some discontented Scotchman against the bishops in that kingdom. I have it from the bishop of Llandaff, who received the same of the hands of DEBETIUS, one of the provincials at the synod, he saying, that it was sent to him in a packet with some others from England, and that he thought it his duty to bring it to the bishop.’

Jan. 30. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON. to secretary NAUNTON.

‘The judges of our prisoners are now finally chosen; and of them I send your honour a list. They are all esteemed well-affected persons in religion, and good patriots. But it is thought mons. BARNEVELT will challenge many of them as disaffected to his person, and declared opposites to his party. The day of their meeting here is appointed the 19th of February, N. S. and for this purpose letters are written from the states general, as well to the absent as present, because they serve for their warrant.

‘MUSBERGHEN is expected here from Zutphen this night or to-morrow. He was taken in the castle, whither he retired himself, as Amiens was surpris’d, by a load of hay,



hay, under cover of which three soldiers entered, and kept the gate open for the rest. After their entry, it was long before they could find him. In the end he was taken betwixt two doors. When they offered to lay hands on him, he cast himself on the ground, and desired them to shoot him; and there still lay crying and lamenting, until they were forced rather to draw him, than lead him away; which shews either much guiltiness, or much weakness.

‘ VANDER-MYLE and UTENBOGARD, who have been ever since the beginning of the synod hovering about this place and Dort, are said to be gone back to the archduke’s side, seeing the states go on so roundly in this business, without further dallying.

‘ Yesterday the states resolved to send expostulatory and minatory letters to the archduke, for divers wrongs done their merchants both in their shipping and goods in Spain; and for this purpose have written to all their admiralities to have the several complaints brought in. Why this is done so hotly at this time, I see not, unless it be to amuse the Spaniard, and divert him from employing his whole strength against the Bohemians.’

That the Algerines had of late caused a very courteous letter to be written to the states general, as desiring to hold good quarter with them.

‘ The Venetian resident had audience again on Thursday last, wherein, by order of his masters, he declaimed largely against the Spaniards, as enemies to the common liberty; and for conclusion desired of this state an exchange of four of the ships of war of those provinces, which serve the Venetians, with four of greater burthen; wherein he will have satisfaction, though here is much complaint of the ill treatment of those men they have already, both soldiers and mariners; and he hath been roundly expostulated with for the same.’

That the Chiaus took leave of the states on Thursday, and yesterday went towards Amsterdam, where he is furnished by the merchants with a ship to Constantinople. That he was much better satisfied with his entertainment than with his presents at parting; which exceeded not in money and stuffs for garments, which were distributed betwixt him and his followers, the value of 150*l*.

‘ The affairs, which concern his majesty, remain yet in the same state, as I advertised your honour at large the 25th and 27th of this present. But I am promised, that this next week, when those of Holland do preside, whom the businesses do chiefly concern, the states will come to a resolution; which I assure your honour hath been daily solicited and remembered in their assembly. But I find this province will be acknowledged above others; and that for question of privilege or profit, we have rather *alios homines* than *alios mores*.’

Feb. 4. Letter from Dort.

Containing an account of the proceedings of the synod.



*Feb. 12.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

That he had little to add to his letters sent by his servant on the Saturday before; at which time the states sent an expresse messenger to their commissioners in England, with a new commission and instructions, in conformity to the answer they gave him to his proposition, which was the chief subject of his dispatch.

‘ The day following I spake with the prince of Orange concerning the assistance of the prince Palatine; which he did not think fit to have mentioned to the states, until the return of the baron DHONA, who came to this town on Wednesday night late, and this day he hath audience of the states general. His business is in some good manner prepared for him, in that the provinces have been already moved for the assistance of the Bohemians, towards which they are well inclined to make a contribution in that manner as they did to the duke of Savoy by a monthly payment. And because the affairs of the prince Palatine and the Bohemians have some conjunction one with another, it will be the less difficulty to procure, that the money may be employed by the prince Palatine, as may be best for the common good of those parts.

‘ The states have granted liberty to the Venetian resident to buy or hire four ships of war for the service of his masters: which will be every one betwixt six and eight hundred tons. He doth procure them of merchants, not of the states; and hopes to have them in readiness before the end of the next month.

‘ The judges of the prisoners met here at the appointed day, which was on Tuesday last. On Wednesday they took their oaths. Hitherto they have been chiefly busied in the examination of MUSBERGEN; which will yet take some time. Mean while some of them, with license of the states, retire themselves for a few days to their provinces; which shews the business will be of no quick dispatch.

‘ P. S. I take the boldness to put a letter to my lord’s grace of Canterbury in your honour’s cover, which contains some difference betwixt our divines at Dort, which it were fit were reconciled before they come to framing of their canons.’

*Feb. 17.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ In conformity to your honour’s letters of the 4th of this present, which I received by Diefton the 13th, on Monday last I demanded audience of the states general, which I began with these words:

‘ Messieurs,

‘ Je vous donne ceste incommodité au milieu de vous serieuses occupations, pour satisfaire au devoir de la bonne correspondencé entre le roi mon maistre & ceste re-  
publique; sçachant que l’intereft commun de S. M. & de V. V. S. S. requiert une  
mutuelle participation des affaires communes. Je dis communes, car quant aux  
particulieres, selon que vous de vostre part avez demonstéré en toutes les occasions  
par vos sages & moderées procedures, vostre prudence & discretion sans vous ingerer

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aux affaires des autres provinces, aussi S. M. estime, que les provinces doivent être tout de même retenus en vostre endroit sans se meler de rien de commun : et exemple des autres ne fera jamais quitter a sa majesté son train ordinaire accoustumé d'ingenuité et moderation, ou s'avantager de vos presentes differences pour s'enjamber sur vostre liberté & vostre souveraineté, en ce qui appartient purement et simplement à la juridiction de vos provinces; laquelle elle vous exhorte de maintenir saine et entiere, comme vostre Palladium, sans la laisser violer, ou par voye des menées internes, ou pratiques externes; estant presté (selon qu'elle a toujours fait avec une prompte et sincere volonté) de contribuer son conseil, son ayde, et son assistance a la manutention d'icelle. Je sçay, messieurs, que vous avez les mesmes offres et presentations faites par autres ministres des princes, au nom de leurs maistres, dont je n'en suis point aucunement envieux. Je vous prie seulement en ces presentes occurrences d'user vostre jugement accoustumé, en faisant distinction entre ceux, qui se font patrons des particuliers, et protecteurs d'une faction, et ceux, qui veulent bien au public, et qui rendent leurs bons offices à vous et à vostre estat.

‘ I entered here into discourse of his majesty's preparation, both by sea and land, as well to contribute his part towards the suppression of the pirates, as to be ready in all events for defence of his own kingdoms, and assistance of his friends and confederates. I told them likewise of his majesty's having renewed the treaty with the princes of the union, and thereupon recommended at large the negotiation of the baron DHONA, in conformity to his proposition, with which he had acquainted me. And because they had formerly requested me to write to his majesty touching a levy intended to be made of his subjects by the earl of Argyle, I did now let them know the course, which was taken by his majesty's commandment in Scotland concerning that earl, to the end, that if they be displeased (as I understand they are) on the archduke's side in his regard, his majesty should not lose his thanks on this; I concluded with pressing them to a resolution touching sir FRANCIS HYNDERSON's pardon; for which I had order by his majesty's expresse letters dated in October last, and had now so prepared the matter before by the means of the prince of Orange, that it could not well receive a denial, though it was subject to many main difficulties.

‘ The answer, which was given me for the present, was full of good acceptance of what I had said concerning themselves, and their proceedings, with acknowledgment of many humble thanks for his majesty's good advice and favour, and expressing of much contentment in his majesty's preparations, wherein they said they concurred likewise in putting their fleet in readiness. They thanked me in like manner for the knowledge I had given them of the course, which was taken with the earl of Argyle, as that, wherein they have particular obligations. The rest they referred for consultation; and before they rose, resolved of sir FRANCIS HYNDERSON's pardon, which they sent me word the same day they had granted in his majesty's contemplation, though they had formerly taken an expresse resolution to lay it aside.

‘ This day two of their deputies have been with me, one of Holland, another of Zealand, to acquaint me with their answer, which they had given to the baron

DHONA,

DHONA, and wherewith he departs this afternoon. The effect thereof is, that they have already written to their provinces, and will now again second their former letters touching the Bohemians, not doubting but within few days they shall have order from their principals to give them assistance: and touching the succour of the princes of the union, that they will readily perform the same in conformity to their treaty.

‘ This being as much as was required of them by the baron DHONA, I did not think it fit for me to press them to any farther matter in particular concerning the prince his master; neither did he desire I should, but rather attend the states resolution concerning the Bohemians; and by that time hearing from the prince Palatine, I might, according to his majesty’s order by your honour’s former letters of the 22d of the last, govern myself as may be best for the prince’s service.

‘ The states have advice, that the preparations in all parts against the Bohemians will be in readiness in May next at the farthest; against which time, as they will not be wanting to give assistance, so they desire the princes of the union (who are *paries proximus*) would in time resolve; and put in execution, what belongs unto them in a matter of that nature; wherein both the liberty of those parts, and the state of religion in general, is interested: to which effect they have desired me now by their deputies, both to write to his majesty, as likewise to the prince Palatine, to the end some good resolution may be taken in common for the preservation of the Bohemians.

‘ There are now seven of the states ships of war, which have lain long in the Mediterranean, returned into these seas, in place of which, four are now going out to supply them; and nine others are putting in readiness in their several admiralties for the same service. They, having upon these alarms taken a particular view of their strength at sea, find, that they are able to set out, besides merchants ships, fifty-two sail, well fitted and furnished: and now they give order to their admiralties for the building of ten ships of greater burthen than ordinary this summer.

‘ The judges of our prisoners are still busied about examinations; and there will be citation made of some, which are absent, as UTENBOGARD, and others, before they grow to sentence. It is expected every day when the French ambassadors will demand audience again to speak in their favour; and their answer is already prepared, which will be, that the states have put the business (according to the custom of these provinces) into the hands of judges, which are good; able, and upright men, and are to give their sentence upon oath, according to the justice of the cause; which course of proceeding they cannot alter without prejudice to their state.

‘ What a fire is kindled in the synod by the indiscretion of some intemperate men, your honour will see by the copy of a letter, which I have received from mr. BALCANQUAL; with which having acquainted the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM, they desired me to write to the president, according as is wished by mr. BALCANQUAL; which I have done this day, having particular acquaintance with him. And though



the prince of Orange be much apprehensive that this may breed a greater distraction than ever in the church, I make no doubt, but if the whole college of our divines do remain of an uniform consent, they will (as they have hitherto done) keep the rest in good order. I have been written unto from thence to go thither personally to suppress this combustion: but this place doth more require my presence for his majesty's service. Yet, as other accidents may fall out, I shall be glad to understand from your honour, whether my going thither for a day or two may stand with his majesty's good liking. So I humbly take leave, &c.

' Being closing this letter, I have received one from the Bishop of Landaff, by which it appears, they are at an end of their difference in the synod: yet I send your honour mr. BALCANQUAL's letter, that you may see in what state they stand: my lord bishop saith somewhat likewise of du MOULIN's project.'

*Feb. 16.* Bishop of Landaff to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>. my very good lord,

' I wrote to your lordship of some stirs we had here. But now all things are well composed. And GOD, that knoweth how to turn all things to good, may by his providence, and, as we hope, will, turn this unto a great good among us. For by this, as by a medicine, two humours may be purged: one of them, who in their sentences, though they hold the truth, yet seem to desire to have some things strange, and lifted above the common conceits. The other of such, as were so snappish, that they seemed to watch for occasions from other men's speeches, to vent their bitter humours. Both are so well corrected by this little stir, that it may do much good, and we may have some rest from both humours. The matter was but upon a light occasion, and we are glad that greater occasions were not given.

' Concerning the matter moved by mr. MOULIN, the president is now of this opinion, that it will hardly be done to draw one common confession for all. But this he thinketh may be easily effected, that the English may be drawn to give consent to the Belgic confession, and likewise the Belgic church to the English confession; and so the other princes to come into such a mutual consent, so that none may depart from the received doctrines without the consent of the rest. This is all he thinketh like to be effected.

' Thus with my hearty prayers for your lordship and your virtuous lady, I rest

Your lordship's most affectionate to do you service,

Dort, Feb. 16, 1618.

GEORGE LANDAVEN.<sup>2</sup>

*Feb. 23.* Mr. BALCANQUAL to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

Printed in Mr. JOHN HALES's *Remains*, p. 9, & seqq. edit. 1659.

*Feb. 22.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

§ The

‘ The news of the escape of the queen mother in France arrived here on Saturday last by an express messenger dispatched by monf. LANGERAC on Thursday; by whom these French embassadors had likewise letters, with order to proceed moderately in their negotiation touching the prisoners, and to keep this state, as much as in them lies, in devotion to the king their master.

‘ Monf. LANGERAC writes, that notwithstanding the French king’s heat against the duke of Espernon, yet those affairs are accommodated. But his masters here judge he hath not yet waded far enough into them to sound their depth.

‘ The states ships newly returned from the coast of Spain confirm the news of the great preparations in those parts, both by sea and land, as well in the ports towards the Ocean, as in those towards the Mediterranean. Some merchants, which are come in them from Seville and Lisbon, say, that in Seville there is a provision made of 200,000 pair of shoes, and so many rials of eight paid for them out of the king’s purse. That at Lisbon there are made 30,000 knapsacks of leather for the carriage of victuals at men’s backs; and that there were embarked at St. Lucar 30,000 muskets. I give your honour these particulars as they were related to the prince of Orange; of which this judgement is made, that their provision is designed for some place, where the Spaniard doth expect the assistance of the natives of the country, where they intend to land, which cannot be on the coast of Afric, where they have no intelligence or friendship, nor like to gain any with the people. If his majesty be secure in those parts of Scotland, into which the earl of Argyle and sir JAMES MACDONALD, by their contracting friendship, are thought to practise the bringing in of an enemy, and the coast of Ireland, which doth border upon their country, and is full of disaffected people in religion, the place of the greatest likelihood, and most agreeable to the Spanish preparations, is *la Morea* and the coast of Dalmatia adjoining; where there are infinite numbers of poor Greeks, which are desirous to be free of the Turkish servitude; and by a descent into those parts the Venetians will be much incommodated in their feignory of the gulf and liberty of trade with the subjects of the grand Signor; which is all in effect that is left them. These are the glosses, that are made here of the Spanish preparatives; which these people cannot comprehend to be really designed, as is pretended, for Algier.

I find, that the states have been written unto by their commissioners in the name of his majesty, as moved by my lord DIGBY, to join their ships with his majesty’s, to assist the Spaniard, in case he doth really intend to besiege Algier: or, if his design should be against the Venetians, then to follow the fleet, and assist that commonwealth: in both which they find much difficulty; first in the siege of Algier, which would expose their merchants to a danger of confiscation of all their goods in Turkey; and the taking of that town by the Spaniard would make him too absolute a master in the Mediterranean. Secondly, in assisting the Venetians, which would draw on them the same inconvenience of loss, both of ships and merchandize, which they have now in Spain.

‘ Here is a provisional placart published by the states general concerning monies, by which the double Jacobus, which was here current at twelve guilders four stivers,

is brought for the present to eleven guilders ten stivers; and the 1st of June next it is to be reduced anew to ten guilders sixteen stivers. All other coins of gold and silver are *à l'avenant*, as your honour may please to see by the copy of the placart.

*Feb. 21, O. S.* JOHN BOGERMAN, president of the Synod of Dort, to sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Dort.

‘ That he never despaired, nor even now despaired, of the good issue of the synod, such as pious men and lovers of the church wished for: quin, quod amplius est, vix arbitror ullam, tot quidem membris constantem, tam tranquillam, pacatam, ac concordem synodum fuisse habitam.

‘ Et vero, absit, ut nupera illa paucorum collisionis nubecula *εὐραζίας* & admirabilis concordiae splendorem ullatenus obscuret. Vix orta est illa, quin meae etiam directionis ministerio disparuerit, longeque suavissima eam subsecuta sit tranquillitas.’

*Feb. 26.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ The letter of advertisement out of France, of which I made mention in my last to your honour of the 22d of the present, being since communicated unto me, I have thought fit to send your honour a translate thereof; in regard his majesty having at this present no public minister in that court, this may haply be of some use to your honour for his majesty’s service.

‘ Hitherto these French embassadors have said nothing concerning these affairs in public: but here, it is much apprehended, that assistance will be required from hence, according to treaties; and all hope of having these French troops paid by that crown is now quite laid aside.

‘ The manner of the Spanish preparations tending to the invasion of some place in all appearance, where assistance is expected from the natives of the country, hath made many of the states inquire of me, whether his majesty hath no apprehension of danger in Ireland; they having news of young TYRONE’s being in Spain, and likewise of the earl of Argyle’s being parted secretly from Bruffels, after he hath made friendship with sir JAMES MACDONALD, whose countries adjoining did nourish old TYRONE’s rebellion. When I tell them, that the Spaniard doth sollicit his majesty’s arming to sea, and desires the help of this state likewise for suppression of the pirates, using this as an argument of the Spaniard’s intention, they reply, that his majesty’s ships and those of this state being invested by the Spaniards, to which danger they will be subject, the Spaniards will be then masters at sea, without obstacle, and may land any where at pleasure. This, if we lay aside all consideration of honour and honesty, cannot be denied to be feasible; and here they take the liberty to judge the worse of that nation.’

*Feb. 25 and 26, N. S.* Abstract of a letter written by monf. LANGERAC from Paris, translated from the Low-Dutch.

‘ I am



‘ I am afresh to advertise your lordship of new alterations and dangers in this kingdom. Some days past it was deliberated in the king’s council, that the king and queen with the prince of Savoy, together with his majesty’s sister, would have gone to Blois, to have visited the queen mother. Moreover his majesty had friendly and in royal mildness written answer unto the letter of the duke d’Espèrnon, which he wrote to his majesty from Angoulême in excuse of his departure from Metz; so as his majesty admitted thereof; and not so much as moved at five or six journies made by the said duke one upon another into Lorrain. Since it happened, that upon the 22d hereof, between twelve and one o’clock at night, the queen mother, accompanied with two of her confidentest chamber-women, got out (by a ladder, which her majesty had caused to be prepared for that purpose) at a window looking in the garden, where the master of the horse, called the earl of Marck, with two of her fidelest guard or archers, attended and conveyed her into the street of the said suburb, where a coach stood ready with eight horses, whereinto she with her two chamber-women went. Her two chamber-women had with them two small chests, the one full of her majesty’s costliest jewels, to the value of about two or three hundred thousand crowns; and the other was full of money to the like value more or less. And being gone about a mile and a half from the town, there met her the archbishop of Thoulouse, the youngest son of the aforesaid duke, with 200 horse or more, who accompanied her majesty unto Loches, a castle about three hours riding distant from Blois, belonging unto the said duke, where he received her majesty with great joy; and after she had rested herself three or four hours, he accompanied her with two or three hundred horse more unto the town of Angoulême in his own government, where they are at this present together.

‘ The king being at St. Germain’s in Laye, hearing of this, returned to Paris Sunday the 23d, and that day sat twice in council, and resolved with great courage to prevent these unexpected and dangerous designs, and that personally. And first to send to the queen mother to inquire roundly her intent, whose answer in writing is here expected. In the mean time it is here affirmed, that the king hath in council declared never to pardon the cause in the aforesaid duke, but with kingly power to revenge it, and more to maintain his royal authority than ever yet it hath been.

‘ The duke of Montmorency, admiral of France (being much discontented with the king about the long detention of the prince of Condé his brother-in-law, as also for the disrespect, as he suggests, done unto madame the constable his mother-in-law, in court) hath joined himself with the aforesaid duke d’Espèrnon, with other great lords, which are discontent, of whom there are as yet some obscure. But the duke of Bouillon (notwithstanding he hath been unjustly taxed by some ill tongues) is for certain held free of any intermeddling herewith.

‘ The duke of Guise (before his going for Provence) declared unto me very much to disavow the business of duke d’Espèrnon in general; and that of late he had borne so much wrong and spite done by him in particular, that no man ought to carry so great hatred towards him as he. But this will hereafter shew itself, which shall be from time to time by me advertised unto your lordship.

‘ Yesterday

‘ Yesterday the 24th the king sent for all the great ones of the court to come unto him for their advices, and make known unto them his just indignation, admonishing them unto fidelity.

‘ It is out of question here, that Spain, Florence, and Lorrain have had great communication and communion together in this design, as your lordship by my former letters may well have marked the causes of their discontentments.

‘ Upon this occasion those of the assembly of Rochelle are advised to send certain deputies of theirs presently unto the king, to assure his majesty of their quietness and good intention; so that they enjoy their pretences in conformity to the edicts.

‘ The king goes to Blois the next Saturday the first of March; so to Tours; and further to shew his authority, and to rate himself according to the nature or disposition of the business. And for as much as all ambassadors are to go with his majesty, as the council have told me, I will with the very first attend your lordship’s order, that so I may accordingly govern myself in all obedience.

‘ P. S. I also understood from mons. DE LUYNES, as from his majesty, that his majesty hoped, that touching the begun commotion by the queen mother and the duke d’Espèrnon, the business will not fall out so dangerous, as at the first it seemed. And yet, notwithstanding, his majesty would, within five or six days, go unto Blois, and there govern himself according to the nature of the business. Others of the council have particularly advertised me, that his majesty deliberates, and resolves to make distinction between the businesses and persons of the queen mother and the aforesaid duke d’Espèrnon, as desirous to carry all befitting respect and affection unto the said mother queen; but fully inveterated against the duke d’Espèrnon, and resolved to follow him with royal power and authority, and punish him to the example of others, as such as have been misled by the queen mother, and transported out of his protection and country.

‘ Men begin also to speak of laying to the charge of the said duke, and to prosecute the criminal process concerning the murder of the old king of immortal memory, according to the treaty of Loudun, and thereby finally to ruin him; notwithstanding it is to be supposed, that the said duke, being an old, subtle, and very mighty man, hath made a very great faction before that he set on foot this ill prank.

‘ His eldest son the earl of Candale yesterday presented unto his majesty his service against him. And his majesty hath sent unto his second son, named the marquis de la Valette, being at Metz, that he come presently to court, to supply his place personally as colonel general over the French foot; or, in case of default, his majesty will put another in his place; the duke de Vendosme having long made pretence thereunto, as being an honourable charge. It is spoken, that his majesty will yet send other lords unto the queen mother; but as yet not certainly known, who they are, that shall be sent.

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‘ The general deputies of the reformed churches in this kingdom besought his majesty yesterday, that he would be pleased to admit that some deputies of the assembly at Rochelle might come to court, and by their humble petitions obtain some satisfaction or contentment, together with their zealous and earnest presentation, and assuring their complete loyal fidelity; namely on the behalf of all the churches in his majesty’s service. Whereunto his majesty answered, that the deputies of Rochelle should be welcome unto him; requiring, that it should be so written from his mouth unto the aforesaid assembly.’

March 1. O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I wrote to your honour on Monday last by ensign HAYMAN, and on Friday by captain SANDELEN. Since we have had some small stirring in some of these towns of Holland, who seeing things draw to ripeness both in the synod, and likewise in the process of the prisoners, seek (as far as in them lies) to extinguish *incendium ruinæ*. In Sconoven the Arminians have had of late private meetings, which being discovered by one of our English captains, and advertised to his excellency, order is taken to prevent the like hereafter. At Alcaer an Arminian preacher suspecting he should be suspended, as all of that faction are, went this last week from house to house to stir up those of his party to protect him; which they endeavoured to do by committing outrage upon the place where the assembly is usually held for church affairs: which being resisted by one of the magistrates, he was taken by the people, and dragged in a wheel-barrow round about the church-yard, and afterwards through some principal streets of the town: which being complained of to the states of Holland, who are now assembled, there are certain companies of soldiers sent thither, with some of the provincial council, to punish the chief offenders. In Horn yesterday they came to blood, some of the burghers, to the number of two or three hundred of the Arminian party, assailing the people, who came out of the church, after the morning sermon; and they being relieved by the garrison, the burghers set upon the soldiers, who, in their defence, first shot powder only, thinking with false fire to terrify the burghers; but seeing that would not prevail, they were forced in conclusion to use their arms; and four of the burghers being killed upon the place, and some hurt, the rest fled. It is like we shall see more disorders of this kind in other places: but the state being (as it is) well united, and all the troops, with the greatest part of the people, well-affected, they will be overcome without much difficulty. This tumult of Horn was bred by one SAPMA, an Arminian preacher, who stole secretly from Dort, where he was one of the *citati*.

‘ The synod is now gone through the examination of the five articles; and on Wednesday last they began to read the several suffrages concerning the first, wherein, amongst the *exteri theologi*, there was one uniform and orthodox consent. With the provincials it will succeed otherwise; for in the judgment of the Belgic professors (which was all that was read, when I heard last from thence) appeared the difference of their opinions, there being but five of that college, which were divided into three distinct and several judgments touching the first article: which shews in effect, though they are confident enough of themselves, the use they will now have of the *exteri*,

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without whose help they would part in much greater disunion than they met. The heat, which was lately struck by GOMARUS and SIBRANDUS, is qualified, as may appear to your honour by a letter, which I have received from the president in answer of one I wrote unto him upon that subject.

“ All the prisoners here have now appeared before the judges severally. BARNEVELT spent two days examining the commission and quality of his judges: but this morning he hath submitted himself, and answereth to all interrogatories. The judges fill three squares of the room, where they assemble. At the fourth is the entrance; and in the midst a table for the prisoner, a secretary, and three fiscals. The prisoner sits bare upon a stool without a back; which is their manner for criminals. BARNEVELT hath a stool with a back; which is all the favour shewed him in regard of his age. Their confessions are still kept secret under oath; and it will be Easter, at the soonest, before we come to an issue of this business.

“ Your honour will see herewith certain pictures, which are set out by the prisoners friends *ad faciendum populum*. They are called in by public orders, and the publishers of them inquired into as offenders against the placart lately published concerning libels and seditious counterfeits. Since the publishing the placart about monies, the states have resolved to send one of their *generaux des monnoyes* to their commissioners into England, with instructions to inform them how they shall treat in that subject, they being desirous to give his majesty satisfaction, and to reduce their monies here to the rates of England.

“ In this change of rates decreed by this placart, the state having 10,000*l.* sterling in gold in the comptoir, loseth 500*l.* among which species there are 2200 double jacobus's.

*March 8.* SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Acknowledges the receipt of the secretary's letters of the 26th of February; and particularly answers one of the 4th of that month by DIESTON. “ The next day after his arrival I spake with the prince of Orange, and the day following with the deputies of the province of Zealand; to both which I complained, in conformity to your honour's letters, of the wrong done his majesty by permitting a liberty of printing at Middleburgh for any passionate or discontented spirit to publish what he please, to the disquiet both of church and state in his majesty's kingdoms. This I told them was an ill repayment of that, which his majesty doth daily contribute to the good of these provinces; and therefore desired; that the printer of the pamphlet *de regimine ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, whom I named unto them, might be inquired into, and punished for example to others; the book suppressed, and by the printer's means the author discovered.

“ They were all very sensible of the just cause of complaint his majesty hath, if the information be true, that the pamphlet was printed by RICHARD SCHINDERS, who is the public printer for that province, and hath now within these three months taken an oath in public, not to print any book, but such as is both seen and allowed by

by certain of the magistrates expressly deputed for that purpose: wherefore they promise to write both to the states of the province, and likewise to the town of Middleburgh, for the suppression of the book, the examination of the printer, and inquisition into the author; of all which they will give his majesty an account by mons. LYENS, or sir NOEL CARON.

‘ Touching the author, I am loth *temerè affirmare* in a matter of accusation; yet I have some cause to believe, that it is one DAVID CALDERWOOD, a silenced minister in Scotland, who (as I am informed) hath written a letter to a correspondent of his on this side the seas in the same argument, promising therein a larger discourse: which, it may well be, is this treatise. He styles it *Brevis relatio*: but hereof I shall give your honour more particular knowledge upon sight of CALDERWOOD’s letter, which I am promised I shall have within few days.

‘ I spake likewise with the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM touching that, which his majesty doth require to be had in consideration at the synod in the framing of the conclusions against the remonstrants concerning CHRIST’s death, and the application thereof unto us, that they may be couched in manner and terms, as near as possibly they may, to those, which were used in the primitive church; wherein they both shewed a readiness to be governed by his majesty’s advice. But because they did not well comprehend what particular directions therein to give; neither could I, in a thing so much out of my element, help them to any further light, than could be gathered out of the bare words of your honour’s letter; they thought it best, that I should refer the whole matter to our divines at Dort, to the end, that by them it might be recommended to the synod, in that manner as they may judge best to agree with his majesty’s meaning: which accordingly I did the same day, and omitted not his majesty’s commandment touching SCULTETUS, who forgets himself too much, and the charge he hath from his prince, by whom he is employed, having with the rest of his colleagues (as I understand this day) in their judgment upon the second article glanced with much bitterness and disrespect at some things, which Dr. WARD had delivered in the synod touching the same point; of which I have complained to the agent of the prince Palatine here, and desired him to put them better in mind of their duties.

‘ The trouble risen in some towns which were of the Arminian faction (of which in my last I advertised your honour) is thought to have been fomented by UTENBOGARD, who being suspected to be lurking here about the Hague, some houses have been searched for him by public order, as particularly that of TRESELLIUS, who doth still absent himself; and UTENBOGARD’s house is now seized upon by the common officers of justice.

‘ The deputed judges for the prisoners have not yet ended their examinations; wherein BARNEVELT hath been taken within these few days with divers falsities; and therewith he is much dejected.

‘ The states are advertised of a suspension of arms betwixt the emperor and the Bohemians, and a day appointed for a treaty of pacification the 12th of the next month.



month. They hear at the same time of a succour prepared for the emperor at the cost of Spain; but provided by the archduke, of 12,000 foot, and 2000 horse; which makes them here despair very much of the affairs of the Bohemians, in that their suspension of arms will separate their troops, and breed a slackness in those whom they have moved to assist them; whilst in the mean time their enemies will have leisure to prepare themselves, and bring their forces from remote parts. The succours of this state will be (as I conceive) 50,000 florins a month, for the space of a year, so to be continued according to occasions: to which Holland and Zealand have already consented, and these two provinces do commonly give the law to the rest.

‘ We understand, that the castle of Elsinour is restored by the king of Denmark to the king of Sweden; by which *petra scandali* is removed betwixt those two crowns. Here is likewise news of a strange accident befallen the king of Swede, who being surprized by fire in one of his castles, where he was lodged, which had gained all the ordinary issues of his house, he was forced with his chancellor to make his escape out of a window, in which he ran another hazard of water, by reason of a moat, which invironed the castle: but in the end escaped with some small hurt, his chancellor suffering much more by that he received in his fall out of the window.

‘ Here is expected within few days the count of East-Friesland, who, not satisfied with the proceedings of the states commissioners at Embden, doth remove the treaty to this place betwixt him and his subjects, whereby to be assisted with his majesty’s authority; of which he hath not failed in his absence, as much as lies in me to perform in his favour. But he esteems, that the differences betwixt him and his subjects are represented to this state partially by the commissioners; and therefore desires rather to have the treaty in this place than at Embden.

‘ One of the states (STICCHIUS of Overijssel) being returned from an embassy in Prussia, where he hath been with the elector of Brandenburg for the space of a year, as requested by that prince of this state, whereby to countenance his affairs against the king of Poland, amongst other points of his relation, doth make overture to this state of a confederation with the king of Poland; for which he had a letter from that king, and certain articles delivered unto him by one of the king’s council, when he was in Prussia. The states gave no ear hereunto, but caused STICCHIUS to write back in general terms of good correspondence, which before he could perform, he is dead of sickness, and with him this business.

‘ I have formerly advertised your honour of an intention in the states to send to the archduke an expostulatory message for wrongs committed upon the subjects of these provinces in Spain, concerning their persons by the inquisition, their ships by arrest, and their goods by confiscation: in all which it cannot be said, but that they have subject to complain, yet not more than ordinary. The person, who is likeliest to be employed, is monsieur HUYGENS, secretary of the council of state, who in the beginning of the truce was sent upon the like message upon some defect in the performance of the articles; and now the reason of this new employment I take to be, on the one side, a purpose to amuse the Spaniard, to the end he may not employ his whole strength upon the Bohemians; and on the other, to breed in time some communication touching the  
renewing



renewing of the truce, which will now expire very shortly; and here they are willing to make judgment by this means what to trust to: for if the truce may be renewed upon the same terms as before, there will be (for aught I can perceive) no difficulty on this side. But here they suspect, that the Spaniards will seek to put new conditions upon them, which they will never admit, but rather enter again into war, to which some of the provinces are much inclined.

‘ The Venetian resident having been at Amsterdam for provision of four ships for his masters, can find but one of that burden which they require; for which he hath agreed, but forbears dealing for others until he hears again from Venice.

‘ At Amsterdam were certain companies drawn down to reinforce the garrison of Alcmæer, if need should be: but all things pass now quietly there; and this blow given the unruly people, whereby now six of them are buried, and eleven remain hurt, is *plaga salutis*, whereby the rest are kept in awe. An English lieutenant, who led these men, was shot in the leg out of a window, which was all the hurt received by the soldiers. The occasion hereof was the conducting of SAPMA, an Arminian preacher, out of the town by order of the magistrates; which was resisted by the people; but in vain, being carried out the same day in an open waggon with his wife through a guard of soldiers. At Alcmæer the Arminian preacher, who raised the tumult there, is likewise banished; and now inquisition is made into the ring-leaders of the people of both those towns, by the public officers employed thither by the states, who execute their functions without molestation.

‘ On Saturday last we had the unhappy news of the decease of the queen, which is lamented by myself and my poor family, with that sense of sorrow, as becomes a dutiful subject and servant to his majesty, to whom I beseech God to send all comfort, and to your honour all happiness. So I humbly take leave, &c.

‘ P. S. I have been sounded within these few days by some of these messieurs d’Hollande, how it would be interpreted, if, for saving of time and expence, in shortening the synod, they should omit the citation of VORSTIUS and BERTIUS, and examination of VENATOR’s books, who died lately at Orleans: wherein I told them my mind in a word, *dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas*. Hereupon they have sent to the synod express deputies to consult of the fittest course to be taken. Wherein for the manner I leave it to themselves, so the country be rid of those men’s persons, and the synod give a judgment upon their doctrines.

‘ This morning UTENBOGARD is publicly cited at the stadt-house of this town, by one of the huissers of the states general, under name of the judges of the prisoners, *au son de cloche*, to appear within fourteen days upon pain of life and goods. Meanwhile his house remaineth under arrest.

‘ I wish Sir GEORGE CALVERT happiness in his preferment, and your honour’s contentment in his assistance; and withal beseech your honour (though this expectation fails me) to procure me some honest condition of his majesty, to which  
I may

I may retire myself: which want of health, decay of my poor estate, and over long absence from my native soil (not any ambition, I will assure your honour) makes me thirst after; *sicut cervus ad rivos aquarum*. Thus I rest

‘ Your honour’s to serve you,

This 9th of  
March, 1618.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

*March* 19. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

That he had received on the 12th the secretary’s letters of the 4th concerning the queen’s decease, and having put his family into mourning, had that morning an audience of the states general, whom he acquainted with that sad accident.

That the prince of Orange, count WILLIAM and count HENRY severally in person had condoled with him in person, and count \* \* by letters upon this occasion, as likewise the French embassadors and other public ministers resident with the states. Count WILLIAM is since departed into Friesland, to be present at the assemble of the states of that province and Groningen, which are both under his government.

Monf. DE BOISSISSE surpris’d the states on Saturday last with an audience, wherein unexpectedly he presented letters of revocation, which he accompanied with a proposition; of both which I send your honour the copies. In the proposition, your honour will observe, he speaks in behalf of the prisoners only *par maniere d’acquit*; and so it is interpreted by the states, so as they are not much troubled about the answer, conceiving, that whatsoever they do or say in that point (as the world now goeth in France) will not be ill taken. The demand of the French troops, and assistance of others, in conformity to the treaty betwixt France and this state, being conditional, is like to draw on a consent, in hope they may thereby oblige that crown; and yet no further engage themselves than their own affairs will at all times permit. In other points of the proposition touching the restraint of such as should go to serve the king’s enemies, and a promise of ready justice to the king’s subjects, a good answer will be given; but in effect for some particular causes, and especially for two French ships taken by the East-Indian company about Bantam, and the goods confiscated; of which monf. DE BOISSISSE complained on Monday in another express audience, I do not find, that he is like to carry with him the contentment he desires, if his departure be as speedy, as he pretends, on Monday next.

‘ At his leave-taking of the prince of Orange he used this speech, that he would be glad the affairs of this country were so well settled, that at his return to the king, his master, he might assure him they were free from any dangerous tumults: to which the prince answered, that it is not to be expected in so short a time to settle that, which hath been so long and so much out of order: but that he might assure the king, his master, if here be any tumultuous or seditious persons, be they great or small, the states general have both power and will to suppress and chastise them.

‘ Here

Here is a troublesome dispute betwixt two towns, Dort and Rotterdam, touching the staple of wines, which Dort doth challenge by antient privilege of the emperor CHARLES V. and Rotterdam disputes the same, in regard of the French wines, which come now more frequently into these provinces, than when that privilege was granted. Hereupon those of Rotterdam some weeks since took an armed boat from those of Dort, which lay upon the rivers to guard the passages. Those of Dort in revenge hereof have within these two days shot a passage-boat of Rotterdam, which refused to strike sail to one of their ships with a piece charged with musket bullets, and therein killed one, and hurt five or six. Betwixt unruly multitudes (as the people of these towns are) of small beginnings many times follow greater consequences: which makes me give your honour so particular an account of this accident.

‘ Since the proclaiming UTENBOGARD, one HAN a pensioner of Harlem, and TRESSELLIUS (of whom I have formerly advertised your honour) are both proclaimed to appear within fourteen days.

‘ The business of the prisoners takes up more time than was expected; which is thought to be done purposely, whereby to have the sentence of the synod upon these novelties in religion precede their process; and this in regard a practising of change of religion is one of the main points, wherewith they are charged. What this change is, must appear by the sentence of the synod.

‘ The synod is now busied in framing of the canons, in the manner of which our divines did well acquit themselves in changing a course intended by the provincials to have the canons dictated by the ecclesiastical president, and pass by *placet*: whereas now they are first digested by certain select persons, and examined in the several colleges; with which course the states and the prince of Orange are much better pleased, as that, in which the chiefest importance of the synod consists; and acknowledge therein the assistance they have, as well in counsel, as in doctrine, by those employed by his majesty.’

That he had received letters lately from the lords of the council in favour of some English merchants, whose ship was not long since taken by the states men of war on the coast of Barbary, and was brought in within these three days to Rotterdam. That the states had at his instance already written to the admiralty of that town.

‘ As yet I do not hear any answer out of Zealand touching the printer of the book *de regimine ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*; of which I complained to the states of that province, according as in my last I advertised your honour. But by the return of the burgo-master of Middleburgh, who parted from hence since I spake with those deputies, of which he was one, and is expected here again on Tuesday next, I shall give his majesty a more particular account of that business. Mean time I send your honour a copy of that letter, of which I made mention in my last; by which I believe his majesty will judge, that either CALDERWOOD was the author himself of that pamphlet, or is well acquainted with him.

‘ I have



‘ I have been intreated by mr. DOUGLAS, of whom I have CALDERWOOD’s letter, so to govern the matter, that his correspondency with CALDERWOOD be not broken: which I must refer to his majesty, to do therein what may seem best to his wisdom. Our usual preacher here mr. AMYE is suspended by order of sir HORACE VERE, and is now gone to LEYDEN, where he goes to be received as professor, in case EPISCOPIUS be removed. He hath a good reputation for learning, having well acquitted himself in these late controversies. But unless he can as well clear himself of that which is now laid to his charge, I have laid a block in his way, having desired one of the new curators of that university not to admit any of his majesty’s subjects to those public places, without foreknowledge of his majesty’s pleasure.

‘ Touching GODFREY BOOTE, I fail not my best endeavours; which notwithstanding I use with caution, because they are ready here to conceive jealousy, that I seek his liberty to make use of him to the prejudice of this state. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

Copy of a letter from mr. DAVID CALDERWOOD to mr. DOUGLAS concerning the assembly at Perth in August 1617: inclosed in the preceding.

*March 20.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

That presently after his dispatch yesterday by MARTEN the post, he was visited by two deputies from the states general, who in mourning habits passed an office of condoling with him for the decease of the queen.

‘ This day mons. DE BOISSISSE will have his answer to the proposition I sent your honour with my last, which will be plausible enough in his demands; but in his advice about the prisoners, especially in the point wherein he draws an argument of their innocency out of the delay of their process, the states shew themselves to be somewhat kindled; and amongst other things (which I will omit till I send your honour the copy of their answer) say, that their manner is, to begin with examination before they go to execution: which alludes to their proceedings in France, which are not altogether so justifiable.

‘ The states have been in deliberation of sending an extraordinary ambassador into France, upon occasion of many wrongs the subjects of these provinces complain of in matter of merchandize, and particularly for divers piracies upon the coast of Britaine. But this is put off until the business of the prisoners be ended.

‘ Yesterday were sent towards Embden three other commissioners, to be joined to four, which were there before; whereof two came hither this last week to give account of their negotiation. The count had here two deputies likewise, who sought to remove the treaty hither, offering that the count should come in person. But the states choose rather to increase their number of commissioners, in hope to dispatch it there; which will not be without prejudice to the count, as his deputies do fear.

‘ Here

‘ Here are expected daily out of England some of the deputies of this East-Indian company, to make report of their treaty: one of those, which was sent unto me, yesterday by the states, being of Zealand, told me, that he hath letters from the states of that province, that RICHARD SCHINDERS of Middleborough, being examined upon oath about the printing of the book *De regimine ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, denies to have done it, or to have had any knowledge thereof. Wherefore if your honour hath any means to convince him of falshood, I shall not doubt but to have him severely punished.

*March 20.* SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to the marquis of BUCKINGHAM.

In answer to one received from the marquis.

‘ The states commissioners have made good report to their masters in general of their courteous usage; and monf. GOGH hath given testimony to his friends in particular, what effects he hath found of my recommendation with your lordship; for which I have had their thanks, and therefore must render them in all humility where I owe them in his behalf; not doubting but his majesty in his service will reap the fruits of such encouragements.

‘ At the present I have nothing worthy to advertise your lordship more than his majesty will find in my letters to mr. secretary NAUNTON; yet, remembering that his majesty hath no public minister in France, I send your lordship a copy of a particular from thence, with a contemplative speculation of the duke of BOUILLON’s upon those troubles, written hither to a correspondent of his, with which it seems, by the conclusion thereof, he is willing his majesty should be made acquainted.’

*March 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>8</sup>.* Extract of a letter of monf. DE CHATILLON, from Paris.

‘ Monf.

‘ Je vous escravis il y a 12 jours en haste par le courier de M. LANGERAK. Par celle, que escravis à son excellence; vous avez pu voir de quelle façon l’on a receu la de la reyne mere; et l’abri, que M. D’ESPERNON lui a donné, assure qu’on a un peu ratiociné les circonstances et dependences de ceste affaire, l’on s’y trouve fort empêché. Au commencement il sembloit, qu’il n’eust qu’à partir de la main pour chastier l’hardiestre du dit duc. Mais la deffaite non est pas facile, quand il n’auroit que sa puissance seule, jointe à nom et à la personne de la reyne mere. Mais l’on cognoit, qu’il a d’autres personnes de grand qualité jointes et interessez dans l’affaire, de sorte qu’on commence d’apprehender les evenemens. La Chaisnaye est de retour de Sedan, qui a raporté toutes sortes des bons tesmoignages de la fidelité et affection de M. DE BOUILLON envers sa majesté, de quoi l’on se rejouist fort, et des bons conseils, qu’il donne, qui se rapportent à ceux des vieux ministres de l’estats; a sçavoir, Mess. le chancelier et president JEANNIN, qui conseillent, auparavant que de porter les armes dans aucune province, de sçavoir les causes, qui ont meu la reyne mere à se retirer de la façon qu’elle a fait de Blois; essayer d’assurer son esprit, et l’obliger à se revenir mettre en la protection du roi son fils, qui la traitera honorablement et respectueusement, pourveu qu’elle quitte ceux, avec qui elle est, et qu’elle se confie

Z z

entièrement



entièrement à sa majesté. Pour Monf. D'ESPERNON, l'on lui demande toutes ses places, qu'il les remette absolument entre les mains du roi, se mettant en ce devoir et obeissance pour reparer les fautes, qu'il a commises. Alors sa majesté le mettra en ses charges, places, et honneurs. Monf. DE BETHUNE est choisi pour aller faire ces propositions, et part demain sans faute. L'on parle diversément de succès de ce voyage. Cependant l'on ne laisse de se preparer pour le voyage de roi, accompagné de vingt mille hommes de pied, et de 4 mille chevaux. C'est l'estat qui a fait; on cherche fonds pour l'entretenir, dont on dit avoit trouvé les plus grande partie. Monf. DE LUYNES fuit il y a 6 jours voire Monf. le prince, et demeura près de trois heures avec lui. L'on croit, qu'il fortira avant que le roi partera. Je tiens cela fort douteux encores.

Duke of Bouillon to \*\*, from Sedan to a friend of his in Holland, *March 22*, N. S.

Monf.

Ces affaires ont leur acces selon la coustume de nostre cour. L'autre septmaine le roi devoit partir pour aller à Tours. Ceste-cy il ne part de Paris. On continue les levées avec grand mescontentement de general du royaume, s'estants tous conformez à mon advis d'entendre la reyne, et appaiser ces affaires; la seule faveur s'y oppose: on a envoyé vers elle les sieurs de Bethune et l'evêque Sens, frere du feu cardinal du Perron. Ils y trouveront, ainsi qu'on le peut juger par ces lettres, des plainctes tant particulieres que generales d'un mauvais conseil, que la dite faveur donne au roy, pour y trouver les remedes, dans l'affoiblissement de leur autorité; chose desirée et jugée necessaire de tous, aussi bien de ceux, qui sont la, comme ceux, qui n'y sont pas. Le roy jusques ici prend l'affirmative au contraire avec passion, quoiqu'il y pourroit voir, s'il luy plaisoit, de tres-puissants obstacles, pour le convier à y trouver les remedes par conferences, à fin que les armes ne soient les juges de l'evenement, dont il ne peut arriver que trois choses, l'une (toutes dommageables à l'estat) d'une longue contestation; par une guerre de voir la faveur superieure, ou bien la reyne la premiere, est une Iliade de maux, qui rend la France inutile a ses voisins, et incapable de guerir ces miseres, si la faveur surmonte; qu'on juge par la violence exercée depuis deux ans contre les voisins, les grands, les corps; anéantissants ses edicts, et se formant un establisement insupportable à la durée de estat; qu'on juge de ce qu'on debvra attendre de l'avenir par le passé, en la jouissance de ceste victoire, si aussi la partie contraire surmonte, qui sçait jusques ou iront les limites de l'ambition et de la vangeance, ni sur qui ces deux passions s'exercerent. Ainsi on peut voir, que les vrais et bons conseils des amis sont la paix, et d'oster de son possible les moyens, qui pourroyent donner lieu de bien esperer par la guerre, quelque recherche qui s'en face. Il se commence à voir quelque ouverture d'union en la maison royale par les declarations publiques, que madame la Comtesse de Soissons a faictes depuis cecy de desirer la delivrance de monf. le prince, et ainsi former pres du roi un appui le plus juste, par lequel le roi pourroit empescher, que par traicté on n'opprimast son autorité, sa personne, celle de sa maison, n'y qu'on peust violenter les formes de l'estat; conseil desirable plus qu'à esperer par le peu d'amour au public qui paroist. Je suis esté recherché d'envoyer mon fils à la cour, pour estre comme gage d'asseurer la faveur. J'ai rejetté cela comme honteux; ma parole et mes escrites estants bons pour asseurer, que je ferai ce que promets vers le roi et l'estat, et non au foustien de ceux, qui.



qui y nuirait pour leur particulier. A ceste heure madame la Comtesse entrevient pour se vouloir rendre caution vers moi, qu'on voudroit deferer a mes conseils. A tout cela mes actions iront a pas de plomb, et dans des reigles justes, et vivant au bien. Si vous juges que ces discours doivent passer en Angleterre, à fin qui si mes advis sont approuves, qu'avec conformité vous y procedies, vous pourres communiquer ceci à monf. CARLETON, sa discretion estant assez cognüe. Advises comment et en quoi vous voudres estre servi de moi, et vous la ferez fidelement.

Vostre humble et affectionné à vous faire de service,

Sedan le 22me de Mars, 1619.

HENRY DE LA TOUR.

*March 31, 1619.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ In humble answer of your honour’s letter of the 20th of this present, received by DIESTON the 27th, for as much as concerns the French embassadors here, I can assure your honour, they have nothing of mine, which give them any distaste; that proposition, of which his majesty doth take note, being only made in the assembly of the states general by way of discourse, without presenting the same in writing: and monf. DE BOISSISSE at his departure did acknowledge in DU MAURIER’s hearing the satisfaction he received in the correspondence I held with him since his last return to this place.

‘ My lord of Doncaster will find a house prepared for him and his followers by the states; and mine likewise put in the best readines I shall be able for his lordship’s better commodity; to which effect I write this present unto him upon the notice I take from your honour of his lordship’s coming.

‘ The two agents for the Bohemians (of whose coming I advertised your honour in my last of the 26th \* of this present, and likewise of their proposition to the states) as yet have no answer, the consent of this province of Holland touching a supply of money being conditional, that the like be performed by his majesty and the princes of the union; which hath spurred on these agents to solicit my recommendation to his majesty in their master’s favour: which as on the one side I cannot deny them (and therefore beseech your honour to make their humble suit known to his majesty) so, on the other, I have done them this good office to persuade his excellency and the states, to do that of themselves, as they think fit to perform for their preservation; as his majesty will not be wanting in that which shall depend upon him. For if they will attend the time of a common consent, their aid will be less beneficial than now, when the Bohemians are in most need. This hastening of the states resolution is much desired by the prince Palatine; to which effect his highness hath written unto me; in which regard I conceive it will be agreeable to his majesty, though I have no exprefs order for the same.

‘ By sir ANDREW SINCLAIRE (who passed this way from the king of Denmark towards his majesty yesterday) I received a royal testimony of that king’s favour by

\* This letter is wanting.

a letter and jewel; which as I made no difficulty to accept, so I must make no daintiness to acknowledge, especially in place where I must principally ascribe the same: and therefore beseech your honour to let his majesty understand how that prince doth favour his servant.

‘ Our affairs here grow to a period, as your honour will conjecture by the translated copy of a letter, by which the states command a common fast. To this I add a book newly published with the stamps of all current coins, added to the states late proclamation; which I recommend to the delivery of this noble gentleman sir CHARLES MORGAN: and so I humbly take leave, &c.’

March 17. Letter from Prague, in French, sent by sir DUDLEY CARLETON, in his letters of March 31, 1619.

April 16. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ I never had less cause to complain of the contrariety of the winds (though of late days all passages have been stopt out of England) than now at this present, because in that regard the advertisement of his majesty’s recovery did accompany that of his sickness. Yet the joy of the one doth not so fully take away the apprehension of the other in these parts, as not to give subject of much discourse what an irreparable loss not only his majesty’s kingdoms, but the whole Christian world had suffered, if the best of princes, which reign at this day, had been taken away by the tyrant of diseases; for so, *non ignarus mali*, I may well stile that, with which his majesty was afflicted. His majesty is humbly beseeched from hence, that he would be pleased *mesnager sa santé* by a good reglement in diet; which is an approved lenitive, if not a perfect cure, of that sickness. The states by their express letters (which they have recommended to my conveyance) congratulate his majesty’s good recovery, and the prince of Orange hath desired me to perform the like office in his behalf, both, upon knowledge I gave them thereof, in conformity to your honour’s most comfortable letters of the 1st of this present, which I received the 20th: at which time those they had from their commissioners, written upon sir NOEL CARON’s return from his majesty, did not give them so full assurance: and therefore I must not forget to render your honour my humble thanks for freeing us from that anxiety of mind, in which otherwise we should have still rested.

‘ Here hath been a report current for many days of the death of the duke of SAXE; which would much have augmented the present alterations in Germany, by reason of the dispute about the administration of that electorate. But I understand by the agent of the duke of Brunswick (who hath the freshest letters from the place next adjoining to Saxe) that the duke indeed hath had a dangerous sickness, having been taken with an apoplexy; but that he was in a way of recovery.

‘ The assembly of electors for the naming a king of the Romans is appointed at Francfort by the elector of Mayence the  $\frac{1}{2}$  of July next. King FERDINAND is called  
to

to that assembly by letters from the elector of Mayence as king of Bohemia, and he takes thereupon the title of co-electro; which notwithstanding will be disputed by the Bohemians, who say he is not capable thereof, until he be as well possessed as titular king; and possession he cannot have until at the entrance of the confines of their kingdom he take his oath to the states of the country for maintenance of their privileges, and be afterwards put in full possession in the castle of Prague.

‘ Of the levies made on the archduke’s side against the Bohemians your honour is advertised from mr. TRUMBALL. Here is somewhat done for the Bohemians, an impress being made to capt. FRANC, who doth raise 1000 musketeers until the resolution of the provinces for a monthly aid of 50,000 florins be fully accorded; which will be within these few days.

‘ Four troops of horse, each of 120, are raised likewise with consent of the states at the cost of the princes of the Union, by the marquis of Dourlack, to wait upon the passage of the troops raised by the Spaniards; which is *impar congressus*, unless the princes be in greater readiness at home, than as yet we hear: only they have written hither for some officers of cavalry, by which it appears they make other levies; and if they do it roundly and really, it is no whit the worse for being without noise. The Bohemians (as we hear) want no men; but they have neither money nor good conductors; so as they resemble a great body without head or sinews.

‘ One of our great businesses (which is the synod) is in effect brought to conclusion, the canons concerning the five articles being fully resolved, and generally subscribed without contradiction: concerning which here are deputies come this morning from Dort, to know the states pleasure when and in what manner they shall be published.

‘ The other concerning the prisoners draws to an issue likewise; and for that I can gather upon all circumstances (the main proceedings being still kept *sub sigillo*) what-  
BARNEVELT  
soever becomes of the rest, 159 hath not many days to live. It hath much been debated of late days, whether it were fittest to proceed with him and the rest by sentence of death or perpetual imprisonment, it being taken for granted, that in justice the cause will bear either. For the whole time of their process, till now of late, there was no speech of death: but now the consideration of the opiniatrety of the remonstrants at the synod, of the tumults at Alcmær and Horn, of the disaffection shewed in Leyden and Rotterdam in publishing the states letters by which their fast day of the 17th of the present was commanded, of danger to the prince of Orange’s person amongst so many malecontents, which would breed a present revolution, hath much altered the state of the business; and the most voices run upon making all sure.

‘ Some propose a course between both; that is, to give sentence of death; but to suspend the execution thereof until some new occasion offered by them or their partisans; and in the mean time to keep them in the castle of Woerden, or some such like place, with a strong guard, in prison. But then the question is asked, How can this provide for the danger of practice against the prince of Orange? And these judges being changed, who have *potestatem vitæ & necis* (as the nature of this government doth



doth necessarily require) upon any new occasion, who shall put their old sentence in execution? Yet how variable these judges are in their temper, his majesty may see

BARNEVELT

by two small circumstances. One, that 159 rising from his seat in the chamber of judgment to warm himself by the fire, where some of his judges stood, he was commanded from thence, as being a criminal not fit for their company. Another, that encountering at the entrance of that chamber with two of his judges, they strained courtesy with him for the door, as if he had been in his wonted greatness. To these petty observations I will add this one, though of another nature, that the day of the fast the prisoners being severally asked, whether they would celebrate the same without knowledge given them of the particular occasion, they all willingly consented, and, without correspondence or intelligence one with the other, each of them with his servant and keeper sung the 7th Psalm; which was the stranger, in that there are so many of the Psalms upon the same argument. M<sup>on</sup>s. BARNEVELT's servant was two days since taken from him, and threatened with the torture, until knowledge was had of him touching the conveyance of certain letters through a hole made in the roof of his chamber. His two sons with his son-in-law VANHUYSEN have jointly put up a petition to the states general to this effect; that since they find their father criminally proceeded with (the event whereof will light upon them and their estates) they require to be made acquainted with the process; which is laid aside as an undue demand, when there is question *de crimine læsæ majestatis*. His process is perfected, and the rest want little. The opining by the judges will be begun and ended in a day; and if execution follow, it will be dispatched the morning after, whereby to avoid concourse of people. It is made a matter of deliberation, whether it is better to proceed first with denouncing the canons in the synod, or sentencing the prisoners. On the one side it is said, that the bringing in a change of religion being one of their crimes, it is fit that change should be known by the resolution of the synod before they come to sentence. On the other, if the canons should be first pronounced, and then an execution follow, they would be made by the Arminians martyrs for religion.

‘ Here is a minister brought prisoner to this town from a village betwixt Leyden and Harlem, and committed to the common gaol, for reading the states letter in his church, by which the day of fast was commanded, and then preaching against it. Upon examination, whether he was set on by any, nothing can be drawn from him, but that what he did was of his own head.

‘ I find that there is a resolution taken by the states not to cite VORSTIUS to the synod, because they much apprehend his entertaining that assembly with artificial interpretations and delays, and in the end deluding them with a counterfeit submission. But order is taken for the censuring his books in the synod, with intention afterwards (as they pretend) to proceed with his person by way of exile; for which I cannot undertake any thing, though it wants not my best endeavours, since MATHENESSE (who was one of his protectors) had the boldness to say, when this matter was last in question with the states of Holland, that it was tyranny so to proceed with him.’

That he had two days since advertised the lords of the council by letters of the restitution of the ship of London, lately taken by the states men of war on the coast of Barbary.

‘ P. S.

‘ P. S. I fend your honour herewith a translate of a certificate touching the book, which was said to be printed at Middleburgh *de regimine ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, having received the same from the burgomaster of that town.’

April 23. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

That he had received the happy news of the continuance of his majesty’s amendment by the secretary’s letter of the 14th, and late the night before those of the 20th from sir JAMES SEMPLE under the secretary’s cover.

‘ Herewith goeth a letter to his majesty from the states, written in favour of the Bohemians; which is recommended to my conveyance by the Bohemian agent: and I am likewise much and often solicited by him to farther his master’s affairs with his majesty, according to the hope given by the baron DHONA, in his passage this way, of an intention to help them by a loan of the city of London: which not succeeding, the states begin to retract their grant of a monthly entertainment, having sent for him two days since into their assembly, to let him know how little their assistance could serve his master’s turns, unless they were likewise aided by his majesty and the princes of the Union. Yet to capt. FRANCKE they have given credit for some money for the raising and arming 1000 musketeers.

‘ The prince Palatine hath written to the prince of Orange for liberty to raise in these parts a troop of cuirasses of 100, and 40 carabins for his guard, which is granted unto him.’ The count of Solms raiseth in those confines four troops of horse for the service of the princes. The marquis of Anspach and the count of Stiren, each of them one; which with those of the marquis of Dourlach will arrive to 1500 horse. But whilst these are raising, the Spanish troops (as we are advertised) pass through Germany without resistance, and they are like to be in the field united before the Bohemians (who are busy, as will appear to your honour by our last advices from Prague, about their treaties and associations) are ready to receive them. It is imputed here to a *lascheté* of the Almain, that those, who were wont to be so ready on horseback in other men’s quarrels, do now so easily give way to this inundation of strangers; which they much apprehend here will in time descend the Rhine upon this state with greater fury than ever, when they have first oppressed the liberty of Germany.

‘ They are here again assaulted by the French in favour of the prisoners, the embassador resident DU MAURIER having on Wednesday last made an earnest instance to the states general in the king his master’s name, and in conformity to mons. DE BOISSISSE’s propositions; which was little expected at this time, both in regard of the present constitution of the affairs of France, which give them enough to do at home, as likewise of divers advertisements from the states embassador DU LANGERACK, that mons. DE BOISSISSE should be disavowed. Yet I do not see, that much way is given to this earnest pursuit, but rather that a purpose continueth (of which I advertised

your honour in my last) of making 159 shorter by the head, 39. 56. 52. 14. 20. 51. 27. 21. 41. 68. 69. is like to go the same way; and the sentence of the other

TWO



two to be either perpetual imprisonment, or banishment; all which will be as quick in execution after sentence, as the matter hath been long in deliberation.

‘ There hath been discovered these few days past a secret combination made at Rotterdam of the Arminians of certain towns; which was directed by GREVINCHOVIUS, who was present, but projected (as is thought) by VORSTIUS, in that two of Torgow (where he hath his abode) did preside at their meeting. Many articles they drew against the present government of the state and proceedings of the synod, which they sent to other towns, where they have partisans, by which means it was discovered; and thereupon judgment is made, that as long as the heads of this faction remain, there will be no assured peace either in this church or state.

‘ The synod, having briefly gone over and approved the confession and catechism, will publish the canons touching the five points on Monday next. Mean time they have VORSTIUS’s business in hand.

‘ Here hath been this last week a principal person \* from the prince of Brandenburg with the prince of Orange, whose business is kept secret: but it is believed to be an overture of a match betwixt his excellency and one of the prince’s sisters, who is to come this spring from Brandenburg to Cleve, to the end his excellency (who is curious enough) may make his choice with his own eyes; and she is said to be *non ingrata*. If this proceed, count HENRY will much repent his breaking off with the Landgrave of Hesse, for if that match had taken place, it is believed his excellency had never thought of marriage.

‘ I am at this present visited by one †, who hath newly received commission of agent for the king of Denmark with the states, to whom he hath yesterday delivered letters from that king in answer of those they wrote touching the Hans towns; and those which go herewith (one to his majesty, and another to Dr. JONAS CARISIUS) he hath recommended to my conveyance.

‘ The deputies for the East-Indian company of these provinces arrived here out of England yesterday; and to-day they make their report, of which by my next I will give your honour an account; as likewise I hope I shall send your honour the copy of the French ambassador’s proposition, though by common consent of the states it be hitherto suppressed; whereby to make an experiment, whether he will publish it himself or not; which I doubt not but he will, in that I know of one copy he hath given already.

‘ He did in a private conference the last day expostulate with his excellency the states sending their answer into France, which was refused by mons. DE BOISSISSE, saying it was no good manner of proceeding to inform against public ministers. His excellency answered, that he must not find it more strange, that the states took it ill to have their answer refused, than he would do, if, when he came into their assembly to make a proposition, which he had well studied, they should all stop their ears. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

\* MONS. KETLER, who hath the title of baron of Montjoy, and is chief commander of that prince’s troops.

† STRIKE, an inhabitant of this place.



*April 27.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to Secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ This, which goeth herewith to Sir JAMES SEMPLE, is in answer of that I received from him by your honour’s address, bearing date the 20th of this present; by which I advertise him, that the party, whom by his majesty’s command he inquires after, is not to be found in these parts; but when he appears, I have taken such order, that he will be laid hold on.

‘ We have at this present the public fair of this town, which causeth a vacation in all assemblies, and therefore prolongation of all businesses for a few days here at the Hague. At Dort the canons touching the five points in controversy were published yesterday in the forenoon in the great church, where the synod was held, by reason of the great concourse of people, which came from all parts, and were admitted of all sexes and all qualities; so as the business did not pass without some confusion caused by the multitude, but was otherwise concluded and subscribed universally by all the synod, and approved likewise by the state delegates: the catechism and confession allowed: the doctrine of the Arminians in general declared Pelagianism: the remonstrants condemned as incapable of executing any longer their functions in church or in schools, with an order not to admit any hereafter into either, which profess that doctrine. There will be moderation used by the states in the execution of the sentence against the remonstrants, in as much as concerns their entertainment for the space of a year, whereby to give them time to bethink themselves. And this is all I have yet from thence by report of those who were present; whereof some, being judges of the prisoners, returned the same night, whereby to lose no time in their process.

‘ I send your honour herewith a copy of mons. DU MAURIER’s speech, whereof I made mention in my last. He required of the states, the prince of Orange might be present at his audience; and so he was, but parted as ill satisfied, as the rest of the assembly, at many passages therein; but chiefly at the whole drift thereof, to make this prosecution of their prisoners appear rather a persecution than a trial; and the cause itself rather matter of faction than justice. They are in doubt, whether to lay this speech aside without answer; or, if the ambassador insist for answer, how then to proceed; but in that case they will answer roundly, and send the same directly to the king, whereby not to expose themselves to the scorn of having their answer refused, as was done by mons. BOISSISSE.

‘ The match I wrote of in my last I find to be rather wished and contrived by friends, than entertained by his excellency, who hath discovered some displeasure to have it brought in speech; doubting lest it may (if it should be moved, and break off) bring him into as ill terms with the marquis of Brandenburg, as his brother is with the landgrave of Hesse upon the like occasion. Thus I humbly take leave,

‘ Your honour’s most faithfully to be commanded,

From the Hague this 27th  
of April, 1619.

‘ DUDLEY CARLETON.’  
*April*

A a a

*April 27.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to Sir JAMES SEMPLE, Knt. gentleman of the king's privy chamber: In answer to one of Sir JAMES of the 20th, with relation to WILLIAM GORDON, whom Sir DUDLEY will endeavour to seize.

Thanks to him for the comfort of the continuance of his majesty's recovery, and for the assurance of his favour towards him.

*May 6.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to Secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

' The person of BARNEVELT having been of so great consideration both at home and abroad for the space of 33 years, that he hath had the chief managing of the affairs of this state, I conceive his majesty may be pleased to understand more particularities of his end, than those I advertised your honour in my dispatch by MARTEN the post, whom I sent expressly on Monday last, the 3d of this present, which was the day of his execution. And I must beseech your honour to hold me excused in such circumstances, as you may observe in this relation, to differ from what I wrote then. For a jealousy, that those, who laboured for his life, would seek to cast the envy of his death (as they have since done) upon such, as did not run the same course, made me restrain those of my family from being present, either at the reading of his sentence, or at the execution, so as what I then wrote was *raptim*, and as I could catch it. Now upon better information (and yet more will be learned when at the end of the whole business the judges shall be freed of their oath of secrecy) I understand, that his death was made known unto him upon Sunday night about six of the clock by two of the three fiscals, one of Guelderland, and the other of Utrecht.

' At the first hearing thereof he stood somewhat amazed; then asked them, *Since you so resolve, why have you held me all this while? That*, said one of them, *proceeded of the length of the cause, and of your answers.* After some pause, and biting of his lip: *And is it*, said he, *your manner to condemn a man unheard?* The other fiscal replied, *You have been sufficiently heard, and the sentence is grounded upon your confessions.* If (said BARNEVELT in anger to the fiscal) *your father could have known his son should have brought me this message, he would wished he had never begot you.* Whereupon they departed, and he demanded ink and paper to write to his wife. It was presently brought him. Whilst he was writing, WALÆUS, a minister of Middleburgh, one of the professors in the synod, a discreet and learned man, was sent unto him by the judges to prepare him to his end; which when he had signified unto him, he answered, that he was old, and long since sufficiently prepared; wherefore he might spare his pains. WALÆUS replied, that he was to discharge himself of the duty; and though he were never so well prepared, a man in his case might have need of spiritual comfort. *Then sit*, said BARNEVELT, *until I have ended my letters*; and this dialogue betwixt him and WALÆUS he added in a postscript. Having ended his writing, he demanded of WALÆUS (who was unknown to him) his name and quality, and in particular, whether he had been present at the synod. Then fell into long discourse, not without heat and passion, concerning the sentence, condemning the same of injustice, both for the matter and manner of proceeding: which when WALÆUS would not take upon to dispute (as being unacquainted therewith) but wished him to think of his soul, and to clear his conscience, both towards God and the world, he was not sparing in his confession of his offences towards God; but towards the



the world he stood stiff upon his innocence; and all he could be drawn unto in that point, was to ask God forgiveness, as well for his unknown offences towards the world, as his known towards God. WALÆUS prest him thus far as to let him know, he was not to be his own judge, but to submit himself unto those who were assigned his judges by the state; and having given their sentence upon oath, he was not to imagine, that they would bring themselves *in reatu* both before God and the world, in passing an unjust sentence against him. This drove him into a dispute touching the lawfulness of his judges, which he would not acknowledge. And touching the points upon which his sentence was grounded, I *governed*, said he, *when I was in authority, according to the maxims of that time; and now I am condemned to die according to the maxims of this.* He supped well with WALÆUS at the table, and entertained the time with discourse of the synod, of which both then, and after in the night, he inquired many particularities; as likewise of the state of the church in the several provinces; and when he understood, that the canons concerning the five points in controversy were concluded and published with an uniform consent, *I thought no less* (said he) *of the provincials, when I knew how they were composed; but I was deceived in my judgment of the exteri; for I thought they could never have agreed.* Towards nine of the clock he desired WALÆUS to go from him to the prince of Orange, and to beseech him in particular to pardon him, if he had offended him, and to be good and gracious to his children, offering to give him satisfaction whilst he yet lived, if he would let him know wherein he took displeasure against him. Whilst WALÆUS went to the prince, two other ministers of that town were sent unto him, who remained with him all night, and accompanied him afterwards to his execution. The prince returned answer, that he forgave him willingly; and for his children, he would use them well, if they deserved well. The particularities, in which he accounted himself wronged by BARNEVELT, he bid WALÆUS tell him, were, that he both in writing and speech sought to cast an aspersion upon him, as if he did aspire to the sovereignty of these provinces: That he wrote to Utrecht, when his excellency went thither as employed by the states, to have the gates shut against him. A third matter there was, which his excellency leaving to WALÆUS's discretion to acquaint BARNEVELT with; and he forbearing the same, I cannot yet get knowledge thereof.

‘ To these two points BARNEVELT answered; touching the first, that true it was, that to some confident friends he had written and spoken; and having entertained such a jealousy, being in the place he was, he thought it his duty to prevent it. The second he denied, saying, there could be no such writing of his shewed; but it was proved unto him, that such a letter was written by his order.

‘ The whole night was passed by him; as I advertised in my former. When he was brought the next morning soon after eight of the clock into the chamber *d’audience*, which belongs to the provincial court, to hear his sentence pronounced, his judges sat only there in authority, such of the states general, as were present standing only as spectators. The sentence contained many particularities tending to the change of religion; disunion of the provinces, abrogating the authority of the high court of justice, confusion of the finances, disgracing his excellency, crossing the states public orders and dispatches to their ambassadors and ministers abroad by his private letters and directions, abusing some of the best friends and allies of this state, and receiving



large presents and sums of money of other princes and potentates: all which he heard without interposing any word, but used many scornful looks and grimaces. The sentence being ended (which was loss of life and confiscation of goods) *I have served*, said he, *the generality thirty three years as advocate of Holland, and the town of Rotterdam ten years before as pensionary; and for my fidelity and diligence deserved better recompence. If you will have my blood, yet methinks you may spare my goods, without ruining, for my sake, my wife and children.* These last words he uttered with a faint voice and dejected countenance; and the president telling him, he had heard his sentence, to which he was to submit himself, he recollected himself, and rose presently from his seat, and was conducted immediately through the great hall to the scaffold; which being full of people, as he passed, and many of his friends and acquaintance, he took knowledge of none, carrying the same high countenance as he always used, both there and on the scaffold, where things passed as I advertised in my last; only I understand since, that his servant, when the preacher had ended praying by him, was overheard to say this word in his ear, *No grace comes.* Then, said he, *let us dispatch*; and from that time forward in dis-arraying himself (wherein he was only helped by his servant) and covering his eyes with his night-cap (which he did with his own hands, and with that haste and fury, that he wounded his face with his nails) he was observed to tremble and look pale; which by the beholders was ascribed rather to indignation and rage than fear or faintness. While his body lay on the scaffold, many of the people dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, some for love and some for hatred, to the extremity of both which passions he was subject. His body was after coffined and removed into the chapel of the court, where it was buried that night in a vault belonging to his son-in-law VANDER-MYLE. It is believed (and so his servant doth report) that until the very last instant he did not think he should die; which made him never let fall any word tending to grace, for doubt of prejudicing his cause in reparation of honour and damage, with which both he and his friends did vainly flatter themselves, insomuch that he having conveyed secretly out of prison the chief points of his examination unto his friends, and they consulting with certain advocates of this town, whilst mons. Boississe was here, whether they could bear a sentence of death, resolved they could not, but only, on the contrary, that he was to have some great satisfaction made him. Hereupon proceeded the continuance of the French ambassador's endeavours unto the very last, out of a persuasion, that the states would in the end serve themselves of that mediation to be rid of the business; and his friends were so confident and indiscreet, that even when they received his last letters, all of his own hand-writing, signifying his death (which came to them like the hand in BELTESSHAZZAR's banquet, as they were assembled together in his son's house that night at supper) they used many disdainful and arrogant words of the judges, saying they were base and unworthy, and durst not execute their sentence. In BARNEVELT's writing before mentioned, which was consulted upon by the advocates, he condemned himself only in going beside the states orders with their foreign ministers; wherein notwithstanding having *curam reipublicæ*, he thought he might be excused: and I hear he complained the night before he suffered unto WALÆUS, particularly of Sir NOEL CARON (of whom he had well deserved) for discovering his letters concerning the affairs of England, which, he said, turned most to his crime. In the confession of his faith to WALÆUS, he declared himself to be of the orthodox opinion in the disputes here in controversy in these provinces, excepting only the point of reprobation, wherein he was content to receive instruction,

instruction. WALAEUS demanded of him, why then he protected a doctrine contrary to his conscience? To which he answered, that he judged it good for the state, though one doctrine was professed, the other should be tolerated.

‘ By a writing, which goeth herewith, which is a copy of two examinations taken of two remonstrant ministers of Alcmæer, his majesty will see what impieties were crept in by this toleration; and withal I send your honour the sentence of the synod against Vorstius.

‘ Yesterday, in the same place, and the same presence, where BARNEVELT had his sentence, there was a sentence pronounced against LEYDENBERGH’s body to be hung up in a public place of execution; which carries likewise confiscation of goods. His body was drawn the same day towards evening upon a sledge by the common officers of justice and executioners, to a meadow near the highway betwixt this and Delft, where it is hung up in a coffin.

‘ What will become of the other prisoners is yet doubtful, in that both they and their friends remain stiff and obstinate not to demand grace: Only GROTIUS doth humble himself. HOGERBET’s opiniatry brings him to danger; and MUSBERGHEN is in the same state, and so desperate withal, that when out of one of his windows he discovered some signs of BARNEVELT’s execution by the people, which were climbed up to the top of houses, to view the same, he much pressed and urged his servant to strangle him. His friends have liberty to go to him, to bring him to a better mind; and though he be still in worse condition than the two others, yet by that I now comprehend of the inclination of the states, both he and the rest will escape with life, unless they wilfully cast away themselves; for he was LEYDENBERGH’s instrument, as the other two were BARNEVELT’s. LEYDENBERGH (as it appears in both their sentences) was set on by BARNEVELT; so as in true understanding MUSBERGHEN is in a degree more remote than the rest from the first author of these troubles; and yet his heat in the prosecution of them, and the diligence was used by the states in fetching him in, when he was in another territory, as on the one side it ministers matter sufficient against him, so on the other it argues a resolution not to spare him.

‘ The sentences are not yet published, though they are in the press, in Latin, French, and Dutch; and I think I shall send them your honour within these two days. Mean while I humbly take leave.

‘ Your honour’s most faithfully to be commanded,

From the Hague this  
6th of May 1619.

‘ DUDLEY CARLETON.’

*Judicium synodi de theologia seu doctrina CONRADI VORSTII S. Theol. doctoris; by which they declare him professoris aut doctoris orthodoxi in ecclesiis reformatis & munere & nomine prorsus indignum; and desire the states general, that his writings may be suppressed.*

May



*May 8.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the KING.

‘ May it please your majesty,

‘ This day I presented my lord bishop of Landaff, and the rest of your majesty’s commissioners, who have assisted at the synod, to the states and the prince of Orange, to take their leaves: by both which I was desired to acknowledge to your majesty the full satisfaction they have had in these reverend persons, and their great obligation for the favour, they sparing not to publish in their open assembly, that this synod (which hath given, as it were, a new soul and life to this state) is your majesty’s work; and thereupon to profess to owe your majesty the fruits of their best abilities in all occasions for the service of your person and kingdoms: which I do now undertake in their behalf, to be as really meant, as freely tendered; in that the blessing of God, your majesty’s authority, and the benefit of time, hath bred that revolution in this state, that whereas it hath been of long space overwayed by disaffected persons, both in church and commonwealth, they have felt by due and lawful proceedings the smart of their malice; and these, which are now in place, if for nothing else, will learn to be wise by their example.

‘ It appears in the whole course of BARNEVELT’S process, his practice of change of religion at home was accompanied with a design of transporting the chief dependence of this state from your majesty to France; which is conceived he would have made as a bridge to pass further into Spain. From hence proceeded his sweetning from time to time all differences with that crown; and, on the contrary, nourishing alienation betwixt your majesty’s kingdoms and these provinces. And though these men have naturally many harsh imperfections, yet your majesty supporting them with your accustomed wisdom and patience, may in all important occasions serve your crown and kingdoms effectually by them; for which they have both power and will; and these two qualities concur very rarely in princes correspondence. The reasons I have for this discourse I have communicated at large to my lord of Landaff, whom I am required particularly both by the states and his excellency to recommend to your majesty; and other advertisements your majesty may please to receive, as usually, through the hands of mr. secretary NAUNTON. So in all humility I take leave.

‘ Your majesty’s most faithful and obedient subject and servant,

From the Hague this  
23<sup>d</sup> day of May 1619.

‘ DUDLEY CARLETON.’

*May 12.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ I have since my last of the 9<sup>th</sup> of this present recovered a copy of the states letters to the French king upon occasion of his ministers interesting themselves and their master’s reputation so far in the affairs of these provinces at this time of faction and division, and in a point of judicial proceeding with prisoners: which I find very worthy of his majesty’s view, and therefore send the same in company of certain copies of BARNEVELT’S sentence, as likewise a translate of the states letters to their se-  
veral



veral provinces, which say somewhat more than the sentence doth mention. The proof the judges have for BARNEVELT's intelligence with the enemy is (as I understand) a certain bundle of letters and other papers in cypher; whereby, before the truce, he entertained private correspondence with a certain merchant of good account, who lived on that side, whose widow hath, since her husband's death, produced those letters and writings; and in them is contained the whole course of projecting and framing the truce, with many probable appearances, that, by means of the alterations BARNEVELT had caused in this government since the truce, he had then a design to bring these provinces back to the Spanish subjection. This the judges thought a sufficient cause for torture, without which nothing could be drawn from him: but he was spared in regard of his age. Amongst all the particularities specified in the sentence, I understand the business of Utrecht (wherein he being of another province could not meddle without offence of the generality, and yet he was the plotter and contriver of the opposition was made there to the states and his excellency) was the grain, which turned the balance to his ruin with the judges, when they were in chief deliberation about his cause; wherein he wanted not friends amongst them, who would willingly have saved him; and JUNIUS, one of the four counsellors, a just and upright man, stuck closest unto him. But when this point of Utrecht was urged and stood upon, he concluded with this word *respublica poscit exemplum*, and so gave his voice with the rest for his death.

‘ MUSBERGHEN remains still upon trial. His friends have drawn from him a confession, that he hath been seduced, with a petition to the states and the judges for grace. None of the rest took this course (though GROTIUS did humble himself more than the rest) and therefore (running before the greatest hazard) he is now likely to speed best, if he do not hurt himself; of which there is yet some doubt, because he doth *vacillare*, sometimes standing upon justice, and otherwhiles demanding grace. His kindred and friends have been with me, and earnestly solicited me to do good offices in his favour; I have been formerly sent and written to by the count of Embden to the same purpose. He is a gentleman well allied in Utrecht, Friesland, and Overijssel; in which regard (judging it to tend to his majesty's service to oblige so many as have part in his well or ill doing) I have laid hold of his submission, both with his excellency and the judges, as an argument to induce them to compassion in his behalf; wherein notwithstanding I am careful not to spend his majesty's name, or to interest his reputation, whatsoever shall succeed. I believe he will escape both with life and goods; though the scaffold remains only in his regard *ad terrorem*; but he is like to undergo a sentence either of confining or banishment.

‘ The princess of Orange came expressly to my house the other day to move me to intercede for GROTIUS, that he might change his prison into exile; which I excused, as having no order from his majesty. And the truth is, it would prove a fruitless instance, because they here apprehend the sharpness both of his tongue and pen, which he might use with liberty, being abroad; but whilst he is in their hands, he will be kept in obedience for fear of the sword. She likewise desired me to endeavour for UTENBOGARD, one whom she hath always much favoured: and she had entertained a fear he should have been hanged *in effigy*; but that course of justice is without example in these countries, and they will not begin with a man of his profession.

‘ The

‘ The states have *lupum auribus* in regard of the remonstrants, which are yet at Dort, as confined to that place; for whilst they are as now, in a college together, they animate each other; and when they are separated, there is danger of their breeding tumults amongst the people. Banishment is not yet talked of as a course too rigorous; yet the principals may haply undergo that sentence. The rest will be transplanted from their wonted places of residence, but not suffered to preach or teach in private or public.

‘ The letters, which BARNEVELT wrote after he had knowledge given him of his death, I could not recover till this very instant, they being kept close, in regard he stood upon his innocence until the very last. Your honour will receive the translate of them both: So I humbly take leave.

Your honour's most faithfully to be commanded,

From the Hague the 12th  
of May 1619.

DUDLEY CARLETON.

‘ P. S. At the closing of these I receive letters from my lords of the council touching the reparation of damages for the satisfaction of those, which are interested in the African of London; wherein I will not fail of my best endeavours.’

May 15. Sir ROBERT HENDERSON to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

Concerning WILLIAM GORDON, who had been of his company, but had left it above two years, and took away with him 2000 guilders. He married STRAGHAN, a burgomaster's daughter, and left his wife miserably; so that it was not to be expected, that he would come into those parts. That he was a debauched papist, and a meddler with Jesuits.

May 28. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I am upon a very short warning advertised of a passage made expressly hereby at Scheveling by the chiefs of the East-Indian company, who are here at present in their whole number of seventeen, to resolve with the states, touching the points in difference betwixt them and our merchants, which they have done this day, in conformity to that, which, in the last audience of the states general's commissioners at Greenwich on Whitfun-monday, was set down (according as they advertise) by his majesty as an indifferent course betwixt them: And upon answer of these letters some of these merchants are to go over again to conclude the business: The honour and thanks whereof is by the states ascribed wholly to his majesty.

‘ I was visited this last week by two of the states in the name of the rest, to deliberate how to repair the omission, in the preface of the canons, of his majesty's name; which they thought to do by some prologue made by HEINSIUS the states secretary, or some such other expedient; doubting lest any change in the acts of the synod, now the strangers were departed, would give advantage to such, as seek *nodum*  
in



*in scirpo* to quarrel at their doings. But when I shewed them, that his majesty could not receive satisfaction by a private hand for a public omission, they gave present order to Dort, that the Dutch copies of the canons should be reprinted, and his majesty's name inserted, according as his majesty required; which even now I have seen in a copy sent me by the states. The Latin copies will not be printed till these be approved by the several provinces; and of these there are 50 exemplars only printed, for the provinces and several towns of Holland.

‘ The prince of Orange is gone to the assembly of the states of Guelderland, where and at Utrecht, going and coming, he will provide by his presence, that the actions both at Dort and this town, as well concerning church as state, will be approved; which otherwise amongst unsettled heads might be more questioned than may stand with good policy at this time. He will likewise prepare these two provinces for the design intended in expressing more amply the union of Utrecht in the points touching religion. At his return he will find about the end of next week the states of Holland assembled to give perfection to all affairs; and then we shall see what they will do with VORSTIUS and the ring-leaders of the remonstrants.

‘ LEYDENBERGH's body being yesterday taken down from the gibbet by order of the states, at request of his friends, and buried in a church-yard at Vurburgh (a village near the place of execution) was this morning digged up by the people of that place, and dragged into a ditch, where it yet remains, with the greater concurrence of people to see it than when it hung up.

‘ In the lining of BARNEVELT's hangings of his chamber in prison are found long and large discourse, which he intended to have divulged by his friends touching his innocency. His servants revealing this to his friends, and their over-hasty and eager suit to the states to have those hangings in their hands, bred the suspicion, which made this discovery.

‘ The states have furnished the Bohemian agents with two months advance, which is 100,000 florins; and they are gone to carry forward their small levy of 1000 musketeers, for which they shall have a strong convoy.

‘ By my last dispatch the 19th of this present your honour will see, that I dispatched his majesty's commandments, which the states sent me, by my lord of Doncaster, without attending the copy of his majesty's letters to their assembly; which I thought needless, because I had the copy of the other to his excellency, which I conceived to be the same in substance; and I framed my speech accordingly. This copy, which is now come to my hands, is accompanied with so firm an assurance of your honour's favour, which hath been witnessed unto me many other ways, and particularly by Mr. BELCANQUAL, that my haste must not hinder my due acknowledgment of that obligation, which shall tie me, whilst I live, to remain

‘ Your honour's most faithfully to love and serve you,

Hague this 28th of May 1618.

‘ DUDLEY CARLETON.’

B b b

P. S.



‘ P. S. I have received a letter from your honour, and one from Sir CHRISTOPHER PARKINS, touching GODFREY BOOTE, whose business is on foot, and full of difficulties; but I hope to bring it to a good end.

‘ In such affairs as concern myself and my poor fortunes (of which I find by Mr. LOCKE it pleaseth your honour to take care) I will beseech your honour to receive information from Mr. LOCKE, and to continue your wonted favour.’

May 29. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ Your honour’s letters of the 6th of this present, which gave cover to a packet to my lord of Doncaster, came to my hands the 16th, and yesterday I sent the packet to Brussels, where it is like to find my lord, if it overtake him not at Antwerp. Your honour will have understood, that to gain time he comes not this way; so as what he had in charge, I have delivered to the states and his excellency, of which I give an account in the packet which goeth herewith to Mr. secretary CALVERT, through whose hands I received his majesty’s commandment to this purpose.

‘ Since my last to your honour of the 12th of this present, the business of the prisoners is ended, and the judges departed. MUSBERGHEN, upon the request of grace and mediation, which was used in his behalf, was remitted by the judges to the states general; and by them it is ordered, that he shall go to-morrow to his house near Utrecht, and there remain under guard for the space of a month, to dispose of his affairs; and after he is to live six years in exile out of the United Provinces, binding his lands and goods for his good demeanor without practice against this state during his exile, and paying the expence of his imprisonment, according as it shall be rated by the states.

‘ HOGEBETS and GROTIUS are to be removed within these two days to Louvestein, which is a strong fortified castle near Gorcum, and there they are to remain in several cages barred with iron, with the allowance each of them of twenty-four stivers, which is about two shillings and five pence by the day; and resolution being taken in the assembly of the states the 15th of this present, not to admit any request in their favour contrary to the sentence of the judges for the space of six years.

‘ Touching the three which are fled, UTENBOGARD hath a sentence of perpetual banishment and confiscation of all his goods. HANNE of fifteen years banishment and confiscation of half his goods. TRESELLS of two years banishment, and 2000 guilders fine.

‘ The states having sent certain deputies to Dort to treat about the disposing of the remonstrants, which yet still remain there, they find them very stiff and peremptory, wheresoever they shall have their abode, that they will preach and teach without controul their Arminian doctrine; so as the states, betwixt their desire of moderate proceedings, and the provocation of the remonstrants, are much disturbed what to do; and unless they proceed to the exemplary punishment of some, to which they do not willingly;

willingly hearken for fear of the outcry of the people in towns where the remonstrants are favoured, they will remain still in a labyrinth.

‘ It is not yet known here how BARNEVELT’s execution is taken in France: only I understand, that the French ambassador had a postscript to a dispatch he received yesterday, to this effect, that the news thereof being come to the king and his council’s ears, it was a matter of so great consequence, that they would not suddenly resolve what demonstration to make of the king’s displeasure.

‘ I send your honour a copy of our last advertisement from Prague: and so humbly take leave, &c.

‘ P. S. Being sealing this letter, I receive one of the 9th of this present from your honour, which gives cover to one from my lord of Buckingham, for which I render your honour my humble thanks.

‘ LEYDENBERGH’s body, I understand, shall be taken down, and buried at the request of his friends, who have been here suitors for it ever since it was hung up. Your honour may please to give his majesty knowledge of these particularities.’

May 12. Letters in French from Prague, giving an account of events in Bohemia, the banishment of the Jesuits from Moravia. That colonel WALSTEIN, who hath fled with a considerable sum of money, and had attempted to debauch the *Gend’armerie* of the county, was declared publicly *comme poltron et larron*: That their deputies ‘ vont à l’assemblée des princes de l’union à Heilbron, afin d’y traiter de leur confederation.’

June 7. Letter from the Hague in French.

‘ Plusieurs ici sont étonnées, que l’ambassadeur extraordinaire de sa majesté de la Grande Bretagne n’a pris son chemin par ici, comme on avoit pensé, et à cet effet fait preparer son logis: Ains d’avoir pris la route par Bruxells, et y avoir communiqué avec les ambassadeurs de France, d’Espagne, et autres, sur l’accommodement des affaires de Boheme, et y s’acheminée sans sur ce ouir aucun avis de messieurs les estats et son excellence, lesquelles, on dict, que seroient aussi estre esmeirvellé de la proposition n’agueres à eux faite par l’ambassadeur ordinaire de sa majesté icy, assavoir, qu’ils ayent à se resoudre sur des moiens, puisque leur treve s’en va finissante, comme elle pourroit estre prolonge, ou, en défaut, d’entrer en communication pour faire une bonne paix avec le roi d’Espagne, dont chacun en parle à sa fantasie.’

June 12. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

In answer to a letter brought him by the bearer from the secretary of the 30th of April in favour of GODFREY BOOTE, who still continued prisoner: ‘ That he can yet say no more of the business concerning BOOTE’s liberty, save only, that it is in hand, and will have as quick and as good dispatch as can be expected of a matter of this nature; the man being entangled both in capital crimes and deep debts to the state, with the charge of a double imprisonment, the former being yet unpaid, and his

cause hanging in two courts (which is the provincial council, and the committee-council of Holland) which makes the greater difficulty, by reason of the many hands through which it is to pass, which are at present full of other affairs. Now this bearer having no order for discourfing of any money, his prefence here may be very well fpared; for when I fhall get BOOTE's liberty (which I doubt not but to obtain) it will be expected, if he be prefent, that he fhould difcharge his debts, and pay the charges of his imprifonment. Withal, his being there as a fuitor for him nourifheth a jealoufy, as if there were more ufe to be made of BOOTE, than I conceive, now he is fo well known, will be any more thought of; for there cannot be a more decried companion than he is, both for wit and honefty: and therefore I account it my ill hap, that he cofts me as much pains as if he were a better man: But he hath good and honeft friends, and it is his majesty's fervice: Wherefore my endeavours fail not, and I hope before long to give your honour a good account of them.

‘ P. S. in his own hand.

‘ I befeech your honour to let the weaknefs of my head and hand, after a fortnight's fever, into which I was caft by a fit of the ftone, excufe my further writing, until I fhall have recovered more ftrength.’

*June 18.* SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to fecretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ The deputies of the Eaft-Indian company being now returned into England to give conclufion to the bufinefs of their conjunction with our merchants, I would not omit the commodity of advertifing your honour in what ftate we ftand here at this prefent; not unlike to the fea, which remains fomewhat unquiet after a ftorm be paff.

‘ At Horne, Schonoven, and fome other towns of Holland, the Arminians in confiderable numbers have had; thefe laft Sundays paff, their meetings and preachings, with public profeflion fo to continue, though it be with hazard of life and goods; and at Alcmæer on Sunday laft an afsembly of them being gathering together in a wood adjoining to the town, and colonel HYNDERSON (who doth there command over the extraordinary troops fent thither exprefsly to fupprefs thefe tumults) going thither to accompany the ftates deputies, who went to forbid the meeting, was affailed by the people with their knives, not without fome danger to himfelf and the deputies, until a troop of foldiers came up, by whom they were beaten away, but without blood: Thefe occasions do make the ftates of Holland bethink themfelves, and to refolve of a ftrict placart againft fuch afsemblies; which they have now in hand, and will be roundly put in execution. For howfoever the Arminians alledge, that the liberty of this country in matters of religion fhould be no more ftraitned unto them than unto the Lutherans and Anabaptifts, who have their meetings and preachings by public permission; yet it is not fo underftood by the ftate; firft, in regard that the Lutherans and Anabaptifts are no innovators, but began and continued with the beginning and increafe of this ftate. Next, becaufe they have been always content to live peaceably and under protection of this ftate: Whereas the Arminians by a factious confpiracy did aim at the fovereignty. Laftly, becaufe it appears by the new levies of men here in Holland and Utrecht made by the Arminians, and their rigorous proceedings  
againft:



against those who were well-affected in religion, their end was to breed a mutation both in church and state, which was never attempted either by Lutherans or Anabaptists. It was yesterday resolved by the states of Holland, that VORSTIUS should be banished this province within the space of five weeks: and now the states general are in hand to take the like resolution for the rest of the United Provinces.

\* The remonstrants, which are at Dort, are like to be dealt with in the same manner, if they persist in their opiniatrety (which hitherto they do very obstinately) of preaching their Arminian doctrine wheresoever they shall abide: and to this purpose they have made a petition unto the states, that they may go to their several churches, to execute their functions; alledging, that it is against the liberty of a free council (as the states will have that of Dort understood to be, to which they came, as they pretend, under safe conduct) to be thus long restrained, as they have been, in that town. Three of them are more moderate than the rest; so as all will not be proceeded with alike; but the chief, I believe, will be banished. LEYDENBERGH's body was once more buried at Vurburgh, and digged up again; so as there was no rest for him, until his friends bought him a burying-place in a poor lazaret-house near this town; and no marvel, if he, that had no compassion over his own carcass, found so little in others.

\* We have been here long in expectation how the proceedings in this state about BARNEVELT would be understood in France. In conclusion here are come letters from the states ambassador, mons. LANGERACK, which say, that he having acquainted the king and council with BARNEVELT's sentence and execution, at first they seemed to find it strange, that no greater respect should be borne that king's recommendation in the behalf of one, who had always done so good offices betwixt that crown and this state: but afterwards upon better weighing the matters they declared themselves to be well satisfied: and for mons. DU MAURIER, that such order should be sent him, as should give this state better contentment. On the other side, here is a writing spread in this town by mons. DU MAURIER of a contrary kind; as your honour will see by the copy thereof which goeth herewith: but this the states are content to persuade themselves to be dropt from his new pen. Count HENRY parted yesterday upon a sudden resolution towards France by post, with a train of four-and-twenty gentlemen and others, as sent by his brother the prince of Orange to settle his nephew DON EMANUEL, eldest son to the prince of Portugal, in the government of Orange, in place of one captain CROUSSE, who was there left governor to the late prince; he being willing to leave the government, and to resume his charge at Diest in Brabant, of which he is droffart or bailiff, under the prince. I do not find, that count HENRY hath any commission from the states, in his passage by the archduke, or the French king's court, to treat any thing; only he hath permission from them, if he find it expected, to perform visits and compliments in both places. From the prince of Orange he hath express letters to the French king, and order to negotiate a more favourable proceeding in that which belongs to his sovereignty of Orange, than he hath hitherto found since his brother's death, and a better interpretation of his actions here in this state, than hath been made of late days in that court.

\* Our last letters out of Germany bring news of a defeat given the count MANSFIELD's regiment by the count of Bucquoy near Budweys by a camifado upon  
1.
his

his quarter; wherein the count of MANSFIELD lost upon the place six hundred men.

*May 11.* Prince Palatine to the duke of Savoy: from Heidelberg.

Sent by Sir ISAAC WAKE, in his return to Turin from Great Britain; who had orders from king JAMES I. to visit that prince, and to communicate with him upon some public affairs. The prince assures the duke of his intire and most sincere affection.

*May 12.* Paper of the French king and his council, mentioned in Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's letter of June 18.

‘ Sa majesté et messieurs de son conseil ont tous unanimement fait demonstration de trouver mauvais le peu d'égard, quel on a eu aux moderez conseils, qu'elle a fait donner à plusieurs fois pour le bien de l'estat sur les affaires presentes, s'assurant, que la pratique en eust esté salutaire: mais puisque l'on ne la pas voulu, souhaitent, que la republique se puisse trouver bien des moyens plus violents, dont on a voulu user.

‘ Que l'obstination, que l'on a tesmoignée à rejeter les conseils de S. M. le fera désormais refoudre à se mesler de ses propres affaires, laissant desineler aux autres leurs propres embarras et confusions, puisque ce, qu'elle fait comme bon ami et allie, est maintenant interpreté de si mauvaise part par ceux, qui se laissent donner à leurs passions.

‘ Que ces ambassadeurs conjointement et separement n'ont rien fait que par ses expres commandements, ayant eu l'ambassadeur ordinaire plus ample pouvoir sur ce subject, que celui, duquel il a usé; de sorte que S. M. approuvant entierement ce qu'il a fait par son ordre, c'est bien en vain que d'autres s'en formalisent, et tres mal-a-propos que l'on veut temerairement lui prescrire ce qu'elle doit lui commander et ordonner.

‘ Qu'en toute ceste despeche n'est recogneue trace de la respectueuse procedure, dont on avoit accoustumé d'user envers S. M. laquelle messieurs de son conseil y ont aisement recogneu le stile d'un garnement, qui est chassé de Paris, et d'une personne, qui travaille à l'alteration de l'alliance dont S. M. les honorez: en quoi il dessert et trompe manifestement ceux, qui se fient en lui, qui ne cueilleront que fruits ameres des obliques et turbulentes procedures, es quelles il engage l'estat.’

*June 26.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ My last to your honour were of the 18th of this present by the ordinary of the Hague, who attended the East-Indian merchants; since which time the winds have been so contrary, that I believe they are still on this side the seas: and now conceiving, that their business will not end the treaty with the states commissioners, but that his majesty may think fit to take some course likewise in other points which are in difference betwixt us, amongst which the inhancement of gold and silver in these provinces

vinces is not of the least consideration, I have thought fit to send your honour a writing concerning that subject; which is the advice of the *generaux des monnoyes* to the states here; of which your honour may please to make that use, which may be best for his majesty's service, without discovering the writing itself; which I have recovered by means of one of the generals themselves; and he will receive much reproof, if it should be known to the states.

' The states placart of the 13th of February last, N. S. by which there was a regulation of coins ordained until the last of May next following, with promise at that time to make another abatement more proportionable to the states of his majesty's coins, and others, which are here current, is for the second valuation suspended unto the last of the next month, and is likely not only so to continue, but, unless some good order be taken therein, to return to the wonted extremity; which will be a cause of continual transporting gold and silver out of his majesty's kingdoms, without any possibility to remedy the inconvenience.

' I send your honour herewith a translate of the sentence of the banishment against the *citati* remonstrants at the synod of Dort; who having been called some days since from Dort to this place, and often convented before the states general both jointly and severally, where all manner of inducements were used unto them to move them to live peaceably in these provinces, and enjoy the liberty of their own consciences for themselves, without preaching or teaching their Arminian doctrine, they all remained obdurate, HENRICUS LEO of Bommel only excepted, who submitted himself, and was therefore dismissed freely.

' Against the rest the sentence of banishment was put into execution this morning, they being sent away in waggons provided by the states, with their wives and children, attended by public messengers, towards such place out of the state, as they required to be rendered in; every one of them having fifty florins of the state by way of *viaticum*. Eleven of them go to the barony of Baldwick in Lang-straet, near Huefden in Brabant, from whence they will quickly meet with UTENBOGARD and GREVINCHOVIUS, who have taken a house together at Antwerp. GOSWINUS and MATTHIAS of Campen go to the county of Bentheim, whither VORSTIUS intends likewise to return. BERNERUS VESEKIUS of Tiel goeth to Cleve. The rest of their names your honour will find in the sentence; and that they intend to besiege this state, as the Jesuits do Venice at Ferrara, and other places adjoining, ever since their banishment from thence. And indeed the manner of these men doth little differ from the Jesuits; for the ministers of their party go in secular habit with coloured clokes and cloaths, and weapons by their sides, from place to place, where they find any people at their devotion. And at Horne, Schonoven, and some other places, they preach as yet in gardens and woods adjoining to those towns: but, as I advertised your honour in my last, there is a placart made and printed by the states of Holland against these assemblies, the publication and execution whereof is suspended until the canons of the synod be in readiness, which have staid the approbation of the several provinces; and that being now come with a full agreement, we shall have all in perfect form by Tuesday or Wednesday next at the farthest. Mean time the order of the church set down  
by



by the provincials after the departure of the exteri from the synod is accepted and ratified by the states of Holland; but in other provinces it meets with many difficulties.

‘ The defeat of the count MANSFIELD’s regiment near Budweys (of which I made mention in my last) is so much magnified by the *Austriaci*, and extenuated by the Bohemians, that we have no greater certainty betwixt both, than to make this judgment, that it is neither so great as the one, nor so little as the other will make it. The Bohemians require of this state a new supply of money to the value of 300,000 or 400,000 florins; which will not be granted, but the monthly contribution (of which I have formerly written) is like to be continued. They likewise desire the states would send some deputies, to meet such of Austria, Moravia, Hungary, and other places, as they now expect at Prague; to which no ear is here given.

‘ We hear, that count HENRY going post from Bruffels received a hurt near that town with a fall of his horse, so as he continues his journey in coach. Here was so hot a speech, that the prince of Orange, at his last being in Guelderland, would bring a wife from Cleve (the daughter of the marquis of Brandenburg) that I believe the noise thereof is gone over the seas; but there was no ground for that rumour, save only, that formerly there had been some speech to that purpose amongst friends. The lady was not at Cleve, neither did the prince her brother nor his excellency see each other.

‘ I send your honour the Latin translations of the sentences of HOGERBETS and GROTIUS, added to those you had formerly of BARNEVELT and LEYDENBERG. So I humbly take leave, &c.

*June 29.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Upon his endeavours to procure reparation of damages to be made by the states, in consequence of the restitution of the ship *African* of London and goods; and that he had procured, after many difficulties, 800*l.* sterling, to be allowed the owners and merchants, besides the monies belonging to the ship, which were left in the hands of the admiralty of Rotterdam.

‘ I send your honour a translate of the states placart against the Arminian assemblies; to which this last Sunday they came at Schonoven and other places armed with half-pikes and other weapons; so as the extremity, to which they are grown, requires a more present remedy: and this placart, with the canons, and other pieces, for the satisfaction of the people, will be all published this week, and strictly put in execution.’

*July 14.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I sent your honour, the 29th of the last, a translate of the states placart against the Arminian assemblies, which was published in most of the towns of Holland on Thursday,

day, Friday and Saturday last; and obeyed the Sunday following in most places: But at Alcmaer the Arminians met as formerly, without the town, where they had a sermon. At Schonoven they assembled likewise at a place called Nieuport in the barony of Lichfield on the other side of the water, but were hindered from preaching by the magistrates. At Rotterdam they assembled in the morning in a retired corner of the town, where the magistrates coming, and only taking note of those which were present, without further interrupting them, they took the boldness in the afternoon to meet in one of the chief streets, where a preacher attired in colours, with a broad gold-hatband, and other accoutrements like a mountebank, was raised up upon a board set betwixt a barrel and a shop-window, and of each side of him an elder of their church, like two zanies; where he beginning to preach, and being interrupted by the magistrates, accompanied with the governor of the garrison and some soldiers in arms, there was some small confusion by the people, men and women, who presented their naked breasts to the soldiers, as if they had been ambitious of a conceited martyrdom. Mean while the preacher and his two companions escaped, having quickly slipped off their disguise: and it is said, that he in burghers apparel was one of those, though as then unknown, who stood reasoning and discoursing with the magistrates. This boldness in that town is much nourished by the admiralty, whereof the under-officers and dependents are most Arminians; in which regard the states have now written their express letters to have all such as do receive stipend from the state, and are noted Arminians, to be deported from their charges, unless they presently submit themselves, with order to receive none hereafter into those places, but such as are known to be well-affected persons. The like letters are in hand to be sent to the other admiralties, in regard these seamen are most outrageous, and soonest moved by the Arminian preachers, whose sermons tend only to sedition.

‘ On Monday last enquiry being made at Schonoven after those who met the day before at Nieuport, by the magistrates of the town, and one man laid hold of as a ring-leader, the rest of the Arminians endeavoured by force to release him; and they being resisted by the garrison of the town, one of them was in that tumult slain with a shot, and two others hurt. This raiseth great noise amongst these people, always accustomed to an unbridled liberty; but the states and the prince of Orange are sensible of the danger in putting at this time and in this occasion *rumores ante salutem*; so as they go roundly and resolutely through the business, having this last week banished seven of those Arminian ministers, who made the anti-synod at Rotterdam, according as your honour will see by the translate of the sentence, which was put in execution Saturday last, when they were sent away by four of the clock in the morning, whereby to avoid confusion of the people. They are gone to the same place at Langstræet in Brabant, where the fourteen *citati* remonstrants do remain, of whom, we hear, that some of them in the name of the rest presenting themselves to the bishop of Boisseluduc, who hath jurisdiction over Langstræet, they desired license to live in that place with freedom of conscience, and to give entertainment to such of their faction, as should have recourse unto them out of these parts; to which answer was made, that so they would live there as private persons, without preaching or teaching, or giving any scandal, they should not be molested: wherewith they seemed to part satisfied, though this was no more than here was offered by the states; which if they had accepted, they might here have remained like so many fire-brands in this country. But



God hath his hand in this cause, which hath appeared in many the like occurrences since the beginning of these troubles. *Quos vult perdere, prius dementat.*

‘ One of these banditti stole over on Sunday last to Bommel in a disguised habit, where he preached to an assembly of Arminians: and though they do this with much confidence, in opinion, that if they should be taken, they shall only be punished, according to the use of this country, in the purse, or with imprisonment; I find there is another resolution taken, which is to send the first, who shall be lighted upon, to the Tucht-house at Amsterdam, which is like Bridewell; or if he be convicted of any farther conspiracy, to hang him up in his *mask* as *perturbateur du repos publique*.

‘ The bishop of Boisleduc inquired particularly after EPISCOPUS, who was one of those who was present with him; and for his sake, who, he said, was known to him by his writings, invited them all to dinner.

‘ I have been desired by the magistrates of Rotterdam, who employed one of their number expressly to me, to move the states of Holland, that there may be a preacher entertained by public stipend for the English and Scottish inhabitants in that town, which are many families. This was a thing much sued for by Mr. secretary WINWOOD, when he was in their charge; and once moved by myself at my coming hither, but was then always crost by BARNEVELT’s brother and GROTIUS, pensionaries of that town, and by the rest of the magistrates. Now to have this matter sued for by the magistrates themselves, and by my means, as his majesty’s minister, is one good effect, amongst many others, of these mutations.

‘ The states have this last week deprived absolutely BARNEVELT’s younger son of the government of Bergen-op-zoom; from which he remained hitherto only as suspended; and have given the same by commission to Mons. RIOVEN, who was placed there by provision. His troop of horse is likewise taken from him, and given to his lieutenant.

‘ Here is a gentleman come from the prince Palatine to desire of the states liberty to raise a company of 200 foot for his highness’s guard, requiring for this purpose two out of every company in these provinces, or so far as may arrive to this number. The levy is not denied him; but the taking men out of the states companies is stuck upon as prejudicial to their own service.

‘ Here are letters come this week from the princes of the union, which advertise their intention to put themselves generally in arms upon occasion of the present troubles of Germany and Bohemia; which they judge tend to the prejudice of their religion and liberties: and therewithal they summon the states to the furnishing of such succours, as they are obliged unto by the treaty of the union; requiring them to have their men in readiness at Rees [Reyse] and Emerick, whereby to be nearer at hand against such time as they shall be sent for. What resolution shall be taken hereupon, I will speedily advertise his majesty. And thus for the present I humbly take leave, &c.

‘ *June 27.* Letters of the princes of the union to the states general, dated at Heilbron, signed by FREDERICK palsgrave of the Rhine; JOACHIN ERNEST margrave of Brandenburg,



Brandenburg, duke of Prussia; JOHN FREDERICK duke of Wirtemberg; GEORGE FREDERICK margrave of Baden; CHRISTIAN duke of Anhalt; &c.'

July 17. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

' R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

' I have detained the dispatch, which this doth accompany, in opinion to be able by the same commodity to advertise his majesty of the states resolution touching the demand of the princes of the union, which they have not hitherto taken: but I perceive their purpose is to make answer to this effect; that if they find the princes to be actually assailed, they will be ready with their succours: or, if SPINOLA (as the voice goeth) should march with his troops to Francfort, they will then give them such assistance, as the princes shall require: otherwise the archduke's army remaining here intire, they judge it no wisdom to dismember theirs. The rest of the answer will consist of good words and encouragements; it being very welcome news hither, that the princes arm; though the opportunity of doing much good thereby is thought to be past, in that they gave such free passage to the Spanish troops without any demonstration to the contrary.

' Here hath been a treaty long in driving betwixt the commonwealth of Venice and this state; wherein Venice hath signified hither a desire to enter into some more strict terms of amity; which all the provinces have at length yielded consent to give ear unto; and this day the states call the Venetian resident to them to demand of him whether he hath power to treat; which, for aught I can perceive, he hath not, though he hath formerly cast out some words to the prince of Orange, which have bred a belief he hath such power. Of this I shall advertise his majesty more at large by my next.

' I have seen, within these two days, a certain Scottish book, called *Perth Assembly*, written with much scorn and reproach of the proceeding in that kingdom concerning the affairs of the church. It is without name either of author or printer; but I am informed it is printed by a certain English Brownist of Leyden, as are most of the puritan books sent over of late days into England: which being directly against an express placart of the states general, which was published in December last, I intend (when I have more particular knowledge of the printer) to make complaint thereof, conceiving that his majesty will not dislike I should so do. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

' P. S. My lord Lisle is newly come hither from my lord of Doncaster (whom he left in the duke of Bavaria's country) in his way for England, purposing to go from hence within a day or two. He saith, my lord of Doncaster doth attend the coming of king FERDINAND towards Francfort at Saltzburgh.'

July 18. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

Sends by lord Lisle duplicates of the letters he had committed the day before to MARTEN the post.

‘ What concerns myself your honour, without your farther trouble, may be pleased to understand from Mr. LOCKE, to whom I have written at large. However the success of my pretensions fall out, I must with all thankfulness acknowledge your honour’s favour.’

July 22. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ By letters of the 14th and 17th of this present by MARTEN the post, of which I sent the duplicates by my lord Lisle the 18th, I advertised your honour of all we had worth his majesty’s knowledge; and withal I sent your honour a book intituled *Perth Assembly*, of which finding many copies dispersed at Leyden, and from thence some sent into England, I had reason to suspect it was printed in that town: but upon more particular enquiry do rest somewhat doubtful; yet in search after that book, I believe I have discovered the printer of another, *De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, which his majesty was informed to be done in Middleburgh; and that is one WILLIAM BREWSTER, a Brownist, who hath been for some years an inhabitant and printer at Leyden, but is now within these three weeks removed from thence, and gone back to dwell in London, where he may be found out and examined, not only of this book *De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, but likewise of *Perth Assembly*, of which if he was not the printer himself, he assuredly knows both the printer and author: for, as I am informed, he hath had, whilst he remained here, his hand in all such books as have been sent over into England and Scotland; as particularly a book in folio, intituled, *A Confutation of the Rbemists Translation, Glosses and Annotations on the New Testament*, anno 1618, was printed by him: so was another in decimo sexto, *De verâ & genuinâ JESU CHRISTI Domini & Salvatoris nostri Religione*, of which I send your honour herewith the title-page: and if you will compare that, which is underlined therein, with the other *De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ* (of which I send your honour the title-page likewise) you will find it is the same character; and the one being confessed (as that *De verâ & genuinâ JESU CHRISTI, &c. Religione*, BREWSTER doth openly avow) the other cannot well be denied. This I thought fit, for his majesty’s service, to advertise your honour.

‘ It falls out in these towns of Holland that Sunday, which is elsewhere the day of rest, proves the day, as always of labour (for they never knew yet how to observe the sabbath) so now of trouble and confusion: for on Sunday last at Alcmæer, the Arminians being assembled in the afternoon in the market-place, and there beginning to sing psalms, the magistrates, with the help of the soldiers there in garrison, went to dismiss the assembly, but were entertained with throwing of stones, which the people had provided for that purpose, until the soldiers were forced to let fly some few shot amongst them: and to assail them with pikes; whereby one of them was slain, and divers hurt; who after they were dressed in the next houses, were carried in barrows by the Arminians cross the market-place, and there set down for a while; where some of them made speeches over the hurt bodies, to move the people to sedition; but a contrary effect did follow, which was a fear to expose themselves to the like danger.

‘ At



‘ At the Brill the whole party of the Arminians went out of the town to a sermon on Sunday last; against which no resistance was made by the magistrates: but when they sought to return, they were not permitted to enter into the town without satisfying the penalty set down by the states placart; which hath been performed by many; and some not able or not willing to do the like are as yet kept out of the gates.

‘ There is a great good effect followed upon the states letters to the admiralties, of which my last made mention: divers men and women having submitted themselves, and craved pardon. The letters extend so far, that no one, either officer of the admiralties, or such as make deliverances (that is, which furnish the shipping with victual, munition, cordage, or other equipage) shall be any longer entertained in the service of the state, if they be noted disobedient to the states decrees in these church-causes; in which all, which belong to the East-Indian company, are likewise comprised.

‘ At the provincial synod, now held at Leyden, there are ten ministers of those of South-Holland silenced and deported for Arminianism, and thirty others called, who will be in the same condition, unless they shew themselves more moderate. The whole college of divines in the university of Leyden, which received stipend of this province of Holland, is dismissed, as well regent and subregent as students. For regent and subregent FESTUS and SINAPAIR are chosen, both learned and well-affected persons; and for students, none hereafter are to be admitted but such as bring attestation of their life and doctrine from orthodox pastors and teachers, under whom they have had their education. The professors have time to bethink themselves of giving the states satisfaction, or seeking another condition, until the 29th of this present.

‘ There is hitherto no answer made by the states unto the letters of the princes of the union, of which I sent your honour a translate by my last; and I believe the delay proceeds out of a desire, first to understand how his majesty is disposed in the same business; the states presupposing, that the princes of the union have written to his majesty to the same effect.

‘ There hath been a treaty long entertained betwixt the captains of the states ships of war in the Mediterranean, and the pirates at Algier; of which a project is now at length sent hither to the states, and thereby is contracted, that the states ships are not to molest the pirates, nor the pirates the merchants of these provinces, but observe with them the same agreement in all points, which is contracted betwixt this state and the grand signor. There is a question still remains concerning hostages on the pirates side, as likewise restitution of such prisoners, subjects of these provinces, as the pirates have taken since their last treaty; which (with other such accidents as arrive daily) is sufficient to interrupt this treaty, though it were in greater forwardness.

‘ The Venetian resident hath been since my last often in audience with the states general touching the treaty betwixt them and his masters; which grows now to that ripeness, that they are digesting certain articles to send to Venice; which will be ready for the next ordinary: and this manner of proceeding *senza strepito* is much more likely  
to.



to take place, than if the business should be negotiated by any public minister from hence, which could raise much opposition.

‘ There are at this present at Sluce in Flanders three commissaries for this state, who expect as many either there or at Ardenbergh from the archduke, to treat concerning the staying of certain rents by way of reprisal, which have been for some months past detained on both sides. This matter hath been artificially managed on the archduke’s side, whose desire was (as it is here suspected) to draw some men of quality in employment from hence about their business, and to make this as an entry into further treaty about renewing the truce; which the states could not be drawn unto, and therefore have sent men of mean condition, and with very strict and limited commission.

‘ The reasons of not hearkening hastily to any overture of renewing the truce are first a desire to gain time, whereby to settle their affairs in these provinces; and next a hope, that the French king with years may gain experience, and embrace the protection of this state, in opposition of the Spanish greatness, upon those grounds and maxims the king his father did.

‘ There is now upon the Rhine a subject of some difference betwixt the states and the duke of Newburgh, as well in the quarrel of Brandenburg, as for their own interest; the duke of Newburgh having begun a novelty in taking a certain toll of such ships as pass upon the Rhine at Wesel and Burick, which in the time, and since the death, of the last duke of Cleves, hath been always paid at Rees: and this is not only prejudicial to the duke of Brandenburg, but likewise to the states, by incommodating the traffic betwixt Germany and these provinces: whereupon they have written sharp letters to the duke of Newburgh, or his council at Dusseldorp, by which they require, either to have this inconvenience speedily remedied, or else threaten to take reparation by land of such wrong, as is there done upon the water.

‘ Here hath been this week past certain deputies both from the count and county of East-Friesland, to complain of the rigour of the states deputies, who are now in these parts treating agreement betwixt the count and the town of Embden, they having summoned the country by a printed placart published by two of the states trumpets to the payment of certain contributions, upon penalty, in case of refusal, of being over-run by the states troops both horse and foot; the execution whereof is stayed, and such order given by the states in the points in difference betwixt the count and the town, that his deputies and those of the country are returned very well satisfied. I had express letters from the count to further his affairs, wherein his deputies will acknowledge to have been well assisted by his majesty’s authority. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*Aug. 7.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ The states commissioners and the deputies of the East-Indian merchants returned into these parts out of England the 24th of the last. The merchants, after their landing,

landing, went every man to their several homes without appearing in this place. LIENS, one of the commissioners, took Zealand in his way hither, under pretence of whose absence the report of their negotiation was deferred until Saturday last, when he being come, it was performed in the assembly of the states general, where the prince of Orange and count WILLIAM were present; and therein they acquitted themselves well and thankfully towards his majesty in the relation of his princely usage of them during the whole time of their abode in England, and of his care in conserving the amity betwixt the crowns and those provinces, by suppressing by his authority the disputes and difficulties, which have been long nourished betwixt us; wherein they said they found in conclusion a good correspondence both with the lords of the council in general and those in particular with whom they have to treat; though in the beginning and progress of the business, they were encountered with many oppositions. In a word, that, which they delivered at much length (the relation holding from eight of the clock in the morning till two in the afternoon) tended only to the expressing of their full satisfaction, and the assurance this state may make of his majesty's favour and friendship; which with what thankfulness it is accepted by this state his majesty will within these few days see by their own letters, they having taken a resolution to write expressly to this purpose. Somewhat they said they left unperfect in the business of Greenland, in the point of reparation of damages; and of this they coming together to visit me made some small mention; but finding that I was ignorant of their proceedings (as but from themselves I have understood nothing) they only toucht it at large.

“ The contentment the states receive in the good success of this embassy with his majesty makes them bethink themselves of the like means to settle their affairs with France, which are grown to those extremities, that there are four letters of reprisal granted against the merchants of these provinces, upon occasion of certain subjects of these countries taken out of two French ships in the East-Indies by those of this East-Indian company, whereby their voyage was overthrown; and of certain chests of sugar arrested long since at Amsterdam; to which one FORESTIER, a merchant of Rouen, doth pretend: and hereby is grown a question of jurisdiction betwixt this court of Holland, and the parliament of Paris. Besides these present differences, and the distaste risen in France, by reason of the late mutations in this state, the ambassador shall have charge to renew the treaty of alliance betwixt that crown and this state; which as well with France, as with his majesty, doth expire with the end of the truce; which hath now only twenty months continuance: and therefore they are likewise in deliberation of sending again to his majesty for the same purpose: but both these businesses will be put off until the next meeting of the states of Holland, which will be towards the end of the next month. Mean while they are much troubled to find out fit men to employ in France, in that they are not willing to use any of the Arminian faction, which have been countenanced by that crown; and to those which have been their opposites, and are now in authority, they can promise themselves no good welcome. They are likewise in deliberation to take a new course in their embassages in general, by regulating the expences of them in proportion to their train; which shall be likewise prescribed; and for this purpose one of every province is named, which shall frame the instructions for the embassy of France; and



and these things being prepared, they will then resolve of the persons, that shall be employed.

‘ We expect here daily count HENRY out of France, who doth hasten his return the sooner-upon letters written to him from hence of likelihood of some employment with troops into Germany; of which before his departure from hence he desired to have the command, if any should be sent.

‘ Yesterday, and not before, the states made their answer to the letters of the princes of the union, whereby they are summoned to the performance of the succours, to which they are bound by treaty. They say, that the monthly aid of money, which they give the Bohemians, was done partly at the instance of the princes; and therefore they thought it would be taken as part of the performance of the treaty: that the army they hold here continually in pay doth keep the Spanish army in these provinces, which would otherwise upon these occasions march into Germany: that their domestic distractions do busy a great part of their men in garrisons here within the land, whereby to keep their people in obedience. Yet, notwithstanding these difficulties, if the princes be assailed, or enter actually into arms upon these present occasions of Germany, they promise to give them assistance either in men or money, according to the treaty: and if the archduke’s troops do march that way in any considerable number, they offer likewise to accost them with their horse, which they cannot spare at this time . . . . than their foot.

‘ By the same message the states have written other letters to their ambassador BREDERODE, resident at Heidelberg, commanding him to go to Francfort, and there to complain to the princes electors of Germany of such new impositions, as have been raised upon the Rhine since the truce; for which purpose he hath letters of credence to those princes in general, but is more particularly to address himself to the three bishops, as those which are chiefly interested by reason of the situation of their countries; and with them he is to use round language in case they give him no hope of redress.

‘ After much merchandize betwixt the Venetian resident and the states touching the treaty of alliance, of which I have formerly advertised, the resident having given them an extract out of his letters, by which his masters declare their willingness to enter into alliance with this state; the states have given him a writing in exchange to this effect, that they are *tres portés* (which is their word) to the alliance with the states of Venice; offering to assist the state with shipping or money, according as shall be required by the Venetians; and referring themselves for further particularities to a treaty, when the Venetians shall resolve to enter into it. This writing is sent unsigned, because the Venetian resident did not subscribe that which he presented: but the resolution of this alliance is here so firmly taken, that if it fail not on the Venetians side, it will proceed without difficulty: and this manner of handling the same (as I said in my last to your honour) without noise gives cause to judge their intention is real; which is a great mutation from the wonted maxims of that commonwealth, which for these many years space have startled and shrunk back at the name of *Lega* or *Confederazione* (especially with a protestant prince or state) as if it had been *la testa di Medusa*.  
That



That a pirate of Algier was taken and brought into Amsterdam by a Dutch man of war, contrary to the accord.

‘ I have at length, after many delays and difficulties, with which it is needless to trouble your honour, gained a resolution concerning GODFREY BOOTE, which is, that he shall be pardoned his offences against the state, and delivered out of prison, conditionally, that he pay the cost of his imprisonment before, and go out of the United Provinces within three days after his delivery, into which he is not to return again without licence of the states general. This grace, the states did let me know by two of their deputies, they do this man in contemplation of his majesty, though they have subject (as they say, and so I easily believe) more than sufficient to proceed otherwise with him. Hereof your honour may please to advertise his majesty, as of any thing else in this dispatch, which your honour may judge worth his knowledge.

‘ P. S. GODFREY BOOTE’s friends have desired me to procure a fortnight’s stay in this land after his delivery; which is granted unto him; and then your honour is like to be importuned by him.

‘ The letters of Germany, which do even now arrive, bring news of want of money and victuals in the count of Boucquoy’s camp; and that king FERDINAND and the bishop of Colen are gone secretly out of Francfort, whither it is thought they will not return.’

August 20. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ Your honour’s letters of the 3d of this present came to my hands the 13th in the morning very opportunely for one point touching the treaty betwixt the states and the pirates of Algier, which that very day was by appointment to be handled and resolved of by the states general; of which having knowledge I did presently demand audience in their assembly, where the speech I used *de re natâ* they required of me in writing; and thereof I send your honour a copy. The answer made unto me for the present was, that they were even then in deliberation of that business; but that it was yet *res integra*; and that they would well advise upon it before they would conclude any thing, and therein have particular regard to his majesty’s satisfaction; confessing, that many of their principal merchants did oppose the treaty. To which I replied, that since there was such concurrence betwixt his majesty’s advice and the opinion of those whom it chiefly concerned, I made no doubt but their resolutions would be according; and going immediately to the prince of Orange, I spake with him to the same purpose; whose answer unto me was, that this was no new treaty, but a renewing of one long since concluded, but broken again by the pirates of Algier; and that was only the observance of the capitulation they have with the grand signor. He added further, that the states did think of it now more than at another time, in regard of the expiration of their truce with Spain; which if it should not be renewed, it did import the states much to have a port in the Mediterranean, to which their ships might safely retire; and withal he declared unto me, that if he saw appearance of renewing of the truce, he should not then think fit to proceed with this treaty. To

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which

which I replied, that the states had not need *tali auxilio aut defensoribus*, but might rely on their old friends; and that, proceeding as they have done hitherto by maintaining ships of war against the pirates, they need not anticipate time, because it would be in their power to make the same conditions then as now, and things might so fall out, that they need not be driven to such an exigent.

‘ I have since that time spoken with divers of the states apart in this subject, and made it appear unto them how great a scandal they will expose themselves unto without any fruit to their subjects, because the pirates in searching for Spanish goods would always quarrel with their merchants and seamen, and make prize of them upon some pretence or other, either of attempt or resistance; which they do very well apprehend; as likewise the other reasons set down in my proposition; and thereupon are much troubled what answer to make to a letter from the basha of Algier, of which I send your honour a translate: but I believe they will propose such hard conditions in their answer, as can no ways be admitted by the pirates; and thereby the treaty will be held in suspense without exclusion or conclusion. Mean while they do here arm thirteen good ships and a pinnace to send into those seas for the security of their merchants, which they intend to maintain there, whether the treaty proceed or not; of the success whereof I will not fail diligently to advertise his majesty.

‘ I have made good inquiry after WILLIAM BREWSTER at Leyden, and am well assured, that he is not returned thither; neither is it likely he will, having removed from thence both his family and goods. VORSTIUS is gone (as I am well informed) to his old school (for so I may call it, in that it hath the title rather *Illustris Schola* than *Academia*) of Steensfurt in the county of Bentheim, from whence he was called by the late curators of Leyden; and there he intends to settle, without hope or expectation of ever being received again in these provinces.

‘ GODFREY BOOTE is at liberty, and retires himself to Emerick until he knows his majesty's pleasure, whether he will make use of his service in England, or not. All, which belongs to him, your honour will find in a packet of papers, which goeth herewith; wherein is a letter to yourself: and because I know I shall be earnestly pressed by his friends for answer, I shall be glad, with your honour's commodity, to know his majesty's resolution concerning him.

‘ All our affairs here at home are in state as I advertised your honour in my last of the 7th of this present; and from abroad we have little of moment, save only by a ship newly arrived here at Goree in the Brill Island, which brings marks in her sides of a fight in the midst of January last about Bantam betwixt eleven of our ships, of which Sir THOMAS DALE was admiral, and seven Hollanders, of which this was one; the end whereof we do not yet know (though for the present they parted without much hurt done on either side, save only some exchange of cannon shot for the space of three hours) because the Hollanders retired themselves to Amboyna to fetch more strength, whereby to take their revenge of a ship of theirs laden with pepper to the value of 30,000*l.* which Sir THOMAS DALE had taken before under colour of friendship. And it is thought here, that about the end of March last they had another encounter, which, lest it should have fallen out to some notable damage on both parts,

parts, whereby they should be both weakened and unable to resist those which will not lose the opportunity of their difference for their own advantage, this company here hath resolved to send an extraordinary supply; and by their secretary BOREEL, who goeth now into England, will endeavour to persuade our men to do the like. They conjecture, that Sir THOMAS DALE, after the retreat of their ships, did besiege Jacatra, in which they have 300 men; but, for aught I hear, neither victual nor munition to hold out the siege. This ship now come hither being richly laden ran a fortune in the return by a mutiny in the ship of some, which would have carried her to Algier, whereof two principals, one of Delft, another of Rotterdam, being discovered in time, and flung over board, and a pardon pronounced to the rest, with a new oath taken of the whole company, prevented the mischief. Sir THOMAS DALE in his going to Bantam lost his admiralship by shipwreck upon the blind islands d'In-ganno in the straits of Sunda.

‘ Count HENRY is returned out of France, having settled the affairs of Orange, and received much honour in that court both going and coming. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

*Aug. 25.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ To my dispatch by MARTEN the post of the 21<sup>st</sup> of this present, I have little to add by this ordinary of the Hague, the states having as yet taken no further resolution touching the pirates of Algier, than I then advertised: Only there is come unto my hands this day a letter from the duke of Brunswick, by which an answer is demanded of me in a business, wherein by a letter to my lord marquis of Buckingham of the 18<sup>th</sup> of June (which I took the boldness to recommend to your honour's delivery) I desired to understand his majesty's pleasure. And because it argues much respect in that prince to his majesty, to govern himself in a matter of such consequence by that which shall seem best to his majesty, your honour may be pleased herein to procure his majesty's particular directions: in expectation of which, I will suspend my answer to that prince's letter.

‘ We expect here within a day or two the landgravine of Hessen, who being come to Viana to see her sister (who is married to monf. DE BREDERODE) makes a farther journey out of curiosity to see these towns of Holland. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

*Aug. 31.* N. S. Letter of monf. BILDERBEC, from Colen.

That the day before advice was brought from Francfort, that FERDINAND was elected king of the Romans by plurality of voices, and was to be crowned on the 30<sup>th</sup> O. S. but that the Bohemians had deprived him of his kingdom; and that all the confederates had renounced obedience to him, and designed to publish their reasons in print. That the Hungarians intended to accept BETLEM GABOR prince of Sibenberg for king. That the people of Moravia had seized all the goods of the ecclesiastics, and some of their persons; and seemed resolved not to suffer any papists.



Aug. 21. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the KING.

‘ May it please your majesty,

‘ The contentment the states receive in the success of their late embassy to your majesty, they do not think to have sufficiently expressed by their express letters now sent to your majesty, if any thing be omitted, which may render further testimony of their humble thankfulness; and therefore have they deputed unto me within these two days two of their principal persons with a message full of gratitude and acknowledgement of eternal obligation to your majesty, to whose wisdom and singular insight into affairs of greatest doubt and difficulty they wholly ascribe the good event of this treaty.

‘ Upon all such occasions of conference with any of them, they forget not the assistance they have had of your majesty in their late troubles here at home; which being foreseen by your majesty many years since, I often call to mind, and remember unto them, the commission I received from your majesty’s mouth at my first entrance into this employment with the beginning of a verse, *A Jove principium*; to which now I can add an end, *Tandem bona causa triumphat*: for not only VORSTIUS (against whom your majesty did then chiefly declare yourself) is gone into exile, but all his abettors and supporters into ruin.

‘ What further belongs to your majesty’s service you may please to receive from those hands, by which I receive your commandments. So in all humility I take leave.

Your majesty’s most faithful and obedient subject and servant,

From the Hague this 21st  
of August, 1619.

‘ DUDLEY CARLETON.’

Sept.  $\frac{1}{2}$  Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ The states do at this present send an extraordinary into England, with letters to his majesty to be delivered by Sir NOEL CARON touching the last of the four points, about which they treated with me by their deputies on Friday last, being the 10th of this present; of which, as of the rest, I advertised your honour at large the same day by HERMAN the post, whom I dispatched expressly: and because the news of the marching of the archduke’s troops is confirmed from all parts, with opinion, that their design is to assail the prince Palatine’s country, they here take a resolution to send no more foot than they can well put into waggons, whereby to make the greater expedition according to the journey they made to Brunswick; and their numbers will not be above twelve or thirteen hundred, but those all musketeers and choice men. All the horse shall accompany them, which will be about 2400; and these arriving in time will be of much better use than a far greater army, which would come unseasonably.

‘ Our letters from Colen of the  $\frac{1}{7}$  of this present, which arrived this night, say, that the prince Palatine hath accepted the crown of Bohemia; and they find a necessity thereof

thereof in his name FREDERICUS FIT REX BOHEMIÆ MDCXVIII. Withal they say, that he was chosen king of Bohemia upon his birth-day. Of the rest (which is of much importance) I send your honour a translate.

‘ In my last I advertised your honour, that BREWSTER was taken at Leyden; which proved an error, in that the schout, who was employed by the magistrates for his apprehension, being a dull drunken fellow, took one man for another. But BREWER, who set him on work, and being a man of means bare the charge of his printing, is fast in the university’s prison; and his printing letters, which were found in his house in a garret, where he had hid them, and his books and papers, are all seized and sealed up. I expect to-morrow to receive his voluntary confession of such books, as he hath caused to be printed by BREWSTER, for this year and a half, or two years past; and then I intend to send one expressly to visit his books and papers, and to examine him particularly touching *Pertb Assembly*, the discourse *De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, and other Puritan pamphlets, which I have newly recovered. Thus I humbly take leave.’

Sept. 18. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ My messenger to Maestricht came short of my lord of Doncaster, and doth follow him (as I believe) to Francfort. By the return of my other from Bruffels I understand from Mr. TRUMBULL, that the great preparation on that side is employed upon that town; and though the states have the like advertisements, yet lest that business being ended, the archduke should send any of those troops towards Germany, they do not here licence their waggons, which they have about Utrecht to the number of 300 for count HENRY’s musketeers; neither are any captains or officers suffered to come from their companies, they having still commandment to be in readiness at the prince of Orange’s command, who intended, besides those who should have gone with count HENRY, to have drawn a small army together in the frontiers of seven or eight hundred men, with which he meant to have been in person, and so doth still purpose, if need shall require; the count WILLIAM being to remain here, to look to all in his absence.

‘ The news, which we had here by the former ordinary of Colen, of the prince Palatine’s having accepted the crown of Bohemia, is retracted by this last; by which all we have of consideration is a letter from the prince of Transylvania to the Bohemians, which is already here in print, and thereof I send your honour a copy.

‘ Since my last of the 12th of this present, whereby I advertised your honour of BREWER’s being laid fast in the university’s prison at Leyden, I have sent an advocate of this town, who understands our language, with a servant of mine, expressly to visit his books and papers, and to present certain interrogatories to those who examine him, whereof I send your honour the translates with his answers, which are so indirect, that they give no man satisfaction, that sees them; and therefore I have now used the prince of Orange’s authority, who hath spoken himself to the rector of  
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the university, not to give the prisoner liberty until his majesty's pleasure be known concerning him, which the rector doth promise shall be fulfilled, notwithstanding that the whole company of Brownists doth offer caution for BREWER; and he being an university-man, the scholars are likewise stirred up by the Brownists to plead privilege in that kind when caution is offered. Wherefore I am requested by the rector and by the deputy of the town of Leyden, monf. BROOKHOVEN, residing here in the council of Holland (whose serious care in this business I cannot but commend to his majesty) to know his majesty's pleasure with the soonest, whereby to prevent some disorder, which may happen upon this occasion in that tumultuous town. Mean time I intend to have him further examined, which monf. BROOKHOVEN will give order for on Monday next, when he goeth to Leyden for two or three days; and if there be any thing particular in his confession, I will send the same speedily to your honour; as with these, which go herewith, I thought it my duty to dispatch the bearer expressly.

‘ Amongst the books, touching which I have caused him to be examined, I have inserted some, as that *Amefti in Grevinchorvium*, which as he cannot deny, so he may and doth confess it without difficulty: but by that character he is condemned of the rest; and certain experienced printers, which have viewed the letters, affirm, that all and every one of the books, with which he is charged (particularly those *De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ*, and *Perth Assembly*) were printed by them: and it appeared, that this BREWER, and BREWSTER, whom this man set on work, having kept no open shop, nor printed many books fit for public sale in these provinces, their practice was to print prohibited books to be vented underhand in his majesty's kingdoms. And if hereupon his majesty will be pleased, that I move the states general to take some strict order therein through all the provinces, either by farther explanation of their late placart concerning printing of books and libels, or some other way; as I believe they will do it very willingly, so will it serve for preventing the like inconvenience hereafter. What this BREWER is, and what fantastical courses he hath run heretofore, your honour will see by an information, which hath been given me concerning him. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

P. S. In Sir DUDLEY CARLETON's own hand.

‘ Upon some just ground of suspicion, that Mr. AMYS hath his hand in many of those books, which your honour will find specified in these interrogatories, I have desired the curators of the university of Leyden not to admit him to a place of public professor, to which he doth pretend, and hath many strong recommendations, until he hath given his majesty full satisfaction; which they do very willingly yield unto; and I am well assured his preferment will here stay, unless his majesty give way unto it.’

Sept. 22. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ Rt. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ Since my last of the 18th of this present the states have advertisement, that those companies on the archduke's side, which were drawn out of Boisseduc and Antwerp upon the business of Brussels, are returned to their wonted garrisons: whereupon they have licensed the waggons, which were prepared for their musketeers, their horse for artillery,



artillery, and all other things of extraordinary charge; but for the captains and officers, they have still commandment to have their companies in readiness. Yet now we see the present preparations are dissolved, and withal consider how other towns of Brabant, besides Brussels, have their particular discontentments, and must be kept in devotion by the reputation of an army; how Wesel and such places as the archduke holds in those parts (out of which no companies could be spared upon this occasion) do busy so many of his best men; how the resolutions of Spain are slow; how winter comes on apace; and how the preparations on this side serve both for defence by the troops count HENRY should have led, and for amusement and diversion by those whom the prince of Orange would have drawn together in the frontiers; we conclude here, that for this season the princes of the union shall not be molested out of those parts.

‘ The Venetian resident hath received by this last ordinary commission from his masters, with express letters of credence to the states, to enter into treaty of confederation betwixt these two commonwealths: which resolution was taken (as I am advertised from a private friend at Venice) in that senate  $\frac{2}{12}$  of this present; but with so strong an opposition of the *Papalini*, that there is yet much danger of exclusion of the business, if any advantage be given from hence to the opposite faction. Wherefore, knowing his majesty’s mind by the former commandments I have had upon this occasion, and conceiving how much his majesty doth oblige both these commonwealths by such good offices as are done them by his ministers herein, yesterday being in the assembly of the states general to present his majesty’s letters, and recommend the business of my lord of Bucleugh (of which I will give his majesty an account in due time) having had information the day before of the Venetian resident, that he had then presented his letters of credence; I put the states in remembrance, first of the time, which if they did presently lay hold of, they would in an Italian business find the effect of an Italian saying, *Cbi tempo ha, e tempo espetto, perde tempo*: and then of the matter itself, wherein understanding, that some of their admiralties imagine upon this occasion to capitulate for some particular privilege in the gulf, I put them in mind, how the doge and the senate do once a year with much solemnity *esposar il mare*; and how jealous a Venetian is of his wife. Wherefore I advised them not to touch upon this string, if they thought to make any good harmony with that state: for this, I assured them, would be no other than a rock upon which their treaty would suffer shipwreck. They took my advice in very good part; and as they did then in public, so some of them in particular, who wish well to the business, have been since with me to thank me for it, as that, which they had need to be remembered of.

‘ The states having now the opinion of all the towns, with the admiralties of Holland and Zealand, touching the treaty of accord with the pirates of Algier (which, upon the step was made in it by my proposition and the petition of many merchants, was referred to a new deliberation) do this day consult of an answer to give me in that subject; which will be (as I can gather by all circumstances) fully to his majesty’s satisfaction, by rejecting the accord, and continuing their former course of hostility.

‘ The French embassador hath lately presented a sharp memorial in writing to the states touching their differences at sea in general, but particularly about a captain of a ship

ship of Zealand, who having at the desire of those of Nantes and Rochelle followed three pirate ships into the river of Bourdeaux, and there forced the men to run themselves on ground, and fired their ships (for which he was afterwards thanked and gratified by those of Nantes and Rochelle, and much commended by the French king's lieutenant and officers in those parts) the ambassador doth now demand the said captain to be sent prisoner into France; there to answer this fact as a breach of peace. He doth further declare, upon knowledge of the states purpose to send an extraordinary embassy into France, that unless the king be made acquainted before-hand with the persons who shall be employed, and with the points they shall handle, they shall have no good welcome: wherewith they are here much scandalized, as an unusual course to prescribe to a free state both men and matter in such an occasion.

‘ Touching BREWER, now prisoner at Leyden, who was the chief subject of my last dispatch, I have as yet no more to advertise, but I shall expect with much devotion his majesty's pleasure about him. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

*October 12.* Extract of a French letter from Zraim to League, from Vienna.

That they were arrived there the day before with the army of Bohemia, and had determined to have fought, if the enemy had approached that city, to make themselves masters of it; but that he had retired upon their approach.

That count DE LA TOUR was with the camp of the Moravians seven leagues from thence, and the evening before expected to be joined by 10,000 men under BETLEM GABOR: and that, if this were true, BUCQUOY and DAMPIER could have no other retreat than the city of Vienna.

The postscript mentions their having just received advice from their major general baron DE BUENA, that the Hungarians had joined the Moravian camp: and that they were now resolved to pursue the enemy.

\* *October 20.* Letter in French, from Prague.

That their lords and those of Silesia had already departed from thence towards the city of Egra. That the king was coming from Amberg towards Waltsaxen the next day, and thence would make his happy entrance into that kingdom; with a most magnificent retinue, and accompanied with all the most considerable persons of the kingdom; and that the day of the coronation would be to-morrow fortnight. That the queen's physician was arrived there to prepare some medicines, her majesty being pregnant, and expecting to lie in about Christmas.

*October 13.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ Upon the receipt of your honour's letters of the 18th of September, which contained his majesty's answers to the four points, which were recommended unto me the

\* Which should be the 4th of Nov. N. S. and the 25th of Oct. O. S. Note of Sir D. CARLETON.

roth by the states deputies finding that one of them required secrecy, I desired rather, by way of conference with the same deputies, to make his majesty's mind known unto them, than, as the use is, by proposition in their open assembly; which when they require in writing, cannot well be denied them. And the same persons coming to me by order of the states, I did let them know, for the first point, touching their treaty with the pirates of Algier, and for the second, touching the transport of ordnance, that in the one his majesty expected a further resolution from hence; and in the other advice from my lords of the council.

‘ Touching the third, which concerned the merchant strangers; I did at large relate unto them the falshood of their informations, the justice of his majesty's proceedings, and the undue practices of the said merchants in disguising and concealing of truth. To which they had little to reply. And for the fourth, I declared unto them in confidence his majesty's order to Mr. TRUMBULL, in case the archduke's troops had marched towards the Palatinate, as was then imagined; which they were very glad to understand. But I observed them to rest *arrestis auribus* for what I had farther to say to them touching the main business of the acceptation of the crown of Bohemia; in which they enlarged themselves so far in their former conference with me: wherein when they found me silent, one of them in plain terms put the question unto me, What was his majesty's mind therein? Which I evaded by telling him, they were like to understand the same more particularly by the baron DHONA, who was then daily expected, though since we hear he hath taken another way. I observed, that they could likewise have been contented to have heard from me, that their readiness to answer the great alarm given by the archduke's troops, when they were on foot about Maestricht, and when their design was doubtful, was agreeable to his majesty; the rather because, as it cost them some care and crowns by the preparations of waggons and other extraordinary provisions, so it appears by the effect of their quietness, when the occasion ceased, that their end was only defensive, without serving themselves of this pretence to send any troops abroad: and if the like providence had been used in Spinola's last march to Wesel, that good town had been saved from that subjection into which it is fallen. But this serves to shew the difference of times; for then was BARNEVELT and that faction in authority, who hindered the service; and therewith was he openly charged in his examinations, though by artifice he cast the reproach of it upon others. Now they went roundly and really forward, yet with that moderation as was requisite.

‘ Upon the dispatch of baron DHONA, sir NOEL CARON, in answer of those letters, which he presented to his majesty from his masters touching his negotiation and their preparation, hath written hither so coldly, that whereas the use is for the states general to communicate all such dispatches to their principals in their several provinces, they suppressed this by common consent, lest they should make an ill impression of his majesty's affection in the present occasions.

‘ The princes of the Union in general, and the prince Palatine in particular, having written letters of much thankfulness to the states for their readiness upon the stirring of the archduke's troops, have further recommended unto them three points: the first, that though this storm be fallen upon Brussels, yet that they will not be secure,  
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but remain watchful and willing to perform what they now intended, in case any forces should suddenly be sent on the other side towards the lower Palatinate. The second, that they would continue their monthly aid of money to the Bohemians, whereof their former grant (which was only for four months) was now expired. The third, that they would write to the elector of Colen, and to the states of Munster, Padderborn, and other ecclesiastical principalities adjoining upon these provinces, concerning levies of men, both horse and foot, now making in those parts, with round language, that if those men go against the allies of this state, they must do the part of friends here, in taking a revenge upon them as common enemies: in all which they have given here full satisfaction; only in that which concerns the Bohemians, they have limited their present grant at two months, giving hope notwithstanding of two more: which, I believe, will be confirmed at the next meeting of the states of Holland, and so continued as occasion shall require.

‘ The prince Palatine hath sent a gentleman hither expressly with other letters to the states and the prince of Orange, whereby he requires to have 40,000*l.* which remain in their hands at interest, of that money he had in dowry from his majesty with her highness, to be presently paid and made over to him by exchange; which will be done without difficulty.

‘ The French ambassador with those of this state he can speak with in private (not having had since the late change in this government any public audience) doth use both his king’s name, and his own best endeavours, to dispose the states to a resolution of dissuading the prince Palatine from accepting the crown of Bohemia, as that which will kindle a fire in Germany, and may put other parts of Europe in combustion: but they here conceive, that the fire is there already kindled by the Catholic league, and their *boutefeux* the Jesuits: and the question (as they take it here) is now, Whether it shall burn their friends houses or their enemies? This general observation: I must make to your honour upon this occasion, that the well-affected here in religion remain all warm in the business for the acceptation of the crown. The Papists tremble at it, as if they heard a word, which is used in the Venetian senate, *fuori Papalini*. And the Arminians speak openly against it, in opinion it will be an advancement of religion, and by consequence the ruin of their hopes.

‘ On Sunday last there was a formal skirmish with the Arminians in the fields by Rotterdam, where they were assembled betwixt five or six hundred at a preaching; and in confidence of their number, having some few small shot and other arms amongst them, set upon a squadron of fifty or sixty soldiers, which were sent by the magistrates under the command of an English officer to apprehend some of them, and separate the rest. But the loss fell to themselves by the death of two, which were killed in the place, and divers of them hurt. In all other places of Holland things pass with much quietness.

‘ As yet I can give his majesty no further account of the states resolution touching the pirates of Algier than your honour hath in my last of the 22d of September; that business suffering, as all others do, in this place, wherein merchants are chiefly interested, of the incommodity of passing many hands, which (contrary to our usual proverb) make heavy

heavy work. And to say the truth, since BARNEVELT's death, who had the whole direction of affairs, they have not yet found out any good way of expedition; which must serve me for excuse, if I cannot give his majesty an account of his commandments so readily as I desire; and I hope to be borne with, so it be effectually.

' In the further examination of BREWER, the remanding him into England, and the moving the states to take some strict order against the like abuse as that of which he is accused (touching which three points I understand his majesty's pleasure by your honour's letters of the 28th of the last); in the first I find it lost labour, he persisting in his former answers; and he hath written me a long impertinent letter, which I send your honour herewith. In the second, because I know it will be a matter of much difficulty to effect his majesty's desire, in regard of the scrupulosity of the town and university of Leyden in point of privilege (both which are interested herein as a mixt cause, he being apprehended by the public escoutete, and kept in the university prison) I have therefore thought best to begin the matter there by preparing the curators and the rector of the university, as likewise the magistrates by the means of their deputy mons. BROOKHOVEN; having spoken likewise with the prince of Orange to the same effect. The curators are now at this present at Leyden upon the admission of some of their new professors, and have promised me their endeavours to give his majesty satisfaction; wherein I shall know within these two days what to trust to; and then I may upon better grounds move the states, both touching that point in particular, and likewise concerning the last in general of preventing the like abuse, not only in that town, but in all the provinces; wherein I will neither fail of my duty in doing, nor diligence in advertising. Mean while I humbly take leave, &c.'

Oct. 22. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

' I have at length an answer from the states to my proposition concerning the pirates, which was brought me this last night late by two of them; one of Holland, another of Friseland, who in the name of the whole assembly first made their excuses for their long delay, which they imputed partly to the constitution of their government in general, and partly to the nature of this business in particular; which requires, that a preparation should accompany their declaration; and that did ask some time. But they are now ready to put to sea with a fleet of fourteen ships, of which MOY LAMBERT of Rotterdam is admiral. Secondly, they insisted upon the impossibility of the pirates performing those conditions which they now prescribe them; which are, to suffer all the ships of this state to pass and traffic, without search or molestation, according to their treaty with the grand signor; to set at liberty all prisoners both men and boys; and to make restitution of all ships and merchandizes, which have been taken from this state by the pirates since the month of May 1617. Lastly, they desired me to express unto his majesty the great charge of their preparations against the pirates, which they alone have maintained hitherto, and will continue as long as they are able; but without his majesty's powerful hand, they see small appearance of utterly suppressing them. Wherefore they humbly beseech his majesty to shew himself therein as well by good effects in arming against the pirates; as he hath done by his advice and council to this state; which they have both readily and really followed. Of all

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which I promised them to make due report unto his majesty; and as on the one side the conditions they propose to the pirates are indeed (as they say) impossible to be performed, because without search of ships they cannot look after Spanish goods; which is the pretence of their prizes; such captives, as have been often bought and sold, especially boys (whereof some of them have been made Turks) cannot be rendered; neither can restitution be made of ships, whereof many are perished, and goods, whereof a great part is embezzled, and the rest hath often changed property; so, on the other, the states have taken this good order, that finding the ships, they have formerly sent against the pirates, have often lost the opportunity of service, and given liberty to the pirates to put fleets to sea, by reason of their returning home commonly at the end of six months to victual themselves; the ships, which are now to go out, have charge to remain in those seas, until they are relieved by so many more in March or April next; and so from six months to six months here will be continual preparation made to this number.

‘ Here is advertisement from the states ambassador at Constantinople, that the Turks general himself, now he was this last August with his armada at Saida, and upon the coast of the Levant, hath made prize of a Holland ship of good burthen belonging to Medenblick, and put all the men into the galleys; for which the ambassador requires of the states express letters to the grand signor, with commission to make a particular complaint thereof; otherwise (as he writes) he expects no other redress than the English and French ambassadors have had of late days on the like occasions.

‘ The same letters, which bear date the last of August, say, that there were then arrived at Constantinople new deputies, the one sent in the name of the king, the other of the kingdom, of Hungary, whose commissions were kept secret; but the ambassador judgeth, that the bassa of Buda was suspected to have a purpose to fall upon Hungary upon occasion of the troubles of Bohemia; in which he makes this observation, that all the bashas and principal persons about the grand signor were more favourable to the Bohemians than to FERDINAND. We have here a letter from BETLEM GABOR to the count DE LA TORRE, one of the Bohemian generals, which (as all things which come out of those parts) was sooner in the press than it could be transcribed; and thereof I send your honour a printed copy.

‘ The messenger sent hither by the prince Palatine for the 40,000*l.* which I advertised your honour in my last, hath his dispatch from the states, and is gone to Amsterdam to make over his monies to Nuremberg by exchange to his master’s best advantage, since he could not have it paid him here in ready coin, which he desired; but thereto the states were not bound, neither could they do it without loss.

‘ I have in former dispatches made mention to your honour of certain new imposts set by the duke of Newburgh’s officers upon such ships, which pass to and fro upon the Rhine; of which the states having made complaint by BREDERODE their ambassador, who resides at Heydelbergh, and made an express journey to Francfort; answer was made by the electors to his contentment; and the new emperor being required by the duke of Newburgh to have his imposts (of which complaint is now made) authorised by his public act, hath been refused; yet nothing hath followed hereupon: and now things are  
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grown to that extremity, that the ships, as well those which go up, as those which come down the Rhine, stop near unto Wesel without passing the place where the impost is expected. Hereupon the states sent on Saturday last three commissioners out of their own assembly (one of Guelderland, another of Holland, the third of Utrecht) to Duffeldorp; and the night before they departed, here arrived a secretary of the duke of Newburgh's, to treat of an accommodation of this business; in which nothing will be done here until the states receive advice from their deputies, which are gone to Duffeldorp.

‘ The difference betwixt the count of East-Friseland and the town of Embden with the noblesse and his subjects (about which the states have had seven commissioners at Embden, of every province one, for these seven or eight months) is finally at the count's pursuit recalled hither; and because the count held some of those former commissioners for suspect, as too partial to the town, seven others are added to them, of the body of the states general: and here is now the chancellor, with another deputy of the count's and a great many for the noblesse and the town; and though they meet and sit daily about it, and time, if nothing else, should make them weary of wrangling, yet are their animosities so great, that I see no appearance of any good reconciliation betwixt them; their quarrels being infinite, and rather multiplied than diminished by the interposition hath been used hitherto. Yet if nothing had been done, but the count and his subjects left to themselves, they could not but have grown to far greater extremities.’

Oct. 22. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to Secretary HAUNTON.

Concerning the affair of BREWER.

That he had been spoken with since his last of the 13th, first by two of the curators of the university of Leyden, and afterwards by one of them, the rector, his two assessors, and a deputy from the town, who came to him all in one company, and, after large professions of due respect to his majesty, and a desire to give his majesty all possible satisfaction, urged these difficulties; 1. The privileges of the university, in which BREWER was matriculated, that he might insist upon his trial in the plea, without having his cause or person removed: 2. The nature of their university, consisting chiefly of strangers; to whom if they should not carefully preserve their privilege, especially in a matter of this consequence, they would all fly their university: 3. The condition of the time, there being now newly a general reformation made; and if they should neglect the preservation of their privileges, they should expose themselves unto the scandal of such as are departed. Lastly, The example of one CLÜVERUS, a German, who having printed a book against the emperor RODOLPH, and thereupon being required of the states to be sent to Prague, there to be punished, the university made an absolute refusal, as that, which could not be granted without breach of their privileges. ‘ To all which points, says Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, I answered, first, concerning their privileges in general, it was an argument, that I sought to maintain, not to infringe them, in that I addressed myself, first, to them, who were the chief of the university, before I would move the states to use authority in this business: and for BREWER in particular, though he were a matriculated man, his printing-house (where he for the space of these three years hath printed prohibited books and pamphlets,

pamphlets, not for the use of the university of Leyden or those provinces, but for his majesty's disservice, and the trouble of his kingdoms) was in the town; and in the like case I asked them, if some busy or factious Arminian, a subject of these provinces, should matriculate himself in one of the universities of Oxford or Cambridge, and there print and send over hither books of that argument, of which their ambassador should complain, and desire to have him remanded; how they would take it, if they should be answered by a plea of privilege? Touching the nature of the university, which consists of strangers, I said they must have in that regard the greater consideration of giving contentment to stranger princes; otherwise they would and might very well forbid their subjects from frequenting their university. Concerning the time of their present reformation, I desired them to remember, to whom they might chiefly ascribe this reformation (which they have often acknowledged unto me to proceed from his majesty), and then to consider, whether it was fit to alledge this reformation against his majesty's satisfaction. As for CLUVERUS, I told them the case was different, in that he was required to receive both trial and punishment at Prague: but his majesty demands BREWER, without intention to touch him either in body or goods, or to punish him further than with a free confession of his own misdemeanors, and those of his complices, with purpose to return him back again, after he shall have informed himself from him of such things which concern his service, if they shall so require it. And, for conclusion, I wished them to put difference between the satisfaction of that emperor, with whom they had little or no correspondence, and the king my master, whom this state in general, and that university in particular, could not but acknowledge their best friend. I found them well apprehensive of these reasons, and to continue in as much depended on them (for so they professed) in their desire of giving his majesty satisfaction: but because their university acknowledgeth for founders the states of Holland, whose assembly is near at hand, within a fortnight or three weeks at the furthest, they desired me to forbear pressing this matter any farther until that time; wherein I made no difficulty, knowing it would be fruitless: only I told them, that if they had readily consented, I made no doubt but that BREWER might be in England, and returned again, before the meeting of the states of Holland. The curators asked me, when they alone were with me, whether I would give them an act in writing in manner of a safe conduct for BREWER's return, in case they should send him into England: wherein having no express order, I prayed them to weigh, whether that were any way needful, in regard; by what had passed in former occasions, they might be well assured, that his majesty's word given by any of his ministers will never be infringed.

‘ I understand they have privately appointed POLYANDER and WALÆUS to deal with BREWER of his own accord to desire to go into England; whereby to satisfy his majesty, and preserve their privileges; which I do not dislike: for if he yield thereunto, his majesty hath what he requires: if he make difficulty, I have the more just subject to press his remanding; which, at the time of the assembly of the states of Holland, I will not fail to do; and before, in regard the university belongs only to this province, it will be to no purpose to move any thing to the states general. Of this I beseech your honour to advertise his majesty. So I humbly take leave, &c.

‘ P. S.

‘ P. S. DANIEL HEINSIUS (the chief honour at this present of the university of Leyden) hath written unto me, and sent a speech of his (to the hearing whereof I was solemnly invited) to the end his majesty may (if he so please) give it a hearing. Thereby his majesty will see how the language of that university is changed since the reformation.’

Oct. 25. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON. to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ I dispatcht HERMAN the post to your honour on Saturday last with the states answer to my proposition touching the pirates, and such other affairs as required advertisement. Since which time, here being divers letters arrived out of the Upper Countries (which are the stage of the most important occurrences at this day in Europe) I have made transcriptions of some, and translates of others; all which I send your honour, rather to acquit myself of my duty, than out of any opinion that those, who should advertise his majesty out of those parts, do fail of theirs: and, if the letters of Prague say true, this day (and by conjecture this very hour now I am writing) is the time of the coronation of the new king and queen of Bohemia; *quod felix faustumque sit!*

‘ I am often visited by the best here, out of a desire they have to know his majesty’s mind in this occasion; wherein I am much to seek to make satisfactory answers. It may well be a dispatch Sir FRANCIS NETHERSOLE hath here about him to my lord of Doncaster contains somewhat to this purpose; which I mention to your honour, not to take any business from his lordship at his coming hither (when I will endeavour to do him all honour and service), but by way of provision, that his majesty’s service may not suffer by sending *lettres closes* to the place where he hath a public minister; by which, on the one side, his credit may be weakened; and, on the other, the opportunity of his majesty’s service omitted. I have seen here two extraordinary ambassadors, mons. DE LA NOÛE and mons. DE BOISSISSE, who (though they come immediately from the king their master) had neither instructions nor letters, wherein the resident DU MAURIER had not equal part. The like had Sir RALPH WINWOOD, when Sir RICHARD SPENCER was sent hither extraordinary. And though my lord’s quality be greater than those I have named, I may be pardoned, if I am unwilling to be made less in the reputation of the king my master’s trust and confidence, than those of my condition; whereby I should be more disabled to serve his majesty than I have been hitherto. And thus much for excuse of my giving your honour this trouble.

‘ The treaty betwixt the Venetians and this state is this day to be set down betwixt the Venetian resident and the commissioners in few articles to this effect: the leagues to be defensive: to give mutually 50,000 florins monthly during the war, without obligation of furnishing more on either side, unless it be voluntary and upon sufficient caution of restitution. The Venetians to be tied only to the furnishing of money: this state to money, and shipping in proportion to the money, accounting ten men of war a full valuation. The states commissioners required to have specification made *in individuo* of the aim of this league as defensive against the king of Spain and the  
house



house of Austria; which the Venetian resident would not admit, in regard of the offence might be given on the one side, and the defence he would provide for his masters on the other, in case they should have to do (as they have often had) with the pope. And so it stands in general terms, without prejudice to the other alliances of either state. But the Venetian resident, not having full power to conclude it, must have a new renvoy to Venice; where, howsoever the conditions are well digested, whereby to avoid opposition, yet that it will be disputed, appears by this, that the French ambassador there resident, mons. DE LEON, hath written earnestly to mons. DU MAURIER here, to be informed how this business passeth; who broke the matter yesterday to the Venetian resident, as if he would further it: but the Venetian would discover nothing unto him, doubting lest both he here and the other at Venice should cross this league, as the French ministers did that of the Grisons. But that there remains a good intention in the senate, I have this argument, that by public order the Venetian resident hath given me thanks for my endeavours in this business, with a desire to continue the same, until it be brought to perfection; which I fail not to do, as any difficulty doth rise on either side betwixt the states commissioners and this resident; not doubting but a due acknowledgment of obligation will be made from both states to his majesty in this regard, if it succeed; of which I conceive very good hope, notwithstanding that when the *mot de guet* shall be given by the French ambassador to the Spanish ambassador and pope's nuncio at Venice (who drew all in one line) there is like to be strange opposition. The dispatch of what is here set down goeth by this next ordinary, and until six weeks hence the answer cannot be expected; for to avoid the public notice may be taken hereof, no express couriers have been employed, nor shall be on either side, until all be ended.

‘What is done about BREWER, at Leyden, your honour will see by a letter I have even now received from POLYANDER. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

*Oct. 14.* Mons. BENICHEUSEN, counsellor to the duke of Wittenbergh, to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from STUCHARD.

That the elector Palatine was gone to Prague.

That it was now ‘temps de vous bien preparer cest hyver durant; car il ne se peut autrement que l'empereur ne fasse vers le printemps un extraordinaire effort. Car de ceste armée je ne vois plus de danger; puisque si bien d'Italie vinssent 100 ou 12000 hommes, ce qui ne fera pas, nous serons toujours bastans avec ce qu'avons sur pied de les battre; et des le present n'avons autre plus grand grief que d'estre sans ennemis. Nos gens sont oisifs (excepté de ce qui est de leurs exercices) et nous coustent sans que nous sachions ou les employer. Puisque l'on ne trouve à propos de commencer la noise avec nos prestres voisins (car il faut faire voir aux Catholiques de l'Europe, comme France, Venise, Savoye, que ce n'est pas guerre de religion) qui filent doux, et disent, qu'ils ne desirerent que la paix, et ne se veulent mesler du fait du Boheme: que cela ne vous touche pas, ni eux aussi. Et neantmoins nous ne sommes pas asseurez, que quand les forces Espagnoles viendront, ils ne leur donnent non seulement passage, mais se joignent avec eux: dont il me semble ne devons doubter; car ce qui les fait maintenant si traitables, est qu'ils nous voyent

voyent les plus forts. Donc à mon advis, sera bien fait qu'à Nuremberg, ou l'on a convoque tous les protestants, aussi ceux qui ne sont pas de l'union, par le commencement de . . . , et ou S. A. electorale lors a promis aussi de se trouver, l'on resolve d'estre esclairci d'eux avec assurance suffisante. Qu'en tout evenement, si quelques uns, à cause de Boheme, veulent attaquer S. A. electorale, ou les unis, qui sont tenus de l'assister, qu'ils ne seront de la partie, et ne donneront aide ni faveur. Car si ne pouvons obtenir cela d'eux, certes je ne voi grande apparence de demeurer bras croisez, et leur laisser loisir de nous faire payer en apres la folle encherre de notre beauté. Ce sera un grand point, que vous me dites en vostre dernière, qu'il faut travailler à oster aux catholiques la creance, qu'il y va de l'intérest de leur religion. . . . . J'ay avec vous ferme opinion, que si l'on ne vous avoit veu si promptes et resolues, qu'apres la reduction de la ville de Bruxelles, Spinola seroit esté si pres de nous, qu'il fut à Wesel apres l'exécution d'Aix. Affeurez vous aussi, que l'on le recogneut, et vous en a l'obligation et à son excellence, qui se rendit. . . . . Quant à nos resolutions et la conduite, il est tres necessaire, comme vous dites, que les Anglois et nous y marchent de commun cœur; et je tiendrai la main tant que sera en moi, que cela se fasse. Autrement les affaires en Boheme ont besoin de meilleure conduite, comme l'on y perd bien du temps, d'argent, et des bonnes occasions, . . . . L'on croit, que le prince de Transylvaine desire aussi que la couronne de Boheme vienne à S. A. Electorale; ce qui seroit une grande puissance jointe avec les autres princes circumvoisins.'

*Oct. 16.* Monf. DU PLESSSEN to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON: from Heidelberg.

That baron DHONA arrived there the 12th instant O. S. in his return from England through Calais, Rheims, Sedan, and Mets, having been advised not to pass through Flanders; and the contrary winds preventing him from going through Zealand to the Hague. The king [JAMES] ordered him to go with the utmost expedition into Bohemia, and to inform himself of the things which his majesty desired to know from the mouths of the directors of Prague, and to return post to England. 'Au reste tant par le report du dit Sr. Baron, que par les lettres qu'il nous a apportées, nous reconnissons une merveilleuse ardeur et affection de la nation Angloise à assister leurs A. H. et à ayder à obtenir ceste honorable election et legitime vocation.'

That the elector and electress Palatine intended to be at Prague on the 20th or 21st instant O. S. where was appointed a general assembly of the states of that kingdom on the 1<sup>st</sup> 8, and preparations making for the coronation: after which the elector had thoughts of going to the assembly of the Protestant states of the empire, which were summoned to Nuremberg on the 2<sup>nd</sup> 13 of November.

That the emperor, on his part, was considering his own affairs; and had sent count WRATISLAW of Furstemberg to the king of France; and the cousin of that count, governor of the city and country of Haguenau in Lower Alsace, to the elector at Amberg, to demand three things; his consent to the calling of a general Diet of the empire: an answer to a letter written to the assembly of Nuremberg: and that the elector should wave the acceptance of the crown, and the protection and support of the states of Bohemia.

F f f

That

That they had not yet had the elector's answer in form, but expected it hourly ; but that the count had his dispatch very soon.

Les preparatifs du roy d'Espagne vous les sçavez. Vrai est que l'envoy du Sr. SIMON DIGBY, cousin et secretaire du baron DIGBY, qui a residé ambassadeur en Espagne, vers le dit roi, et les lettres et messages dont il est chargé, semblent éstré capables de tenir le dit roi et son conseil en quelque doute et incertitude, du moins l'espace de quelque tems, avant que de pouvoir voir clair aux intentions de sa dite majesté de la Grande Bretagne. Le pape, comme on mande, commence aussi a s'eschauffer un peu plus que par le passé, au secours et en faveur de sa dite majesté Imperiale, lui ayant octroyé les revenues de la vacance de l'archevesche de Toledo, qu'on dit monter à 300,000 escus : et auroit dit le dit pape, parlant de l'élection acceptée (ce qui lors n'estoit pas) par son A. electorale, *Questio princeps e intrato in un bello labyrintho* ; et, *E una spaccata temerità quella del conte Palatino, &c.*

That the Imperialists said, that the prince of Transylvania and count DE LA TORRE are endeavouring to excite the Turks against the emperor ; and that prince has, among other things, by his ambassador, expressly notified to the directors of Prague, that the emperor had four several times demanded assistance of the Turks against the kingdom of Bohemia ; but that the answer was always in the negative.

The elector Palatine has written to the king of France, desiring him not to give ear to the sinister impressions and suggestions to his prejudice and disadvantage ; assuring him, that he and the other united princes will never attempt any thing but the preservation of the antient alliances of the empire, and especially of their own houses with his crown : and though they find themselves obliged, and were resolved likewise to maintain with their utmost power the liberties and constitutions of the empire, yet their actions and proceedings should shew, that they did not at all design a war of religion. Mons. DE ST. CATHERINE has also been desired to write in the same terms to the said king his master.

That himself, DU PLESSEN, had orders to go to Nuremberg to assist at the assembly there.

OE. 12. N. S. Extract of a letter of the Dutch ambassador at Constantinople.

' Amongst the Turks there is discovered a new sect, called by some MOULCHITON, and by others RAFASINEN, having had their beginning many years since out of Persia : *credentes æternitatem mundi, animam cum corpore perire, & omnes fœminas communes esse debere.* Of which there are found in the principallest towns and countries of Asia a great number of Turks of all qualities, as Janisaries, Spahyen, Siansen, Capitis, Azumoglaenen, and other burghers. Their chief teacher (or speich) is lately discovered here, and apprehended ; as also many of his disciples ; and daily diligent inquiry is made after the complices. The goods, as well of them that fly, as of them that are apprehended, are instantly confiscated, and the persons apparently shall be punished with death.



Nov. 2. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ This week’s letters out of Germany do chiefly quicken our expectations against the next, whereby we are promised the news of the coronation of the new king of Bohemia, which by appointment should be performed the 25th of the last.

‘ BETHLEM GABOR hath made a great progress in Hungary, having cut in pieces 1000 foot and 500 horse, which were sent by the count of Bucquoy to Presburg under the command of TIEFEMPOCH, taken the town, and possessed himself of the crown of Hungary: which whether he will put upon his own head, or make other use of it, according to the advertisements I have yet seen, is very doubtful; some saying, that he will make presentation thereof to the new king of Bohemia (for, I think, I may now stile him); others, that he doth temporise until he may have his doings approved by the grand signor, under whose protection he is. Mean time he hath taken the town of Altenburgh likewise; which brings Rabb and Comar into great necessity, by reason the succours are cut off, and the garrisons of those places ill satisfied for want of pay.

‘ The emperor in his passage towards Gratz by Monacho, where he staid eight days, dispatched to Rome Mons. DE TRUMESTORF, and into France Mons. DE FURSTENBURGH, having sent from thence to all the princes of the empire to give them an account of the state of Hungary; about which kingdom, as well by these dispatches, as by the count of Bucquoy’s marching that way with his army out of Bohemia, it appeared he is more solicitous than about Bohemia, making that his chief care, and leaving the recovery of Bohemia to the King of Spain. For under pretence of resisting the Turk (for whom he would make the world believe BETHLEM GABOR is in arms) he promiseth himself, as emperor, the aid of the pope and other princes, and accounts the king of Spain by a title of succession to the crown of Bohemia (which in the late emperor’s days past by way of contract amongst themselves) bound in honour, as well as in his private interest, to recover that kingdom; in which it is here judged he will set up his rest, and therefore wished a fit defence may be provided in time, as it hath pleased God so to order, that with the occasion, there is (by reason of the winter now approaching) time and leisure sufficient for preparation, so it be well managed. But it is not to be neglected or foreflowed; for commonly he, that is first in the field, hath the advantage of that year: and the first year, though the quarrel may last longer, will in all reasonable conjecture either settle the crown for ever on the new king’s head, or bring that kingdom, as a kingdom of conquest, into perpetual subjection unto the house of Austria. How the princes of Germany incline in their affections, your honour may hear more exactly from his majesty’s ministers in those parts. Here we are informed they all arm, both little and great, ecclesiastical and temporal: but the opinion is, many of them will not declare themselves but as they shall be swayed by their belief of the strength of each party: which the Spaniard knowing, doth already use his accustomed artifices, first by bruit spread abroad of his correspondency and friendship with his majesty, which he doubts not still to entertain by his wonted overture of a match: next, by the truce with these provinces, which, he gives out, shall be renewed within a few days; and the Spanish ambassador, newly arrived at Brussels, hath (as is advertised hither from Milan, from whence he last came)

came) particular orders for this purpose. Lastly, by the reputation of his forces, having already sent by the way of Swisserland towards Germany, the Neapolitan troops lately arrived at Vado by several parties of 500 together; and they speak at Milan, as I have seen by a letter from a good hand of the 23d of the last, of a purpose to demand liberty of the princes of Italy to make a levy against the next spring in their several dominions (whereby not to disfurnish Naples and Milan in a time of so much suspicion) of 12000 foot, and a proportionable number of horse; and to send them under the command of some man of principal quality as general, to the war of Bohemia. They speak largely likewise of their monies, having remitted (as they write) 800,000 crowns to Nuremberg, and made a partito of a million more for that service.

‘ The Spanish embassador newly arrived at Bruffels (whom I have now mentioned) Don ALONZO DEL LA QUEVA, marquis de Bedmar, is one of whom I had particular knowledge at Venice, where I both found and left him. He is a man of fair conversation, but of haughty and violent counsels; of which I saw many experiences in the business of Savoy. He hath never been in England; but by the conversation he hath had with our English fugitives, particularly with CRESWELL the Jesuit, he hath the most exact knowledge of the chief families and remarkable places of our country of any stranger I know; in which respect he having been before named, now, after his remove from Venice, for France, Rome, and the emperor’s court, it may be thought he is sent to this employment.

‘ In that part of his business concerning the renewing of the truce with these provinces, he will find a deaf ear on this side, because they conceive here, that too great facility will animate the Spaniards to prescribe unto them harder conditions than the former; and partly, because the Bohemians may be the better aided in their affairs, by holding this business in suspense: and when time serves, I believe, the world will see a public act made by this state, whereby notice will be given, that on such a day precisely the truce will be expired, to the end, on the one side, their merchants may be admonished not to engage themselves too far by their ships and goods in the king of Spain’s dominions; and on the other, the Spaniards may know they are not here asleep.

‘ I took a view this last week in the river before Rotterdam of three of the states ships, which are now gone out against the pirates, and was aboard upon the admiral, which was very well fitted for fight: but I might well perceive their want of ordnance, which they insist so earnestly to have supplied by his majesty’s favour, by reason of certain brass pieces made here in this town purposely to put into their frontiertowns, which the admiralties were forced to borrow of the prince of Orange for this service. The pirate-ship brought into Amsterdam from the coast of Portugal (of which I have formerly advertised your honour) is conducted by this fleet (in regard it was taken under the colour of friendship) back towards Algier, where the states admiral hath order to deal with the men in conformity as he finds himself used in the restitution of prisoners and goods by those of Algier, either in rendering those men by way of exchange, or throwing them into the sea, and making prize of the ship.

‘ There

‘ There grew some small difficulties, after the writing of my last (wherein I gave your honour an account of the treaty of Venice) betwixt the states commissioners and the Venetian resident; the states commissioners requiring, that if the Venetians should make use of their ships, they should stand to the loss of any, that should perish in their service, either by fight or casualty; and the Venetian resident demanding to have men (if his masters should have need) as well as money or shipping: both which were well reconciled; the first, upon consideration, that they may here assure their ships by the merchants of Amsterdam, without putting an article of so harsh sound to the senate of Venice: the second, upon promise, that, when their affairs here will permit, they will as willingly furnish men as money or shipping.

‘ Here is come to this town one APSMA, who is agent for this state with the Hans Towns. He saith, he left the dukes of Brunfwick and Lunenburg in a good disposition to join themselves with the princes of the union: and for the Hans Towns, that, in these troubles of Germany they will govern themselves by the council and example of this state. It seems by his report, there is *mauvais mesnage* in the house of Brandenburg, where a match was spoken of, and in much forwardness, betwixt the king of Swede and the marquis’s daughter, who, according to this man’s report, is carried away by her mother against her father’s mind into Poland, there to match with one of that king’s sons.’

Postscript of a letter of sir DUDLEY CARLETON in his own hand to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I have omitted a good advertisement out of the Grifons, which I have by letters of the  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the last; and that is, of a new revolution in favour of the better party, which by plurality of suffrages hath concluded, the French ambassador, mons. GEFFIER, shall remain no more in their state: that no man shall receive pension or money under any title or pretence whatsoever of any foreign prince or potentate: that no natural born Grifon shall exercise the office amongst them of interpreter, either to the French king’s ministers, or those of any other prince: that all resolutions taken in the last *drittura* shall be abrogated. And, lastly, that there shall be a new tribunal established in some free place, which shall take revision of what is past in the late tumults, and make provision for the future. The place they would have Coir, where the French faction being strongest, and refusing them entry, they besiege the town, and will be soon masters of it.

‘ The Venetian resident hath shewed me a letter from Bruffels, whereby his masters are accused by the Spaniards for animating the new king of Bohemia in acceptance of the crown, they having had one ANTELM, a secretary of the senate, privately about Francfort and Heydelberg, at the time when the business was in question; so as there might be *fumo* at least, if not *foco*.’

Nov. 3. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ One of the curators and the rector of the university of Leyden, with POLYANDER and HEINSIUS, came to me on Monday last, being the 1st of this present, expressly from



from Leyden, to let me know their resolution to send BREWER into England; which, for preservation of the privileges of their university, they made appear unto me by a writing under BREWER's hand to proceed of his own desire, as a dutiful subject to his majesty, and willing to give his majesty all satisfaction. But first he required of them in the said writing to be assured it is his majesty's own pleasure to have him sent: next, that he may go as a free man under caution of his lands and goods, not as a prisoner: then, that he may not be punished during his abode in England either in body or goods; and that he may be suffered to return hither in a competent time: and, lastly, that his journey be without his own charge.

‘ These things were requested of me by the curator, the rector, and the rest in his behalf; wherein I made them this verbal promise, without being farther moved by any of them (as I was formerly) to give them any act in writing; that for the first, it was his majesty's express will and pleasure, which I might the better assure them, having the same now a second time reiterated unto me by your honour's letters of the 23d of October, which at that instant I received. Next, that if they would take caution of him of his lands and goods for his rendering himself to his majesty in England, I left it to their discretions; but to send him as a free man could not well be, as long as he remained *in reatu*.

‘ Then, that for his body and goods during his abode in England, I undertook he should not be touched (being so warranted by your honour's former letters of the 21st of September) and for his return, that it should be within the space of three months at the farthest, and sooner if he dealt ingenuously and freely in his confession. Touching the charge of his journey, I made no difficulty to free both him and them thereof, not doubting but his majesty will be pleased to allow it: so as there remaining this only point of difference between us, whether he should go as a prisoner, or as a free man; in the end we concluded of a middle way betwixt both, that he should go *sub liberâ custodiâ*, being attended from Leyden to Rotterdam by one of the beadles, with another officer of the university, and be there delivered to some such person, as I should appoint for his safe convoy into England, where I have undertaken for him, he shall not be cast into any common prison, nor be ill used; though for his liberty, I let them know, he must not expect it, but according as he shall merit it by the satisfaction he shall give his majesty; wherein if he fail of what he now seems willing to perform, the fear of being returned back hither again to the place where he hath lain ever since his first apprehension, and where he may lie long enough, unless he be delivered by his majesty's grace and favour, will be a sufficient torture. But, on the other side, if he carry himself well and dutifully, I will beseech your honour to be a means to his majesty, that he may be well treated, and sent back with contentment; the rather, because he hath taken his resolution of presenting himself unto his majesty against the minds of some stiff-necked men in Leyden, who endeavoured to dissuade him. And it will give all inferior persons encouragement by his example, according to the like occasions, willingly to submit themselves; he being a gentleman of a good house, both of land and living; which none of his profession in these parts are; though through the reveries of his religion (he being, as I advertised your honour, a profest Brownist) he hath mortgaged and consumed a great part of his estate. This noble

noble gentleman, fir WILLIAM ZOUCHE, being to go into England upon his own affairs, hath upon my entreaty willingly undertaken the charge of conducting BREWER to your honour; for which purpose he hath staid his journey until this time, when I am promised BREWER shall meet him at Rotterdam; and he being a gentleman of his majesty's privy chamber, as well as a servant to this state, his majesty may be pleased to take notice of his readiness to do his majesty's service. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

' P. S. At the assembly of the states of Holland, which is to begin the  $\frac{8}{18}$  of this present, I will not fail to move the states to take some strict public order against those abuses of private printings, as well for his majesty's service, as they have not long since carefully done for their own.'

*Nov.*  $\frac{6}{16}$ . Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

' R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

' Here is an advertisement come to this town from Vienna of a great defeat given the count of BUCQUOY by the Bohemians; of which we have no great assurance. But it is written with so many particularities, that it finds credit. Wherefore (here being no passage directly from hence, by reason of contrary winds) I send your honour a translate thereof by the ordinary of Antwerp; which way I may send letters sometimes, in case this makes any more than ordinary speed; and thereof your honour may please to give me knowledge. So I humbly take leave, &c.'

*Off.* 27. Translation of a letter dated at Weenen, inclosed in fir DUDLEY CARLETON's letter of the  $\frac{6}{16}$  of Nov. sent by the way of Antwerp, which was, as secretary NAUNTON observes on the back of it, twenty days in coming.

It contains an account of the action between count BUCQUOY and DAMPIER with 18,000 men, and the Bohemians, Moravians, and some Hungarians, in all about 20,000 men. The action began on Thursday, when the Imperialists lost 600 men. It was renewed on Friday, when the Imperialists lost 1500, and some said more; BUCQUOY, who behaved well, being wounded. The day following, October 26, the Bohemians obtained the victory; having lost in all the actions about 2000, and the Imperialists above 4500, and others said more.

It concludes with observing, that they (the Imperialists, of which party the writer of the letter was) were afraid of being shortly beleaguered at Weenen; for the prince BETHLEM GABOR with his forces out of Hungary marcheth hitherwards.

*Nov.* 7. N. S. French letter from the Hague.

Account of affairs in various parts.

That an extraordinary ambassador was expected there from Venice, in order to conclude a strict alliance with the states general.

*Nov.*

*Nov. 5.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ The Venetian resident, signor SORIAN, hath yesterday desired me to accompany the bearer hereof, SIMON IHOI, a Venetian likewise, with my recommendation to your honour; he having certain pretensions against sir THOMAS GLOVER, for money furnished unto him at Constantinople under the title of his majesty’s service; wherein your honour may be pleased to afford him your favour, as far as may stand with right and equity.

‘ The advertisement I sent your honour the 6th of this present by way of Antwerp, of the count of BUCQUOY’s defeat near Vienna, is confirmed since by divers other letters: and yesterday we had the news of the coronation of the king of Bohemia by a letter from one of the directors, whereof I send your honour the translate. We see manifestly thereupon in this place contrary demonstrations of joy and sorrow; the good patriots and well-affected in religion applauding the Bohemians success both in court and camp, happening almost at the very same time, as a blessed omen of their future felicity; and all others hanging down their heads; only comforting themselves by expectations out of Spain against the next spring; for this winter their hopes resting only in the remainder of those men which are with the count of BUCQUOY, and the succours now marching out of the state of Milan (whereof your honour is advertised) are like to be as cold as the season.

‘ It is written hither among other particularities, that the day of the coronation at Prague, neither man, woman, or child died, either by natural death, or any other casualty; which in so great a city, and at a time of such concurrence, and press of people, is very remarkable.

‘ Here is a counsellor of the landgrave of Hessen, and one dispatched from the duke of Deuxponts, and the council of Heidelbergh, newly arrived with commission to say somewhat to the states; but what it is, I shall better advertise your honour after their audience, than now upon bare conjecture, having yet spoken with neither of them. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*Nov. 4.* N. S. French translation of a letter from Prague, written by one of the directors there to the Bohemian agent at the Hague, and inclosed in the preceding letter of sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

That the coronation of the king of Bohemia was performed that day with the greatest magnificence, joy, and applause of all the states and people of that kingdom; the office being performed, instead of the archbishop, by the administrator of the consistory, a very venerable old man with a long white beard. SCULTETUS preached in High Dutch, and CORVINUS in Bohemian, each of them half an hour. The queen was to be crowned on the Sunday following. ‘ Their majesties are very chearful. I shewed them the day before yesterday the chamber of rarities of the emperor. The  
queen



queen was much pleased with them, and said to me smiling, *Really FERDINAND has left us a great number of fine things.* I answered her majesty, *They were not his at all.*

‘ Before the coronation we had news of what passed a league from Vienna between the armies on the 25th and 26th of October, when the skirmishes lasted till night. The next day there was a very thick fog for a long time, so that they could scarce see one another: But in the afternoon the enemy was again attacked, and obliged to retire in confusion beyond the bridges, leaving some pieces of cannon, and a great number of dead and wounded. We have driven them all out of their forts and fortifications; and found in them several hundred muskets and harness thrown away by the enemy as they fled.’

Nov. 10. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to Secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I was yesterday visited by the president of the states general with a deputy of Holland, expressly to acquaint me in the name of their assembly with the treaty betwixt the commonwealth of Venice and this state; which they related unto me to consist of those points, whereof I gave your honour advertisement by my dispatch of the 25th of the last. And though there be nothing yet concluded, nor can be until the approbation of what was here conceived and set down in articles, between the resident of Venice and their deputies, come from the senate of Venice (which is expected about three weeks or a month hence, and then they are here to pass their public assent likewise) yet they esteemed it (as they said) a due respect to his majesty to give him an account how far they were gone in this business; and therefore desired me in their names to advertise his majesty thereof. I told them I would not fail to do it with diligence, and withal assured them it would be very agreeable unto his majesty, for the love he bore to both these states; of which none could give better testimony than myself, having had at my going to Venice, now ten years since, a particular charge from his majesty to procure some settled correspondence betwixt them both: which since his majesty being constant in his affections hath always continued unto me according to occasions: and now since time (with those endeavours which have been used) hath wrought this good inclination on both sides, I made no doubt but his majesty would receive much contentment to see their alliance brought to perfection.

‘ This is no more than I have advertised your honour in former letters; but being brought unto me *nomine publicæ*, and not to other public ministers (for aught I can learn) his majesty will (as I am well persuaded) in that regard allow the better thereof, it being an argument of particular respect; and so much the more, if it please his majesty to call to mind, how the treaty with the Hans towns was carried without his knowledge; and the states being demanded in his majesty’s name of some particularities therein, answer was made, they were not bound to give account of their actions to any: which shews their late mutations have brought them to a better temper.

‘ Concerning private printings in these parts for his majesty’s disservice, and the molestation of the peaceable government of his kingdoms, having moved the states by their president on Monday last to take some such strict order, as might prevent that

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inconvenience, these deputies told me, they had the same this day in consultation; and that their purpose is, in contemplation of his majesty, to enlarge a placart, which at the time of the synod was published against printers of libels and prohibited books, with such clauses, as shall equally restrain all sorts of printers whatsoever, as well in that which belongs unto the friends and allies of this state, as to their own provinces.

‘ I will hope, that BREWER, whom Sir WILLIAM ZOUCH took charge to conduct to your honour the 3d of this present, will be with you about this time, if the winds have not hindered their passage; for that night I understand he was delivered unto Sir WILLIAM ZOUCH by the bedle of the university of Leyden and Rotterdam; and the next day they set forward together by the way of Zealand.

‘ We have here some ill blood of Arminianism, which in some places is let out, when the people grow into distemper, and assail the soldiers, as they have done in many towns of this province of Holland; and in others is cooled by applying the wholesome remedy of change of magistrates, which was done this last week at Bommel in Guelderland by count ERNEST, as the prince of Orange’s deputy, who had charge to do the same at Tiel; but those of that town, to prevent the disgrace, submitted themselves to the change of their magistrates without his coming; which was accordingly effected. The like change hangs over Campen in Overijssel, which will be put in execution before long. But his excellency doth these things by degrees, and at leisure; whereby to avoid the imputation of animosity or spleen, which he is loth to undergo; though indeed I know nothing more odious unto him than the name of an Arminian; and now his authority is such, as to make these changes by commission (whereas heretofore he had enough to do, though he were present in person) he will keep them in much awe: for though in many towns they are all so corrupted, that it is hard to change for the better; yet now finding themselves subject to this correction, according to their demeanors, they will be kept in more devotion.

‘ Two Arminian ministers, one of Leyden, the other of Nieuport by Schonoven, who had lately subscribed publicly before the states to an act of submission, with promise to live peaceably and quietly as private inhabitants, without preaching or teaching, have by letters to the states reclaimed their subscription, thereby accounting themselves freed of their promise; for which they will be both banished the country; and very worthily in all men’s opinions: for it is a strange religion, which ties men neither by promise nor subscription to any rule of obedience, either to God’s laws or man’s; but leaves all to be governed *ad placitum*, according as men vary in their judgments and affections.

‘ There hath been a conspiracy amongst a great number of the Arminians to transport themselves and their families into some other place; they having endeavoured to be received into Hamburg, where they have been refused. It is said they have offered themselves likewise to the king of Denmark with the like success.

‘ The 6th and 8th of this present, I sent your honour by the ordinary of Antwerp, and by a Venetian, which passed this way, such advertisements, as then came newly to my hands, touching the defeat of count Bucquoy before Vienna, and the coronation



nation of the king of Bohemia: the first of which is confirmed by many letters out of divers parts of Germany, though on the archduke's side, they spread reports, as if the victory were doubtful. The second I have not seen advertised by any other letter than that of the 4th of this present N. S. from Prague, written to one here, who doth the affairs of the Bohemians, whereof I sent your honour the translate, and do now reiterate the same, lest that should miscarry, which was committed to a stranger: but of the 3d of this present I have seen many letters, promising, that should be effected the next day touching the coronation, which this doth advertise to be already done. The taking of Presburg by BETHLEM GABOR possessing himself of the crown of Hungary, and purpose to be crowned therewith on St. Martin's day, is confirmed likewise from many hands: and if he be not diverted by the Polac, who threatens an invasion of Transylvania, it is likely his troops will winter in Stiria and Carinthia, which are open countries belonging to the emperor, and easily ravaged by him that is master of the field.

‘ The states are moved out of Germany by letters from their embassador BREDE-RODE to deal with the king of Swede to keep the king of Poland in awe, by threatening an invasion in his country, in case he molests Transylvania; which they do not here give ear unto, in regard, if the king of Swede should enter into war by their persuasion, they were then bound to furnish him either with men or money, according to the capitulation betwixt that king and this state.

‘ LANGERACK, their embassador in France, hath written unto them in an expostulating stile, as so desired by that king's council, for their forwardness in this business of Bohemia; wishing them to proceed with more moderation, and to follow therein the example of the French king and his majesty, who, the French would have this state believe, will not interest himself in his son's cause, unless it be by way of accommodation; which seems very strange here, as if in such causes there were any medium betwixt *Cæsar & nihil*. And therefore it is judged an office procured by the Spanish ministers in that court, whereby to amuse the world with terms of reconciliation, whilst both in Rome and Spain, it is most apparent by all advertisements from both places, they seek to put all Europe in combustion by a war of religion; which to prevent, as, on the one side, they here judge no better way than to make the king of Bohemia appear so well fortified with friends and forces in all parts, that his crown cannot be reacht at without danger; so, on the other, they think it very expedient (and of this advice was both the prince of Orange and the count WILLIAM, when I spoke with them yesterday) that the king now, at his first entry into government, should carry a moderate hand towards the papists in that kingdom, whereby to free them from the jealousy of being persecuted for their religion.

‘ Touching the sending of succours against the next spring (in which point the French cannot make them here doubt of his majesty's intention), which fell then likewise into discourse, his excellency and count WILLIAM were of different minds, whether it were best to be in men or money; his excellency being of opinion, that it were best to be done in money, whereby the natives of the country, which are already practised soldiers, and are accustomed to their own climate, should be paid and maintained; whereas strangers are soon consumed; by example of a regiment of Wallons,



conducted hither the last spring by the count of BARNEVILLE, who being now returned to Bruffels, of 3000 men, reports he left but 300 living: and the service of those parts consisting chiefly of horse, those are not to be sent out of England. Count WILLIAM, on the other side, conceiving, that the business will come to the trial of days of battle, judgeth, as well for reputation, as for fight, a body of men composed of his majesty's subjects to be necessary; upon the experience they have had of them in such occasions in these countries, and thinks, that the natives of that country being left to themselves may be overborn by strangers, as his countrymen the Germans were, though in far greater number, by CHARLES V. and his troops. In case the Lower Palatinate should be assailed, they both concluded, because men are there wanting, the country is to be defended by the help of strangers. But concerning Bohemia, they persisted in their several opinions; which I did not think amiss to advertise his majesty of, as that which may give some light to his judgment in a deliberation of this consequence.

' What negotiation is used by the emperor in the Imperial towns, his majesty will see by a translated extract out of the last letters from the states ambassador at Heydelbergh, which I send herewith. The Bohemians good success before Vienna will do much good in keeping those towns in terms of neutrality at least, if they cannot be induced to an overt declaration in favour of the king of Bohemia and princes of the Union.

' The gentleman come from the duke of Deuxponts, of whom I made mention in my last, hath no further errand, than to invite the states general, the prince of Orange, Count HENRY, and the princess his mother, to christen a son of count FREDERICK DE DEUXPONTs. The other from the landgrave of Hessen hath not yet had any public answer.

' The Venetian ambassador signor LANDO now going to reside with his majesty, is come into these provinces, and is now (as we hear) at Amsterdam. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.'

' I have omitted an advertisement from Stutgard, the duke of Wittenbergh's court, of the 21st of the last, that they being there alarmed by the passage of the Neapolitan troops through Swisserland, put themselves in order to join with the marquis D'ANSPACH about Ulme, and then had a purpose to intercept them in their passage; but lest they have knowledge thereof, it is like they will keep upon the mountains of Tyrol, and after imbarck themselves upon the river of Ynn, and so descend to Passau through Bavaria; from whence they have a way through Krumlaw to Budweis in Bohemia. This letter, being to one of the states from a counsellor of the duke of Wittenbergh's, concludes, *Je croy, qu'il sera tres-necessaire, que sa majesté de la Grande Bretagne, vous, & nous, apres la diete de Noremberg, convenions pour deliberer sur ce qui sera à faire au printems.*

' The states deputies sent to Dusseldorp, of whom I gave your honour advertisement, are returned, having set good order in the difference about the imposts upon the Rhine, where the navigation is thereby freed. But because NEWBURGH's agent remains

remains here still without folliciting his dispatch, they think he is here for some other intent; and these deputies report to have discovered at Duffeldorp these difficulties of traffic to be raised at Bruffels.

‘ With other papers I send your honour an extract out of the resolution of the diet of the Silesians the first of October; which is here published at large in print; but have not time to translate the whole act. Such translates, as I send your honour out of the letters of the ministers of this state abroad, I desire may only serve for his majesty’s knowledge; for if they should hear by their embassador monf. CARON, or any other way have notice of the perusal I have of their letters, his majesty’s service might thereby receive some prejudice. Thus I rest, &c.’

Hague this 11th of November 1619.

*Nov. 7.* Letter from the Dutch embassador at Heydelberg, translated from the Dutch, and inclosed in the preceding of sir DUDLEY CARLETON.

The emperor hath sent the baron of Rapelsteyn as his embassador unto Strasburg very lately, who, besides the accomplishing of all courtly compliments, hath required of the council there three points: First, the borrowing of 50,000 florins to assist him in this his necessity. Secondly, he informed the council there of the state of Bohemia, terming the Bohemians rebels; and thereupon prayed them not to afford them any assistance. Thirdly, for as much as the former accord between them and those of Savern was expired, in regard of the good affection his Imperial majesty carried unto the peace and welfare of that town and the country thereabouts, as also towards the evangelical capitulations of the great charter, he doth proffer to appoint some princes and lords, as well of the one as the other religion, for the making a new accord again.

Upon the first point nothing was done. Upon the second, for as much as the embassador’s deduction was utterly contrary unto the Bohemians apology, they were both laid aside to be valued at their worth.

To the third, the council gave thanks unto his Imperial majesty for his presentation and good will, adding thereunto, that the business stood in very good terms; in which regard they would let it stand in the same state, that now it is in, for some certain years yet to come; to which purpose they were already in treaty, and expected a good issue thereof.

Lorrain and other eastern neighbours would fain have those of Strasburg believe, that they desire no novelties: and that the war shall remain in Bohemia; apparently to lull asleep their evangelical neighbours, and dispose them unto neutrality.

COUNT WRATISLAU of Forstenberg, kn. of the golden fleece, passed lately through Strasburg, as embassador for his Imperial majesty into France, there to solicit help for his Imperial majesty. It is to be believed, that he will bring more comfort from thence, than the baron of Rapelsteyn did from Strasburg.

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I understand, that mons. DE BANGEY, formerly agent for France in the emperor's court, is returned thither again, and apparently will use all endeavours to dispose the lord viscount Doncaster unto a reconciliation between his Imperial majesty and the Bohemians; and so with the help of Great Britain to begin such a work as was at Zanten; for as much as the inclination of his majesty of Great Britain is well known unto him to be peaceable. But I have hope of the viscount more than ever I had of the intermeddler in the treaty of Zanten; and, which is more, the aforesaid Bohemian embassadors have, upon the acceptation, declared, that they will be so long good Palgraves as his highness and his be not good Austrians. So that from that part there is very small appearance of a reconciliation; whereunto are as then requisite many other great and weighty resolutions.

The prince Palatine hath written to his council here at Heydelberg, subscribing himself *Chosen king of Bohemia*; so as now all addressees from hence are unto him as to a king.

Oct. 1. *The principal heads of what was resolved in the assembly at Breslau the 1st of October 1619.*

The embassadors of Silesia returned from Prague made report of what was handled there touching the rejection of FERDINAND, and election of FREDERICK, both grounded upon main reasons.

A relation of FERDINAND's tyrannical proceedings, by war, fire, sword, and irreparable ruining the country; in which respect all means else were denied them, this only excepted, namely the election of the count Palatine FREDERICK, and the rejection of FERDINAND.

They ratify in every branch and member all the resolutions taken by the several embassadors in that general assembly at Prague, as well touching the new confederacy, as the election of the new king FREDERICK; upon which they will set up the very uttermost of their means; to which purpose they sent four embassadors back to Prague, to seal and confirm the same unto the new-chosen king. They take the oaths at home of all such as have embraced the Augsburg confession; and for the rest, they are summoned to appear at Breslau the 21st of October, or at the longest upon Simon and Jude's day, there to be sworn unto the acceptation of the new confederacy, and that upon pain of forfeiting their good benefices, and whatsoever else they possess. And for the contributions, which usually were called for at the bishop's pleasure, it is now expressly forbidden to be collected or called for, and that upon penalty of 2000 dollars, to be paid by each college or cloister that shall transgress therein.

They displace all papists, that have any eminent offices; at least where the magistrates were all papists, they shall now be half protestants, and the burgomasters all protestants.

Lastly, they have chosen unto themselves as defenders of the confederacy JOHN GEORGE margrave of Brandenburg, lord HENRY WENTZELEN, with FREDERICK his



his brother duke of Munſtenbergh in Sileſia; JOACHIN MALTZAN, baron of Wartenburgh, and JOHN ULRICH, baron of Drackenburg. The towns have likewiſe choſen three others: all which are to be here the 20th of October, to be ſworn defenders, as beforementioned.

19 Nov. 1619. N. S. HUGO GROTIUS to Dr. LANCELOT ANDREWS, biſhop of Wincheſter, from the caſtle of Louveſtein\*.

Reverendiſſime Domine,

Fortunam meam nimium multis cognitam nihil neceſſe eſt indicare; neque ut miſerationem moveam, verbis mihi opus eſt apud Chriſtianum, epiſcopum, pium, meiſ amantem. Magis illud verendum, ne quæ ab iis, qui nunc rempublicam obtinent, adverſum nos divulgantur, ademptâ contradicendi libertate, tantum valeant, ut indigni videamur, quos aliorum bonitas ſublevet. Ego verè profiteri poſſum, nihil à me omiſſum eorum, quæ ad farciendam apud nos eccleſiæ, illæſâ veritate, concordiam pertinere arbitrarer. Cum mihi diceret D. CARLETONUS habere ſe mandata urgendi ſynodum nationalem, quam vocant, liberè edixi videri mihi è re facturum, ſi regem imminentium periculorum admoneret. Nam ut his judicium deferretur, qui, factâ ſeſceſſione, ſcriptis publicè editis, aliisſque indiciis, apertè iverant in partes, id mihi non videri ad reducendam concordiam pertinere: multo ſalubrius futurum, ſi externi atque impermixti controverſiſ ad inveniendam pacis rationem advocarentur. Mentionem feci pacis olim initæ inter eos, qui Auguſtanam quique Helveticam confeſſionem ſectabantur in Poloniâ, conventu Sendomiriano. Ut magiſtratus Hollandiæ aliarumque provinciarum, qui per *συγκατάθεσιν* potius quam per novas definitiones has controverſias ſopiti è re publica et eccleſiæ judicabant, eâ de cauſâ exuerentur munere, quod ex legibus perpetuum eſt, putavi ego, et mecum non pauci, nec æquum, nec legitimum, neque vero conſultum eſſe. Viſum ipſiſ ſuæ ſecuritati proſpicere, decretorum publicorum auctoriſtate, et in ſpem conciliationis, cujus ſequeſtros fore reges ſocios ſperabant. Ego magiſtratibus noſtriſ, quibus ſolis ſacramentum dixeram, miniſtrum me fidelem atque obſequentem præbui, nec quicquam ſuſcepi unquam, niſi ex ipſorum ſententiâ. Calidioribus conſiliis interceſſi ſæpe. Cum nihil a me factum ſit, niſi ex communi conſenſu eorum, qui imperium in me obtinebant, et qui ne accuſantur quidem, ego in eâ poſitus fui cuſtodiâ, in qua nec propinquum quenquam videre licuit, nec chartæ, atramenti, aut calami fuit copia menſibus multis, cum res criminum apud nos intra menſem alterum finiri leges jubeant. Preces ſæpe repetitæ, ut judices darentur notis ordinari ac legitimi, aut certè non palam inimici, nihil valere. Sed neque illud impetratum, ut aut publicè aut ſaltem apud ipſos judices cauſam dicere liceret. Sed deſenſione ademptâ damnati fumus rerum multarum, quarum nunquam nos reos peraget conſcientia, neque ſummus ille judicum judex. De controverſiſ eccleſiaſticiſ eadem plane mea ſententia eſt, quam ex veterum ſcriptiſ, me quoque hortante et adjuvante, vir optimus ac doctiſſimus GERARDUS VOSSIUS

\* This letter, which was never printed before, deſerves a place here, not only for its elegance and ſpirit, and its connection with the ſubject of this work, but likewiſe in juſtice to the memory of the great writer, as it contains his own juſtification of his conduct, which may be compared with the leſs favourable accounts of it in the preceding letters of ſir DUDLEY CARLETON. The original is extant among the manuſcripts in the library of the late ſir HANS SLOANE, bart. now part of the Britiſh Muſeum.

libello de historia Pelagii, quem visum tibi spero, dilucidè explicavit. Facile mihi videtur ex canonibus Milevitanis et Arausicanis talis constitui potuisse docendi formula, quæ nec in gratiam esset ingrata, nec hominibus faceret peccandi commeatum: multa alia, quæ inter doctos disputantur, potuisse extra definitionem relinquere. Nunc aliter res evenit, quo tandem exitu, scit DEUS. Ego perpetuæ damnatus servituti, uni cubiculo inclusus, nec proximorum, nec amicorum, neque vero eorum saltem, qui evangelii doctrinam viva voce annuntient, ullo fruor alloquio. Tantum optima uxor et parvi liberi, nescio solatio magis sint, an conspectu suo onerent infelicitatem. Neque ab iis, qui rerum potiuntur, spes melior ostenditur, nisi ipsorum causam meo iudicio probem, meque ipse damnum non damnante conscientia; quod DEUS misericors, uti planè confido, avertet. Planè enim statui potius hoc, quicquid est mali, ad finem vitæ pertrahere, quam aut veritatem mihi cognitam oppugnare, aut in eo culpam fateri, in quo culpam animus non agnoscit. Interim vita mirè afflicta, utpote adempto cœli usu, mei curam mihi commendat. Dictat ipsa natura, dictat apostolus, si liber fieri potes, eo potius utere. Neque alienum a vero est illud

Ἡμῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀποαίρει ὁ ἕλεον ἡμᾶρ.

Studia certè, optimum omnis mœstitiæ levamen, quam sint aspera atque incondita, adempto doctorum virorum commercio, nemo est, qui nesciat.

Hæc igitur ad te, reverendissime domine, perscribenda duxi, non impatiens doloris, quem non mea ope sed divino præsidio moderate fero, verum ne mihi desim, eoque te orem, ut siqua se præbeat occasio, facias, quod facturum te scio, ut meam calamitatem subleves. Audio ab optimo rege mandata quædam data pro me. Ea quæ aut qualia fuerint, quomodo aut curata aut impedita sint, equidem nescio. Utinam D. CARLETONUS mihi esset paulo æquior, cui mitigando propinqui mei operam dant. Sed partium studia mirè homines occæcant. Ego, ut in partem ullam reipublicæ veniam, non postulo, ac ne cupio quidem; quanquam et id mihi oblatum est, sed conditionibus, quæ vim animo adferant. Sum tamen iis natus, qui per multa sæcula cum laude ac gloria patriæ meæ præfuerunt. De ademptis mihi bonis, quæsitis à me innocentissime, sine ullâ cuiusquam injuriâ, sine ullis sordibus, quod norunt et fatentur etiam inimici, non sum sollicitus. Unum quod opto, ut mihi me uti liceat; hoc est, ut libertatem, quam proxime vitam omnes habent, multi etiam vitæ prætulerunt, recuperem; ita tamen, nequid injungatur mihi, cui reluctatur animus, ne propter vitam perdam vivendi causas. Utinam regum doctissimus ad aliquam nos literariam opellam dignetur advocare, ut apud vos sim, dum nostræ procellæ defævierint; aut aliquam reperiatur viam, qua me supplicem suum sublevet. Ad ipsum scribere ausus nondum sum, veritus ne, quæ mea est infelicitas, *malè* id mihi cederet. Si, quid mihi faciendum existimes, intelligam, tuis præceptis obtemperabo, atque interea vivam certa cum spe nunquam a te neglectum iri, quod ex usu meo esse intelliges. Magnus ille ἀρχιποίμην, cujus in me bonitatem in dies magis magisque sentio, regi optimo, regno, tibi, reverendissime domine, propitius semper adsit. Ex carcere Louvestein xix Nov. ciciocxix.

T. R. D. addictissimus

Reverendissimo domino ac patri LANCELOTO  
episcopo Vintoniensi.

H. GROTIUS.

Nov.



Nov. 19. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ At my dispatch of MARTIN the post of the 11th of this present here was then a flying report of the surprize of Stade by the king of Denmark; which because it was not then much credited, I forbore to advertise: and though since that time here are no letters come to the state concerning the same, yet by the other ways I understand it to be true, and that it succeeded after this manner.

‘ The second of this present five of the king of Denmark’s ships being come into the Elbe two days before, and anchoring at a place called the Swing, unshipped 640 men, all Danes, which in the morning about five o’clock had one of the ports of Stade given them by three of the burgomasters, with whom the king had former intelligence, and immediately they possessed themselves of the whole town. At eight of the clock the common council of the town being called together *nomine regis*, a speech was made unto them in the king’s name by some of the council prepared for that purpose, declaring, that the king had sent hither to pacify a difference betwixt the council and commonalty; and that with consent of the council these troops were received into the town, whereby to keep all in good order, whilst this difference was treated. But the council (some few of them only excepted) saying they knew of no such difference as was pretended, and protesting against this manner of proceeding, left the stadthouse, and joined themselves to the commonalty, but without any further stirring at that time. Neither do we hear of any thing being since happened in the town. But the king’s deputies published immediately abroad the cause of their coming and possessing themselves of the town, such as is before mentioned, of which they sent word particularly to the archbishop and senate of Bremen, assuring them (as those who have jurisdiction over Stade) the king’s end to be only the pacifying of differences within the town, without any further design, which might turn to their prejudice. Whereupon the archbishop sent his chancellor with another officer to the king’s deputies, to demand reason of them for the taking of the town, and to require them to depart with their troops, and to leave the same to the wonted liberty: which they gave no ear unto; but on the contrary, the king hath since sent thither twenty tun of powder, and we hear of more men he hath on the other side the Elbe.

‘ The 29th of the last there was an assembly of the states (which they call Lands-day) held in the bishoprick of Bremen, to which the count of Oldenburg sent five horsemen; whereof one was a notary, who published in the general assembly, and in every particular town where they passed, a certain writing in manner of a cartel, whereby the bishop was required to do them right in the marriage of his sister, to whom he had been formerly financed, and, as the world saith, somewhat more hath passed betwixt them. At the same time a writing was insinuated unto the deputies of Bremen, in the name of the king of Denmark, by which the king declares, he hath taken the count of Oldenburg and his sister into his protection; and that what was done and intended by the count of Oldenburg against the bishop was with his knowledge and advice; warning them, that they should hold themselves quiet in this cause, without intermeddling betwixt the count and the bishop.

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‘ Here



‘ Here are at this present deputies in this town, both from the count of Oldenburg and the town of Bremen, to treat of a difference betwixt them, touching an impost, which the count doth exact upon the Wefer: but in this other matter they say nothing; and it is here very much marvelled, that nothing comes from the Hans-towns touching Stade: but it is thought they are intimidated by this surprize, as not knowing in the present tumults of the empire, and the late distractions of this state, *a quel ine se vouer*: and it is here believed the king of Denmark is as much led to this enterprize by his love to those towns, and longing to be master of them, as to the reparation of the count Oldenburg’s honour, in the love, which hath been betwixt the bishop of Bremen and his sister; on which hangs a farther matter, which is, in case he can force the bishop to marry the sister of Oldenburg (which without constraint he will not do) the bishoprick will be then void; to which the king is a pretender for one of his sons.

‘ One of these, if not both (to make himself lord of the Hans-towns, or his son bishop of Bremen, for both which the possession lies very opportunely) is in all probability the king’s design; for the pacifying of the inhabitants of the town is but a pretence, there being no considerable difference amongst them.

‘ Betwixt that town and Hamburg there hath been always much jealousy concerning trade; and chiefly about the staple of our English merchants, which being now at Hamburg, it is said the promise the king hath made by his credit with his majesty to remove the same to Stade, hath gained those magistrates, by whose means the town is rendered unto him.

‘ That which some here are ready to suspect, that this is a fruit of the Spanish embassage; which, about two years since went from Brussels to the king of Denmark (at which time, they say, promise was made by that king to the king of Spain, that whenever his service should require it, he would find the world some work in those parts) hath very little ground; for at that time, the revolutions, which are since happened, could not possibly be foreseen. But howsoever the event of this accident in this present conjuncture may prove the same, as if it had been guided by design; this being like to serve as a diversion both for money and men in the business of Bohemia, where such conduct, as are in entertainment of the Hans-towns, have been ever since the wars in the service of the states of that kingdom; and there was great appearance, that they would now have readily contributed to the assistance of the king. Wherefore as well in that regard, as for further consequences, it were to be wished, this fire were quenched in the beginning, which otherwise may put these parts into much combustion.

‘ The bishop of Colen and the states of the bishopric of Munster and Paderborn have made answer to the states letters, which they wrote at the request of the princes of the union, concerning the levies, which were making in those parts, that they served only for security of their countries to keep them from spoil and savage by such troops, as passed this last summer out of these parts towards Bohemia; and that now the occasion is ceased, they have licensed their men: but those of the bishopric of Colen were immediately entertained in the name of the duke of Bavier for defence, as  
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the bishop doth pretend, of the duke's country against the Hungarians, who, having no pay, but living altogether upon spoil, he fears this winter may make a road into Bavier.

' This last ordinary of Colen hath brought two letters to this state from the king of Bohemia, both of the 25th of the last. In the one of which he gives account of his coronation, with the reasons in general by which he was induced to accept the crown, referring himself for farther particularities to a manifest he intended to publish to the world. In the other he takes knowledge of the states writing to his majesty in favour of his affairs, and of their readiness to succour the Palatinate, when the arch-duke's troops were on foot. Of both which letters, because they are the first from that king's hand to this state, I send your honour the translate.

' With them came divers relations, as well in print as otherwise, of the ceremonies both of the king's and queen's coronation; with which I do not trouble your honour, because I hear of an express messenger, which about the date of these last letters passed from Prague by Heidelberg to his majesty. Yet I cannot forbear two observations, which are made by all that write from thence; one concerning the king, at whose coronation there was much more ceremony than ordinary, and no less demonstration of joy and gladness, because his election was free, according to the right and privilege of the country; whereas all their late kings were pressed and enforced upon them by strong hand and violence. The other concerning the queen, whose free and gracious demeanor doth win as much love as was lost by the Austrian *soffice* and retiredness.

' On Saturday last signor LANDO, the Venetian ambassador, who is to reside with his majesty, arrived at this place, being met on the way by the prince of Orange, count WILLIAM and prince HENRY, a ceremony more than usual to such of his quality, as are only *in transitu*. On Monday he had audience, which consisted only of complement; for the main matter of the league betwixt this state and his masters he touched not; but to me in private he took knowledge of the good offices his majesty hath done therein; as likewise in Spain and other princes courts, during their late troubles. The day following he went to Rotterdam, where he now waits for his passage; the states having provided him of a ship. He hath in his company three of the young *Nobili* of Venice, and is otherwise well attended. In his passage through Holland he was not defrayed in any town, as the use hath been to public ministers; the reason whereof was told him *alla buona* by one, who after the High Dutch manner presented him with the town-pots and a speech, saying, that the states had taken very lately an order to defray no ambassadors whatsoever; and if he had come sooner, he might have fared better. So it is, that the states do now study all ways possible of thriving; amongst which this saving the charges of the ambassadors is one; and now in this assembly of Holland the reglement of their finances is the chiefest business.

' Yesterday a petition was presented unto them by the Arminians of Leyden for public exercise of their religion; which was cast out without apostile or further answer, save only, that they should submit themselves to the decrees of the church and state, and not presume any further to present such petitions.

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‘ They have the business there in consultation of a West-Indian company; of which, and such other things as are worth advertisement, I shall give his majesty an account at the end of their assembly; till when their manner is to suspend all resolutions. So for the present I humbly take leave, &c.’

*Off.* 25. O. S. King of Bohemia to the States General, from Prague.

‘ We FREDERICK, by the grace of God, king of Bohemia, palgrave of the Rhine, and elector, duke of Beyeren or Bavaria, markgrave of Moravia, duke of Silesia, markgrave of the Upper and Nether Laufaten; send our friendly greeting unto the high and potent (our particular good friends) the lords the states general of the free United Provinces.

‘ We doubt not but that before now your lordships are informed (as all men are) how the enemies to the protestants have for the space of two years and more caused in the kingdom of Bohemia a lamentable state; wherein is not only stirred up the tyrannical usurpations of war; but besides that, through wicked and enraged provocations, have followed most pitiful burnings, rapines, and murders, perpetrated upon the innocent, as well men as women and children.

‘ The case is at length gone so far, that not only the three states of the kingdom of Bohemia, but the rest of the incorporated countries, as namely the earldom of Moravia, dukedom of Silesia, and the earldom of the Upper and Nether Laufaten, upon very ponderous reasons, partly already produced, partly yet to be produced, have proceeded to the rejection of king FERDINAND (now Imperial King) and come to the election of a lord and king; wherein with full consent of voices they have chosen me king of Bohemia, earl of Moravia, duke of Silesia, earl of the Upper and Nether Laufaten: all which, our conscience beareth as witness, together with all the states of the kingdom, was contrary to our thoughts, presumptions, and persuasions; for as much as we were willingly content with the state and electoral dignity, wherein God had placed us, without reaching any further.

‘ Wherefore then we (as well in that regard, as in respect of those that shall put us in mind thereof) instead of private respects, in the acceptance of such an offered crown and country, having nothing to expect but great incumbrances and oppositions on all sides, had greater reason to unburden ourselves thereof, than to put ourselves into such inconveniencies, had we not, with the counsel of our trustiest and nearest allied lords and friends, maturely thought upon the business, in what great peril the evangelical cause hath now stood for some years past; and how earnestly those evil and vehement people have endeavoured to depress and extinguish the same, with those who profess it, esteeming it a clear case, that there needs no further extension thereof; and the rather, that the notorious examples of AKEN, MULSEM, DONA, WEERT, and others, do sufficiently witness it; and with the same means have these wicked and dangerous people in the kingdom of Bohemia and the incorporated countries gone to work; against which practices the countries dear-bought privileges, nor royal letters, nor ought else, could in the least degree prevail, but that they would have wrested through their wicked and pernicious plots. We

account



account this accidental election fallen upon us to proceed from the peculiar ordinance and providence of Almighty God (who so nearly regards his church), and at length delivers out of many imminent incumbrances and tribulations like a father. And we like a Christian prince, not to respect any thing more than to follow his godly and omnipotent good pleasure; and setting all other respects of incumbrances or perils aside, to follow the same; like as now, in the name of God, upon the states and countries respectful embassage, we have taken upon us the offered crown of Bohemia, and the incorporated countries, solely for the honour of his majesty, and the further propagation of his holy gospel, without respect had unto honourable advancement and private respects, which we affect in this distressed condition; or hope in the least degree to have. Yet living in hope, that God Almighty will by the begun good measures effect that his good work, which he hath undertaken, and will defend his church from all the Machiavel enemies thereof and their plots.

‘ Herein resolved now we have not only parted ourself in this kingdom of Bohemia, with no small joy to the commons already, but of late days are with befitting solemnities crowned king of Bohemia; which we, in conformity to our correspondence, could not but in friendly manner advertise your high mightinesses; assuredly hoping, that your lordships will herein rejoice with us, and impart with us your so good affection: praising and lauding the wonderful and fatherly care of Almighty God for his church and congregation; and in case we be set upon by the adversaries (who will not be wanting), you will stick unto us with faithful counsel and action in a personal resolution. And for as much as on all sides there will be no want of evil relations touching the acceptance of the government of this our crown and country, we are in that respect in hand with to publish in print unto the world the reasons moving us thereunto: and your high mightinesses may be assured, that as herein we have submitted ourselves unto the will and ordinance of the Almighty, we will no less continue resolved stedfastly and zealously to maintain the same, and at all times hold with your lordships and others our correspondents evangelical states, all faithful correspondence. And we remain to manifest unto your lordships at all times all friendly affection. Dated at our court at Prague the 25th of October, 1619, O. S.

Your lordships always willing,

Translated from the High Dutch.  
Received Nov. 25, N. S.

FREDERICK.<sup>2</sup>

The king of Bohemia to the states general, of the same date.

That before his departure from his electorate he had received certain advertisement of the states general's having zealously recommended to the king of Great Britain his father-in-law the present state of his kingdom of Bohemia, and more especially by what orderly course he had been elected king; and that whereas in the Spanish Netherlands of late were gathered together a considerable number of troops, in order (as the rumour then was) to fall upon his electorate, the states had immediately taken such measures; as diverted the enemy from their project, by the states putting in readiness a body of horse and foot. For which services he thanks the states general, and hopes the continuance of the same.

Nov.

*Nov. 13.* Letter in French, from Prague.

It gives an account of the arrival on the Sunday evening before of two embassadors, one from Hungary, and the other from Transylvania, on the part of BETHLEM GABOR, to whom the king of Bohemia gave audience the next day. They congratulated him in the name of that prince of Transylvania and states of Hungary assembled at Presburg; and after the audience were conducted to the chamber of the united states where they gave in writing ten articles for a perpetual alliance between the states of Hungary and Transylvania, and their prince BETHLEM GABOR and the kingdom of Bohemia and the incorporated provinces, for mutual defence.

*Nov. 21.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I doubt lest the cross tempestuous weather, which hath continued long in the west, with many wrecks upon this coast, may stay the passage of my letters: I send your honour a transcript of my last by the way of Antwerp, hoping it may come to your honour’s hands by land at the passage of Calais; and that hereafter, at such time as this, I may take the same course.’

*Nov. 28.* O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON: received 13 Decem. by sir ROBERT CARY.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ That, which I suspected of the contrariety of the winds, I find by your honour’s letters of the 20th of this present; at which time your honour taking knowledge only of my dispatches of the 22d and 25th of the last, it seems those of the 3d, 11th, and 19th of this present (of some of which I sent duplicates by other conveyances) were then on this side the seas. The 24th I wrote to your honour by sir ALBERT MORTON, who took his way through Brabant and Flanders: and now we have confirmation of that which he heard in his passage through Bremen, that the king of Denmark hath withdrawn his men out of Stade, leaving the town at liberty without garrison; but having first changed all the magistrates, which were not at his devotion. Here is much jealousy conceived of his intent in those parts; that by means of that town he will bridle Hamburg, and make way for a further design upon Bremen: which if he can accomplish, he will be master of the two rivers of Elbe and Weser, through which in time of war all the traffic doth pass betwixt these parts and Germany. But this is only a suspected inconvenience; whereas the holding garrison in Stade was a present mischief; and therefore they are here as well pleased with the retreat, as they were startled with the surprize; both being sudden and unexpected.

‘ This last week’s letters out of Germany bring nothing but what your honour will have by sir ALBERT MORTON’s relation. All of them, as well as those out of Italy and other parts, mention the sedulous care there is of raising of men by the Catholic king and Catholic league against the next spring. But the German princes say, they arm only for defence; and so the baron FOUCKER, ambassador for the duke of Bavier, hath

hath protested in the present assembly at Nuremberg. Which professions and protestations they judge here will hold according as they see the new king of Bohemia strengthened by himself, and supported by his friends. For if he be in state to maintain the dignity he hath taken upon him, they will, in all appearance, sit still: but if they find him faint in himself, or forsaken by his friends, they will then strive who shall shew himself first for the house of Austria. And then it will be a harder task to defend him from so many enemies. This is the judgment they make here of these affairs, wherein *agitur de summâ rerum*; and in conformity thereunto they retain their wonted readiness of succouring him to the uttermost of their powers. But they will not enter into the dance alone; and the danger is, that, before they can understand his majesty's mind, and thereupon a common resolution be framed, the house of Austria will be in state to appear with men, money, and credit, whilst the king of Bohemia and his friends will be taken (as we say) tardy in the midst of their negotiations. His majesty's answer to the states letters, which is to be delivered by my lord of DONCASTER, is such, that they cannot but admit to be grounded upon equity and reason: but *alors comme alors*. The king was not then crowned; and therefore there was yet a door open to treaty. But *rebus sic stantibus*, as his majesty will be now advertised, I must humbly refer it to his princely wisdom, whether he will not think fit, against my lord of DONCASTER's coming hither, to enlarge his instructions; for whilst the time requires speech and treaty *de agendis*, to insist only upon his majesty's reasons for what is past, cannot justify these men's expectations, howsoever it cannot chuse but satisfy their judgments.

' The good liking his majesty hath of their proceedings concerning the pirates, I know will exceedingly content them, when I shall have opportunity (as yet I have not had since the receipt of your honour's letters) to deliver so much unto them; for at this present, I can assure your honour, nothing is of more weight and consideration with them than his majesty's contentment; howsoever of late days I could not undertake so much. Here is news come, that one of their men of war about the Straights, having taken a pirate, hath cast betwixt seventy and eighty men overboard.

' The states fleet now prepared against the pirates could not possibly put to sea until this day; which is the first easterly wind we have had for these six weeks past. I hope it will carry over sir WILLIAM ZOUCH with mr. BREWER to your honour, who have lain long together at Flushing; and his fellow Brownists at Leyden are somewhat scandalized, because they hear sir WILLIAM hath taught him to drink healths.

' I have delivered his majesty's letters to the bishop of Bamburg, with the three others to sir FRANCIS NETHERSOLE. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

' This letter I recommend to sir ROBERT CARY's delivery, a noble gentleman, who hath a company of horse in these troops.

Dec. 4. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the KING.

' May it please your majesty,

' Whilst they are here in deliberation about an extraordinary embassy into France, which hath received some interruption by the French ambassador, monf.

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DU MAURIER's interposing himself, as well for the choice of the persons, as the subject of their instructions, here is come an advertisement from the states ambassador at Paris, monf. DE LANGERACK, to the prince of Orange, under much secrecy (as that which was communicated unto him by some principal persons in that court, with an expresse condition, that he should not write the same to the assembly of the states), that the pope's nuncio and the Spanish ambassador there resident, finding a dangerous crisis of the affairs of Europe for the interest of their masters, and foreseeing how much it will import them to be secured from a diversion in these parts, whilst they are in action in Germany, and those upper countries (for which they make all possible preparations, as well by collections of monies, as levies of men, against the next spring) have effected so much with the French king and council, that two extraordinary ambassadors, monf. DE MODENE and monf. DE BULLION, both principal men of affairs, are designed to come to this place very speedily, here to treat concerning the truce betwixt this state and Spain, which is now within seventeen months expiration; wherein they give out, they are well assured to be furthered by two sides, understanding thereby your majesty and the French king, and therefore presume to effect their desires without much difficulty: wherein your majesty may be pleased to understand as much as I can gather by the small discourse this business (which is yet made no matter of public consultation) hath hitherto admitted.

‘ This treaty must tend, either in renewing of the old truce, which was made by the intervention of your majesty and the French king, or proposal of a new. If it were only a renewing of the old, it is not here conceived such especial choice would be made of the men, which are to be employed out of France; nor that two extraordinaries should be used to renew that which was framed by one: and therefore they here suspect the intention is to propose a new treaty, by converting the truce into a peace, and changing certain articles, as that of the trade of the Indies, and the passage to Antwerp by the Scheld; wherein the freedom of the one, and restraint of the other, doth much offend the Spaniard. To this or any other overture of this kind (for aught I can yet judge) no ear will be here given; for they well understand their advantages, and that in this present conjuncture they may have *la carte blanche*. But if the renewing of their former truce be proposed, and that your majesty concur therein, it will in all likelihood take effect: for notwithstanding two of the chief provinces, Holland and Zealand, thrive best by war, and profit is the rule of these men's affections, yet the other five having different interests do likewise differ in their inclination; yet they will all concur in some points, which will engender much difficulty, as particularly in a demand of reparation and restitution, before they enter into a treaty, of all such damages; as the subjects of these provinces may justly complain of to be done upon their persons and goods in Spain and other parts under the king of Spain's dominion, contrary to the conditions of the truce; which, according unto the account of their several admiralities, do arrive to three millions of florins.

‘ Here will be likewise a serious consideration had of the present constitution of the affairs of Germany, and those upper countries, in regard of the judgment they make here, that the success of those parts will in the end reflect upon these provinces. If it be prosperous, and that the king of Bohemia be well maintained in the possession  
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of that crown and kingdom, the affairs of Europe will thereby be so well balanced, that the greatness of the king of Spain and the house of Austria will be no more so fearful as it hath been of many years. If the Spaniard should dispossess the new king, and make a prey of that kingdom, *l'appetit vient en mangeant*, and they expect here no greater courtesy than POLYPHEMUS promised ULYSSES, he should be the last eaten of his companions. Wherefore concluding, that as the Spaniard doth propose to himself much benefit by being freed from this diversion; so it will equally import the king of Bohemia and his friends in those parts to have the Spaniard still held in suspense, until the king be better settled in his new dignities; there be many amongst them here will counsel (and of this advice the prince of Orange himself is) this treaty may be protracted for all this new year: and this they think they may well and wisely do upon this reason: if their friends in Germany and Bohemia prosper, they may then renew their truce upon as good terms as now. If they should be overborn by the power of Spain, any truce they should now make would be then upon any light quarrel broken by Spain; as that of Cleves and Juliers is a fit subject at all times for such a purpose. Now how it will advantage the Spaniard, to the prejudice of the king of Bohemia, to be secure on this side, by renewing of the truce, will fall into every man's consideration, when the difference of the constitution of the Spanish government and this is rightly weighed, in that a new truce being concluded, the Spaniard, without fear of his frontier-towns (which these men cannot always attempt, when by consent of all the provinces they have tied their own hands), may withdraw all or the greatest part of his *veterani*, and employ them against the king of Bohemia; and the stream of his treasure would wholly run that way; which cannot be encountered in those parts by the like assistance from hence, in regard, on the one side, of the diffidence they have of the Spaniard (who, if he should find them unprovided, can in a few days raise an army in the archduke's provinces), and on the other, of the late distraction of this state, which is not yet so fully settled, as to permit them to send their troops far from their limits. Besides, the nature of their government is such, that if the settled course of their contribution should cease, they cannot then raise an army, whatsoever need they should have: and those cannot be continued without the reputation of an army.

\* The monthly aid of money they gave the Bohemians of 50,000 florins they still continue to the king, and so will do as long as affairs remain in the state as they are. But here is some apprehension, that these ambassadors have a farther purpose to divert them from giving that small succour, which in effect is all the aid of money the Bohemians have hitherto drawn from abroad; and that they will practise some other distractions, to the prejudice of this state. For whilst the king of France disputed the receiving an embassy from hence, to send one of this nature at the king of Spain's instance breeds no good construction; especially the late wounds and ruptures of this state made by the French faction not being yet fully cured; of which I think I shall within few days advertise your majesty of a farther effect, the states having sent expressly into France a commandment to their ambassador, mons. LANGERACK, to send hither all those letters, which he ever received from BARNEVELT or his son-in-law, VANDER-MYLE; and they being here come and thoroughly visited, it appears evidently in them how they would have brought this state to be ruled *à la baguette* by France; wherein are many insolent passages against the prince of Orange and the

states; and your majesty and your ministers are not spared; for which VANDER-MYLE (who hath been now long in this town, and enjoyed the freedom of his house by connivance) will be sent from hence within these few days, and confined to some remote place; his venom being now so plainly discovered; which may work some ill effects at the coming of these ambassadors.

‘ I am informed, that VORSTIUS hath been seen twice or thrice within these few days at Antwerp, where he holds council with UTENBOGARD, GREVINCHOVIUS, and EPISCOPIUS, for their repatriation in these provinces; and this in all probability will be a part of these ambassadors endeavours.

‘ All these circumstances, as well as the advertisement itself of the extraordinary embassy, I have judged to be of that consideration, that they merit to be presented to your majesty’s royal hands, which I kiss with all humility, being

‘ Your majesty’s most humble and obedient subject and servant,

‘ DUDLEY CARLETON.’

P. S. In sir DUDLEY CARLETON’S own hand.

‘ Monsr. DU MAURIER, having knowledge of LANGERACK’S advertisement, doth deny the same to be true; so as the belief of it must be *penes autorem*. But your majesty’s judgment will be better cleared out of France.’

From the Hague this 4th of Dec. 1619.

Dec. 5. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ My last to your honour were of the 28th of November by sir ROBERT CARY, of which, in regard of the uncertainty of passage in this tempestuous weather, I send your honour, as I have done of most of my late dispatches, a duplicate.

‘ Since that time we are here advertised of an extraordinary embassy designed hither out of France; which, because of itself it is of much importance, and is accompanied with many considerable circumstances, I have advertised his majesty thereof by an express letter, which your honour will receive herewith.

‘ Here are letters from all parts, particularly from Colen, Mentz, Triers, and those lower quarters of Germany, of the great diligence is used by the emperor’s friends, in collections of monies, and levies of men, by way of provision against the next spring; which being contrary to the profession, which was newly made by those Bishops and their subjects unto this state (whereof I gave your honour advertisement by my letters of the 19th of the last), the states having been formerly requested by the princes of the union, as much as in them lies, to hinder those preparations, have written express letters to let those people understand, that in case they continue this course of contributions for the offence of the friends of this state, they will force them



to contribute as much for their defence. A translate of these letters I send your honour, which may serve for excuse to those people, which lie open to the roads of the cavalry to this state, not to yield those contributions which are required of them by their princes, though no other effect do follow hereupon.

‘ The king of Denmark’s agent hath made a declaration in the assembly of the states general of the king his master’s intention in his sending men into Stade, that it was only for the service of the town, without any farther design; as your honour may please to see by the translate of what he delivered in the king’s name.

‘ The messenger, which brought order for this proposition, is gone towards England with letters from the king of Denmark to his majesty.

‘ In the business betwixt the town of Bremen and the count of Oldenburg touching a toll upon the Weser, the states have taken a resolution in favour of the town against the count; which proceeds of their jealousy in admitting any impositions of that kind, they accounting the water their proper element, in that the freedom of navigation is the maintenance of their state. But herewith the count’s deputies are no whit satisfied; which this day they intend to declare to the states by way of answer unto those reasons, whereupon the states resolution is grounded, which are no other than the informations of those of Bremen, who, being parties, are thereby made as it were judges. But they intend not to press for any new answer. Yet here this question will not rest, the count having a purpose (as his deputies tell me) to use his majesty and all his best friends in recommendation of his cause. They have had all the furtherance I could give them, as well with the prince of Orange as the states, in conformity to what I sufficiently know of his majesty’s mind by my instructions, when any thing doth concern that prince. But I find the example of the Sound makes any thing of this kind sound ill with this state.

‘ Of the affairs of the upper countries his majesty will be within few days well informed by my lord of Doncaster, whom we expect here the week which now comes in; he being the 23d of November *stilo vet.* at Nuremberg, with intention (as is advertised from thence by letters under that date) to come directly hither. There was nothing as then concluded in that assembly, neither is much promised by any letters I have seen, of any such generous resolution, as the necessity of the affairs of those parts doth require. The assembly was then to continue a week longer; and till the end thereof the king of Bohemia’s embassy intended to his majesty was not to be dispatched.

‘ I have seen an overture made by BETLEM GABOR to the king’s council in Bohemia, to have his majesty, this state, and the state of Venice, moved by their ambassador at Constantinople to make a declaration to the grand signor of the mutations in Hungary and Bohemia; with a desire, that the same peace, which was made by the late emperor, might be continued to these two new kings; which, BETLEM GABOR promiseth himself, will be effected by that means, and well observed, by reason of the respect will be born in that court to the joint office of those ambassadors: which will breed an impression of a confederation betwixt his majesty, this state, the state of

Venice, the princes of the union, and those two kings: and that concatenation of so many potent princes and states, he esteems, will be of greater authority with the Turk, than the king of Spain, the pope, and the house of Austria. This motion is so well apprehended by this state, that they have taken a resolution to write to their ambassador at Constantinople to join with his majesty's ambassador in all good offices to this purpose, whensoever he shall find that his majesty's ambassador hath any such commission.

' Of BETLEM GABOR's coronation here is yet no certain news. Of his passing the Danube about Presburg, and marching into Austria towards Vienna, being assisted by the count of Torne, and part of the Bohemian army, I send your honour extracts of our freshest advertisements. So I humbly take leave, &c.

' I send your honour with other papers a copy of a letter from the duke of Bavier's court, which contains a large discourse of the affairs of those parts.'

Papers inclosed in sir DUDLEY CARLETON's preceding letter.

Nov. 23. Letter in Latin from Munich.

Dec. 11. States general to the states and provinces of Colen, Munster, Paderborn, and the council and officers of the elector of Triers.

Nov. 10. N. S. Letter from count de la Torne from Presburg to the directors of the king of Bohemia in French.

Nov. 13. Extract of a letter from Vienna in French.

Nov. 19. Extract of a letter from Lintz in French.

Dec. 10. King of Denmark's agent's paper to the states general upon his master's seizing Siade, dated at the Hague.

Dec. 5. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to the marquis of Buckingham.

' My most hon<sup>ble</sup> lord,

' That, which I understood of his majesty's mind by your lordship's letters of the 22d of October, was sufficient to give them here *diem ad deliberandum* touching the embassy which was then in speech to his majesty. And now they were in consultation about that into France, they have advertisement from thence by letter from their ambassador LANGERACK, to the prince of Orange, that they shall be prevented by an extraordinary embassy from the French king; which is procured at the instance of the pope's nuncio and the Spanish ambassador residents in that court; and to be performed by monf. DE MODENE and monf. DE BULLION. I cannot conceive this will proceed without communication thereof to his majesty; or that, seeing the small contentment monf. DE BOISSISSE received here so lately, they can flatter themselves with any hope to effect any thing about the renewing of the truce (which is said to be the chief subject of their embassy) without his majesty join therein. Sure I am, that, if they should proceed single by themselves, they would fail of their reckoning. And therefore his majesty hath this advantage, that he may further or protract the business, as may seem best to his own wisdom. For by this mediation the work will be soon finished, if it be no more than *actum agere* in renewing the truce upon the former conditions;

conditions; and without him nothing will be done. Wherefore his majesty may, if he please, expect to be desired from hence in that, which France doth *motu proprio*, or at the instance of those who render the embassy full of suspicion: wherein I have represented to his majesty, those considerations, which move the prince of Orange, and some others of the best sort here, to desire this treaty may not be precipitated; they judging the king of Bohemia and the princes of the union to be much interested therein; and that the holding the king of Spain in suspense for all this next year will exceedingly advantage their affairs.

‘ His excellency within these few days acquainted me with a message he received from his majesty touching the preservation of the Electorate and Palatinate to the king of Bohemia; and with his answer, that the only expedient is by a descent into Flanders, in case the emperor should attempt the Palatinate, or any in his behalf. I have observed the like speeches to fall from many of the states; and took them to be rather uttered *à la volée* than seriously meant: wherefore entering into discourse with one of no less authority than understanding amongst them, I asked him, how they had laid by their jealousy of his majesty’s greatness by the union of his kingdoms, and of the progress he might make in these parts by having a foot on this side the sea, which cost them the redemption of the cautionary towns, when they were not in case for such a purchase; for to this day they pay interest for the money. His answer was, *tempora mutantur, & nos mutamur*; and that, now the bond of religion is strengthened anew by the late mutations in this state, they entertain new affections towards his majesty; which would (as he said) appear, if his majesty should have any attempt in Flanders, by their ready concurrence with him; accounting his neighbourhood much better than the Spaniards: and this offer, he assured me, would never be made to France.

‘ In BARNEVELT’S papers (which he hath preserved all to his friends ruin) are found many practices of alienating this state from his majesty, and joining it to France. Withal his instruments for his designs within the state are wholly discovered; which falls heavy upon many bailiffs, escoutets, pensioners, and secretaries; (which are the most active officers of these towns) of which many are deported in this present assembly of Holland; and BARNEVELT’S eldest son, Monsr. GRANDEVILLE (who is premier veneur of this province) is like to go the same way for that charge.’

Sir DUDLEY CARLETON sends the resolution of the states general of the 4th of Nov. upon the affair of satisfaction to the lord Buccleugh; and promises his assistance to Sir JOHN MANWOODE recommended by a letter of the marquis of Buckingham.

Dec. 14 and 15. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ I had understood before of UTENBOGARD’S desire to go into England under his majesty’s safe conduct, which he hath sought to obtain more ways than one. But having received the same by private advertisement only, I could neither take nor give public notice thereof. This morning, in conformity to your honour’s letters of the 3d of this present, which I received yesterday, I acquainted the states and the prince



of Orange with his overture to Mr. TRUMBALL, and his majesty's answer; which they take as a singular testimony of his majesty's affection to this state, and accordingly have sent unto me this afternoon the president of their assembly with mons. GOCH, to desire me to render unto his majesty their most humble thanks; and withal to let his majesty understand their opinion, that a man so full of practice in their provinces would do no good in his kingdoms. And whereas he seeks to declare to his majesty that he is not the original cause of these divisions, there is no credit (they say) to be given to his words, since his deeds shew the contrary: and even now that he is at Antwerp, being assisted with EPISCOPIUS and GREVINCHOVIUS, and secretly (as is here advertised) with VORSTIUS, he assumes to himself a superintendency or a kind of episcopal authority over the exiled and deposed Arminian preachers, which he styles ministers *sub cruce*; makes collections of moneys for them, and employs them hither in disguised habits by his commissions (much after the form of the Jesuits missions) whereof some the states have seen signed by his own hand: and now he hath obtained of the archduke (as they are advertised) a printing-place at Antwerp, whereby to have commodity to divulge libels and pamphlets for the disquiet of this church and state. In these considerations the states beseech his majesty to continue his favour to them, in giving no countenance or ear to this man or his suit; they apprehending much inconvenience in his access only to his majesty (howsoever his majesty's wisdom and firmity is too well approved to be any ways wrought upon, or by any man whosoever) in regard of the *faux bruits* would be spread thereupon by him and his faction for their encouragement.

‘ The assembly of the states of Holland being now ended, they have ordained six deputies, whereof two are of the noblesse (mons. MARQUET and mons. AERSSENS) and four of the towns (two of North Holland, and two of South Holland) who have commissions to go through all the towns of Holland, and to inquire as well into persons as abuses in government, both ecclesiastical and civil; and thereof to make relation at their next assembly in February next.

‘ I advertised his majesty by my last dispatch of certain letters and instructions sent for out of France, such as passed betwixt BARNEVELT, VANDER-MYLE, and mons. LANGERACK, the states ambassador in that court; out of which extracts being made and read to the states of Holland towards the end of their assembly, matters appeared so foul against VANDER-MYLE in his private practices in that court against the public service of this state, that they were all disposed to cast him into prison, he lying then (as he yet doth) covertly here in his house. But the prince of Orange advised more moderation, so as the business was remitted to the states general, and by them (I believe) at their next assembly after these holidays he will be removed from the Hague, and confined to some remote place. Amongst other things the whole *menée* appears in his letters of drawing mons. DE BOISSISSE hither, whose instructions were first minuted here by mons. BARNEVELT. The withdrawing of the French troops, which should have led the way to other strangers, to the end that the new levies might be entertained in their places under a new oath, is here negotiated at full length; and the states and his excellency notably calumniated: besides some dashes of his pen against his majesty and his ministers.

‘ Here

‘ Here is no more speech of the extraordinary embassage out of France ; and therefore it is conceived the motion thereof to Monf. LANGERACK was to the end it might be hither advertised ; whereby to found men’s humours, which were all suddenly and warmly stirred upon the first bruit ; and some here are, which are not yet free from the apprehension, that his majesty may be practised withal by France and Spain to join with France in such an embassage ; whereof I represented at large to his majesty the judgment they here make.

‘ The last letters from Monf. LANGERACK, being of the  $\frac{3}{13}$  of this present, advertise only the negotiation of the emperor’s embassador for succours out of France against the king of Bohemia ; which he seeks to obtain by way of compassion, alledging the help he hath out of Italy to be weak ; that of Germany uncertain, and that Spain is much exhausted ; and therefore concluding the French king must aid his master for four reasons : 1. The interest of religion. 2. Nearness of alliance with the house of Austria. 3. Ill example of rebellion. 4. The advantage the Turk will have against Christendom. Wherein he is favoured by three parts of the king’s council and of the court, and hath the two Cardinals, ROCHEFOUCAUD and RETZ, and ARNAUD the Jesuit, open solicitors for him. Only the financiers, who find the king’s coffers empty, and some good patriots, enemies to the Spaniard, are his opposites ; who, he judgeth, notwithstanding, will overway the balance ; and that the embassador will part from thence without satisfaction. Yet here are private letters, which say the cabinet council is wholly bent to the emperor’s assistance : and that the levies of Lorrain will be for the most part made with French money. They write farther, that the duke of Nevers undertakes a levy for the emperor, for which he shall have by consent of the pope what can be collected of the clergy in France.

‘ From Vienna the freshest advertisements say, that the prolongation of BETLEM GABOR’s coronation depends on the bassa of Buda, who requires to be present either in person or by deputation. Mean time the Hungarian and Bohemian army lodgeth about Presburg, to countenance that action ; wherein many difficulties were stirred amongst the states of Hungary by the emperor’s partisans and Jesuits disciples.

‘ Out of Germany here come continual advertisements of the collections of moneys and levies of men made by the catholic league, chiefly by the duke of Bavaria ; whilst hitherto there is no more than ordinary provision heard of by the princes of the union or their friends in Germany ; notwithstanding that we understand the assembly of Nuremberg is dissolved, and the king of Bohemia returned to Prague.

‘ The states wrote a letter to that assembly, to quicken them in their resolution for the assistance of the king of Bohemia, who, as is here judged, will be assailed this next spring in all quarters ; in the Lower Palatinate by the ecclesiastical electors, those of Lorrain, and the archduke’s troops ; and in Bohemia by BUCQUOY and BAVIER. The security of the Palatinate, they think, depends on his majesty, who shewing himself and his power in time will keep them all in obedience. And in this opinion I am daily assailed with interrogatories, what his majesty doth resolve ? and what his majesty will do ? To which the answer I make is, that the king of Bohemia having hitherto remitted his majesty for declaration of his affairs to an embassador, he  
doth



doth intend to fend, until his arrival with his majesty it is not to be expected his majesty should take any resolution. But in the mean time they are to presume; that his majesty in a time of such imminent danger will not abandon the protection of his nearest friends; and they need not fear, because the time for preparation doth yet well serve: which they do confess, so as it be well managed; but withal remember unto me, that consultation and resolution must precede preparation; both which will ask time amongst confederates; and we now advance rather towards summer than winter.

‘ The Venetian resident hath received from his masters a commission in authentical form to conclude the treaty betwixt that commonwealth and this state, but with change of articles sent from hence in that sort, that did little agree with most of these men’s minds; as in the title of the states, wherein *hauts & puissants seigneurs* is only expressed with *illmi* and *eccmi*. The quality of the succours, the Venetian requiring this state to make the levies of men, when that commonwealth hath need, which here they did decline, thinking it enough to furnish the money: the occasion of the succours, which the Venetian will have, when either state is *assalito*, which here they would have said *tirato in guerra*: and the explication of this *assalito*, which the Venetian will have specified on their part *quando vasselli entrano il Golfo*; whereas of this side at my instance the mention of the Gulph was avoided, in which these admiralties would have conditioned upon this occasion extraordinary liberty. Upon these changes, with others less considerable (whereof the repetition were too long to trouble your honour) here was upon the first reading of them much unwillingness shewed to proceed any farther, until the articles were better digested betwixt them; for which this resident hath no authority, being tied precisely to his terms. I have therefore again interposed myself with his excellency and some of the deputies for this business, persuading them in no case to remit the treaty again to Venice; which if they should do, without question, it would be there excluded, because they always govern their affairs by the rule of necessity; and though necessity hung over that state at the beginning of this treaty, when the Gulph was molested by the duke d’Ossuna, *passato il pericolo, gabbato il santo*: and now the necessity is like to sway more on this side, in this regard it is likely those changes in the first concept were made by some opposites to the treaty (as many there are in Venice) whereby to disturb it: and of this I have made them here sensible, as likewise I have put them in mind of the time within my remembrance, when a letter from this state could scarcely be received by that senate, nor their ambassador admitted until his way was made by his majesty and the French king; and therefore embracing the treaty, which is now offered, though it concur not in all things with their desire, yet is it a great step to a perfect confederation. And the same being cultivated by reciprocal ambassadors, will be soon brought to effect; at least the point of reputation will be maintained, which in the present conjuncture is of singular importance, in that the Spaniard will never be free from suspicion, but that there are some secret articles betwixt these two states. Hereupon they have this evening sent for the Venetian resident, who hath been long with them, and is come to me now at four hours in the night, to let me know the resolution; which is, that the states do accept the treaty, and hold it as concluded, referring matters of doubt to farther explication hereafter. They have taken time till the next ordinary (this being to depart this night with the news of the conclusion) to make fair copies of their treaty, and mutually to subscribe the same; which being a business of so much consideration,



consideration, and so long and earnestly wished by his majesty, I would not fail in the advertisement thereof with the first, as I have at no time done of my endeavours. Thus I humbly take leave. Hague, this 14th day of Decemb. 1619.

December the 15th, 1619, O. S. Christmas-day, N. S.

‘ Whilst this letter was transcribing, I received one from Venice, whereof I send your honour an extract, because both the difficulty on that side, and his majesty’s seasonable intervention on this, doth appear therein; which, I hope, will effect a happy conclusion. I persuade the states, without attending a new consent from Venice, to ordain an embassy for the ratification of the treaty, being well assured (by the judgment I may make, upon good experience, of the inclination of that state) that whatsoever is put to new deliberation, now they are not prest by necessity; will go *à reculons*: and, I believe, this course will be taken, which in the present conjuncture of affairs will be of singular use.

‘ My lord of DONCASTER having been at the good town of Amsterdam doth not spare Christmas-day in hastening hitherwards, where he will be to-morrow. The states have taken a resolution, notwithstanding their late thrifty decree, to lodge, defray, and present him at parting.’

Jan. 3, 16<sup>19</sup>/<sub>20</sub>, O. S. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R.<sup>t</sup> hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I have detained this bearer these two days in expectation of our letters out of Germany; which bring nothing of much moment, save only, that the Italian troops, which have lain long in Tyrol, are marched towards Vienna, where the emperor doth still remain. The Bohemians and Hungarians are for the most part retired into garriſon, there remaining some good strength with BETHLEM GABOR at Presburgh, who (as the voice goeth) should be crowned king of Hungary on St. Stephen’s day. He is said to have received some discontentment at the slackness of the Bohemians in entering into confederation with him and the Hungarians; which being advertised by the account of Hollock, the Baron of Torne, with some others, are dispatched by the king of Bohemia, with expedition, to treat of that business.

‘ Here is arrived from the king of Bohemia one FRANCIS ROSEL, one of the king’s council, dispatched by the duke of Deuxponts from Heidelberg in place of one CHARLES PAUL, of the king’s council likewise, who coming immediately from the king sickened by the way. He saith, the baron ACHATIUS DA DONA parted from Heidelberg towards his majesty this day fortnight; and that he took the way of Lorraine and Picardy to Calais. What he is to deliver to the states, with whom he is to have audience this day, I shall be able to send your honour hereafter more authentically by the copy of his proposition, than now by conjecture out of the small discourse I have had with him.

‘ Your honour will receive herewith a copy of the French ambassador mons. DU MAURIER’s last proposition, which I have received since my lord of DONCASTER’s departure: and this being the first audience he hath had since BARNEVELT’s death, it

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seems by his language his passion is still stirred as well towards the public, as monf. AERSSENS in particular, though he names him not; for which he hath new occasion by the course is taken with his old friend VANDER-MYLE, who this day is to receive a sentence of confining into a solitary island betwixt this and Zealand; which once was resolved to be Gorée, but since is changed upon his friends suit to another over against Williamstadt, where he hath some lands of his own. The merchants complaints contained in the embassador's proposition are drawn into negotiation, and deputies sent to him to treat of them; but the determinate answer will be reserved for the states own embassadors, which they have long thought to send into France; and upon this occasion they are framing the instructions, and making choice of the persons.

‘ Here is after a long debate a resolution taken between the count of East-Friseland and his subjects in such points as were in difference betwixt them; which shall be sent about the midst of the next month to Embden by the same commissioners, which have been there employed for the most part of this year past. Mean while some of them are upon the place, to keep things in quiet; and the resolution, until they all meet at the appointed time, is kept secret.

‘ Here is news of a messenger from the bishop of Bremen intercepted by the count of Oldenburg in his way to this place; which is believed, because of the animosity betwixt these two princes: and though the king of Denmark's soldiers are retired out of Stade, yet here is much jealousy of some trouble he intends in those parts this next spring.

‘ It was advertised for certain out of Italy, that the duke of Parma shall have the pope's standard, and the command likewise of the king of Spain's forces, which are to come out of those parts this next spring into Germany.

‘ Monf. LANGERACK doth advertise the states from Paris, that the emperor's embassador in that court hath changed his language, which he first used by way of compassion, finding no man hasty to run *ad opes amissas*; and therefore he doth now magnify the emperor's greatness and power in Germany; for which he hath cause, if all be true as we hear of the catholic league, of which every prince (according to the weekly advertisement of Colen) doth raise a competent army.

‘ Of the conclusion of the defensive league for the space of fifteen years betwixt the commonwealth of Venice and this state, my lord of DONCASTER will have acquainted your honour, to whom the states did by their deputies communicate the same. They have likewise acquainted the French embassador therewith, but with this difference, that to my lord and myself they read the treaty; of which to him they made only a verbal relation in general terms; and this was the first news he had thereof by this state; at which he takes much dislike, pretending, that the late French king gave the first introduction of correspondence betwixt these two commonwealths; and therefore looked to have been from time to time made acquainted with their treaty: howsoever for the matter itself, he seems to approve thereof.

‘ Since

‘ Since my lord’s departure, I have been often spoken unto concerning the merchant strangers now in trouble in England, who having most of them their partners in these provinces, here is much noise about their business. What the states in general beseech his majesty in their behalf, I leave to my lord of DONCASTER, whose intervention they used; but, in particular being requested, I cannot but remember to your honour PHILIP BURLAMACHI, and MATTHEUS DE QUESTER; the one of which for supplying his majesty’s servants abroad with monies, the other for careful conveyance of letters, hath contributed very much to his majesty’s service; of which I can give good testimony for the space of many years; and I should be very glad it might any ways avail them. So I humbly take leave, &c.

‘ P. S. Whilst I am writing, I have seen letters from BREDERODE, the states ambassador at Heidelberg, of the 23d of the last; who, doubting his safety in that place, which lies open to invasion, desires leave of his masters to go to Nuremberg. I have likewise had the prints of the assembly of Nuremberg, and the letters of the king of Bohemia and princes of the Union from thence; of both which I send your honour the translate.’

January 22, N. S. JOHN POLYANDER, professor of divinity at Leyden, to Sir DUDLEY CARLETON, from Leyden: in French.

That the types of THOMAS BREWER are safely kept in the chamber of the curators of the university, and his books and papers sealed up in his own house.

That he had advised his friends to take care not to offend the king of Great Britain, to whom they were so much obliged, by an imprudent compassion.

Jan. 14. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ We have been here since my dispatch of DIESTON the 3d of this present, with letters likewise of the 1st, besieged on every side with ice, and our news are according, all cold as the weather: yet it agrees not with the custom of returns to suffer honest mr. BRETTON, who brought me letters from your honour about a year since, and hath made since that time a miraculous journey for a man of his years, to go back empty-handed. The inclosed, from POLYANDER, will shew your honour, that BREWER’s letters and papers are in safe custody. That, which he enlargeth further, concerns Mr. AMYS, who seeking for a professor’s place, if not in divinity, yet in logic and some of the sciences, finds friends amongst the curators, particularly PAW of Amsterdam, whose sons he hath under his tutelage: upon knowledge whereof I recommended to POLYANDER the care (as I have done formerly to the curators) that his majesty should not be affronted with that man’s preferment before he had given full satisfaction to his majesty in those things wherein he hath offended his majesty.

‘ VANDER-MYLE, upon his *merchandizing* the place of his confinement, in opinion by moving difficulties to divert the states from that course, is put by the favour, which was procured by his friends of going to a place where he hath lands; and the reso-

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lution is taken and declared unto him he must remain in the island of Gorée near the Brill-island; in which time (which is during the states pleasure) he is not to sell or alienate either lands or goods, upon pain of a personal punishment and confiscation; to which sentence he hath an addition of one of JOB's punishments, which is the reproach of a shrewd wife, BARNEVELT's daughter, who doth much afflict him. His adversary, monf. AERSSSEN, is likely to go extraordinary embassador to Venice, for ratification of the league newly concluded with that commonwealth: which (if it so falls out) will seem somewhat strange, that two such mortal enemies should be the only two men employed in that embassy; for VANDER-MYLE only hath heretofore gone thither from this state.

‘ The French embassador, monf. DU MAURIER, receives better contentment than he could otherwise have expected to his late proposition, whereby to prepare the way to the extraordinary embassy intended from hence; of which within few days I shall be able to give your honour more particular account. He is much displeased with a letter printed yester-day in this place concerning monf. GEFIER, the French embassador with the GRISONS, as if, *mutato nomine*, it had been published against him.

‘ The king of Bohemia's embassador is now at Amsterdam upon a business of exchange of monies, and transport of munition to the king his master.

‘ We have here an embassador from the elector of Colen, whose proposition to the states general contains three points: first, an expostulation about a letter written lately by the states to that elector's subjects of Colen, Liege, Munster, and Paderborn (whereof I sent your honour a translate) as an undue manner of proceeding to write to any prince's subjects. Secondly, an excuse of the levies made in his dominion, as if they served only for the duke of Bavier, and that for the defensive, without further design. Lastly, a complaint against the horse of these provinces, for lying upon the open countries of the bishop, and extorting from the subjects sums of money to a great proportion. The proof of this last point holds him here for a while. Otherwise, for the two first, he would have a quick and resolute answer.

‘ Monf. LANGERACK writes hither out of France, that the emperor's embassador hath obtained a private consent of succours from that king, the apprehension whereof doth cause BREDERODE, the states embassador, to write very fearful letters from Heidelberg, as if the Lower Palatinate would be a prey this next spring to the French, Lorrain, and the archduke's troops: to which he adds, that the French agent there, having his means augmented, prepares himself to follow the king to Prague; but in his letters from the French king and commission goeth no farther in title than what he was wont: which he excuseth upon his majesty's not having yet acknowledged his son-in-law king of Bohemia; in which respects he saith it must not be found strange in those princes, who have not so near interest as his majesty in blood and alliance.

‘ The states suspend their deliberation about that embassy, until they may know what will be resolved by his majesty; and then they still profess to run that course, which may best concur with his majesty's satisfaction.

‘ This

‘ This cold weather hath carried away the count of Egmont, who hath laid here these three years under colour of sale and disposing of lands, but hath been still suspected for a Spanish agent. He died miserably, without comfort of wife, child, or servants, who all left him (some few of the meanest sort only excepted) about a month since : and now his body remains under arrest for debt.

‘ Here was drowned by breaking of the ice this last week a young lady of the house of Mattinesse, who had been twice asked in the church ; and was to have been married soon after to the lord Warmot, the chief family of the noblesse of Holland. They were Arminians, and say they have now nothing to trust to in Holland, since the very ice fails them. And thus being come back where I begun with your honour, I humbly take leave, &c.’

*Jan. 29.* SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ Your honour’s letters of the 14th of this present came to my hands by the way of Antwerp the 23d ; since which time I have acquainted the curators of the university of Leyden with the good treatment, which hath been given unto BREWER far beyond his deserving, and with his delivery ; for which they render his majesty their humble thanks, and at his return hither, unless he undertake to them to do his uttermost in finding out of BREWSTER (wherein I will not fail likewise of all other endeavours), he is not like to be at liberty, the suspicion whereof, I believe, keeps him from hence, for as yet he appears not in these parts.

‘ That which his majesty requires of the states, that, now their affairs are better settled at home, they will observe their promise in sending ambassadors instructed to treat of the question of their fishing upon his majesty’s coasts of all his kingdom, I have remembered unto them by the self-same persons by whom the promise was made, monf. GOGH and monf. VANDERDUSSEN (who were two of the last commissioners with his majesty, and are both still of the body of the states general) being both present in this town, whom I spake with expressly on Wednesday last, and desired them to put the states in mind of the promise they had passed by them. They answered unto me, that they did very well remember what had passed in that subject ; and how they had undertaken to his majesty, when the constitution of their domestic affairs would better suffer, not only to treat with his majesty concerning the said fishing, but likewise of other matters in commerce betwixt his majesty’s kingdoms and these provinces, which by resumption of the antient treaties and intercourses, did require to be determined : but as yet, they said, they were not in that settled state here at home, as were to be wished ; monf. GOGH having been but then newly at Campen in commission with count ERNEST to put a strong garrison in that town, and change that magistrate : the like whereunto they have now in hand at Tergow by reason of tumult and misgovernment in those two towns. Withal they said, that they were here much amused with the affairs of Germany and Bohemia ; where employing all their thoughts and endeavours in assisting a prince so near his majesty, their hope was, his majesty would not at this time press them to a thing so unwillingly heard of by all the people of these provinces. I replied unto them, that I could very well witness

that to be true, which was said of Campen and Tergow : but withal I desired them to remember, that those were but particular places ; and that the general (by that help and assistance, which they have often acknowledged to have received of his majesty in those occasions) was reduced at this day unto that good state of settledness and tranquillity, that it is more than they could possibly promise themselves at the time when they past this promise. And for other matters, I said, the world would never be without affairs ; but for those of Germany and Bohemia, I saw no community they had with the fishing upon the coasts of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Wherefore I desired them to make his majesty's mind known to the states in this subject ; and in conformity thereunto to procure their resolution ; which without farther dispute they very willingly undertook.

‘ Monf. Gogh was with me privately the day before ; and, moved (as he would have it seem) with zeal to his majesty's service, he shewed me certain letters written from these country-merchants in London to their correspondents here in Holland, full of complaint of their hard estate and despair of redress ; wherein he being of Guelderland hath little interest, and therefore what he said could be no other end but good ; and it tended chiefly to this purpose, to shew an extreme alienation bred in the minds of the chiefest here (who are most of them merchants, and most of them have part with those in England) for the suffering of their associates, as well in regard of the sums in which they are condemned, which exceed the whole faculties of those they account here rich men (for of great wealths here are few, though of competency very many,) as likewise in respect of some circumstances of the sentence ; which, they write, was past upon presumptions and probabilities, not upon pregnant proofs : and that it was publicly delivered by my lord chief justice in the star-chamber, that the law of England would bear such manner of proceeding in capital crimes, much more in other cases, which monf. Gogh said seemed very strange in these parts, and bred very ill blood amongst those whose life-blood lies chiefly in their purses. Now this discontent passing through the best sort, and the question of fishing concerning all of meaner condition ; and this province of Holland (which consists altogether of merchants and fishers) having a more powerful voice than all the rest of the United Provinces, and a larger part in what belongs to all manner of contributions, they being so nearly recovered of a French faction, in which they were so deeply engaged ; and the present occurrences of Europe requiring so necessarily their concurrence with his majesty, and continual assistance to his majesty's nearest friends and allies ; I humbly refer it to his majesty's accustomed wisdom, for the one (which is the merchants cause) how much he can be pleased to give ear to that mitigation, which was recommended by the states to his majesty by my lord of DONCASTER : and for the other, concerning the fishing, how much further I shall press the same ; which at this time, upon the aforesaid considerations, I have chosen rather to do by private conference than by public proposition in the assembly of the states general ; which being once made goeth immediately (as the use is) in copies through the whole province : but if it be his majesty's pleasure, I shall speak to the same effect in their assembly, as I have done by these deputies, I shall readily upon the first order from your honour obey the same. And I may very well herein expect your answer, because until the midst of March next the states of Holland do not assemble, and till then no matter of such consequence, which concerns chiefly this province, will be treated.



‘ I fend your honour herewith a translate of the proposition of the Bohemian embassador, to which as yet the answer is not delivered, though it be in readines; and it is satisfactory in most points, chiefly in the most substantial concerning money; wherein the states consent to a continuance of the monthly provision for three months longer, since the last grant, which ended with December last; and so are like to continue as long as those occasions require, and theirs here can suffer.

‘ The princes of the union have written hither by one STOCKINGBURGH, a captain of horse of the marquis d’Anspach (who hath been here formerly captain of the prince of Orange’s guard, and hath still a command of horse in these troops), for succours in conformity to the treaty of the union; which hath suffered some disputes in the assembly of the states, some weighing the matter according to the letter of the treaty, which requires only they should give aid when the princes are assailed; and others according to the intention, that they should have a mutual regard of each other’s conservation. Some would see first what his majesty will do, whom they presume to be summoned for his succours at the same time, judging it better to follow than lead the way. Others say, they find no such thing in the treaty, that one confederate should stay till it be seen what another will do. In conclusion, they judge it better to prevent a mischief than to attend it; and therefore have this day resolved to desire the prince of Orange to write to the princes in their names, that they may rely upon their succours; which shall be really performed according to the treaty. But it is like to be rather in money than men, as well in regard of the use of men they have at home, as in consideration, that when greater need is of sending a supply of men, they shall have them here in readines.

‘ I advertised your honour in my last of the 14th of this present by mr. BRETTON of the chief points of the elector of Colen’s embassador’s proposition; the copy whereof being since come to my hands, with the answer thereunto, I have caused translates to be made of them both; which I fend your honour, as worth the perusing, because the affairs betwixt that prince and this state are therein well disputed. This embassador had a particular address to the French embassador, DU MAURIER, for the countenance of his affairs, with an express letter from the French king to that purpose; and thereunto is ascribed the tartness of his speech, very unusual for the minister of that prince, whose territories lie all open to this state. There passed a round dialogue betwixt him and the prince of Orange at his first audience; when, after some communication concerning the affairs of his embassy in conformity to his proposition, and the states answer, the prince advised him to counsel his master to beware of a *papecrike*, which is a war of the religion. *The fear thereof* (said the embassador) *may well excuse my master’s arming. It is often seen* (quoth his excellency) *that a man draws his sword for fear, which draws a danger upon himself. That falls not out in all places, as is seen by the king of Spain and archduke, who, though they assist the emperor with men and money, yet the states observe their truce without stirring. Have not you read* (quoth his excellency) *the tale in Æsop of the ass and the dog? Yes,* (said the embassador suddenly for fear of the application) *you mean, that is permitted to one, which is not to another: and thereupon fell into professions of his well-wishing to this state, because some of his ancestors had borne arms under the prince of Orange, his excellency’s father. Puis donc* (said his excellency) *vous estes à demy Huguenot; nous sommes bons amis.*

‘ The

‘ The stay of this embassador here so long hath chiefly proceeded out of his endeavour, he being a Liegois, to procure a declaration of the states, that they did rest satisfied in the matter of the late executions and proscriptions of certain poor men of the religion in Liege, for which the states name was borrowed, as if they had had intelligence with them to put the town in tumult and combustion: and I have seen, in the crimes alledged by the town of one that was executed, his majesty glanced at in the same manner for certain letters intercepted; wherein the embassador parts with small contentment, because the states require in their answer farther reparation in that particular. He hath been frequent since his coming hither with the French embassador, and visited the Venetian resident; but to me he hath been a stranger.

‘ The French embassador hath his answer to his proposition I sent your honour with my letters of the 3d of this present; and thereof I send your honour a copy: he hath been since in the assembly of the states general to demand leave for the building and buying of five ships of war for the service of the French king, which is granted unto him without difficulty.

‘ Monf. LANGERACK hath written hither to the prince of Orange from the prince of Condé, that the French king, considering that the crown of Bohemia upon the prince Palatine’s head will carry with it a plurality of voices in the Imperial diets (whereby the Imperial diadem in future elections is like to fall to protestant princes), will rather put all in hazard, than suffer the same. But it is here conceived this French fury will be quickly mitigated by any declaration his majesty shall be pleased to make in his son-in-law’s favour; and likewise the catholic league in Germany be held in devotion, which runs at this present à *bride avalée* in favour of the emperor, as your honour may perceive by a particular list of their preparations.

‘ We have not yet the news of BETHLEM GABOR’s coronation, which was said should be the 12th of this present, *stilo novo*; but we hear of a confederation concluded betwixt him and the king of Bohemia, which is no mean support to both their states.

‘ The Venetian confederation with this state had a new difficulty cast in the way from thence concerning the Gulph; which being alledged upon perusal of the whole treaty in that senate, and the same accommodated there according as the senate requires (it being indeed rather a question of words than of matter), it serves as a ratification of the rest; so as here is now no farther doubt made of the accomplishment thereof. Monf. AERSSENS is most in speech to be sent thither extraordinary embassador upon this occasion.

‘ The voice of an embassador of the archbishop of Bremen’s being intercepted by the count of Oldenburg (of which I advertised) did proceed of a counterfeit, who took to himself that title, and was taken near Oldenburg. Since here are come two deputies from that prince, to answer such reports as have been spread by the count of Oldenburg’s agents concerning what hath past betwixt their master and the count’s sister in the pretended promise of marriage; wherein they require the states to make some declaration in the archbishop’s favour, in regard of their alliance with the town  
of

of Bremen: but they say, they are not to interpose themselves in particular questions betwixt princes, which do so little concern them.

‘ We hear, that the elector of Brandenburg is lately dead at Berlin. Here we are losing a young nobleman, the chief of his house and of great merit, mons. BREDERODE, who with a double fall of the ice this last frost (one on horse-back, another a foot) took a fever; of which he now lies at God’s mercy forsaken by his physicians.

‘ The prince of Orange hath been febricitant, and kept his chamber for the space of this fortnight, which he still continueth, but ceaseth not most hours of the day to attend business. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

P. S. In sir DUDLEY CARLETON’S own hand.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ Even now that I am closing my dispatch, which goeth under this date, I am visited by two deputies from the states general, who make answer to me concerning what I remembered unto them about their treaty of the fishing upon the coasts of his majesty’s kingdoms; that having heard what I delivered in his majesty’s name, as likewise what I said in reply to those of their body, who were with me, that true it was, the businesses of Bohemia and Germany and this of the fishing were of a far different nature: yet because the assistance, which is now given by a monthly aid of money to the king of Bohemia, is to be drawn out of these poor men’s purses, who live chiefly upon that trade, they humbly beseech his majesty, that he will be pleased to dispense with them as yet a longer time from entering into that treaty; and the rather, because they are not yet well settled in their domestic affairs; as appears by the tumults of Tergow, whither they send a strong garrison with order to do some exemplary justice.

‘ These deputies have acquainted me likewise with their present deliberation concerning their succours to the princes of the union, to which they are now summoned; which (they say) they are ready to furnish according to the treaty, and will not fail thereof, considering the likelihood, or rather certainty, that there will be war in those parts. But withal weighing, that their succours alone will be fruitless, they suspend the execution of their purpose, until they know what his majesty will do upon the same occasion, when *conjunctis viribus* they will readily go forward, as judging the princes will thereby be sufficiently protected.

‘ Here is advertisement come this day, that the princes of the union are somewhat awakened, and augment their troops to 12,000 foot and 5000 horse. We have yet no news of BETHLEM GABOR’S coronation, though this day’s letters from Prague of the 4th of this present from the count de Solms confirm the confederation betwixt him and the king of Bohemia.

‘ Thus once more I humbly take leave, &c.’

L 11

Feb.



Feb. 10. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ In my last to your honour of the 29th of January, I advertised what I had said and received in answer touching the states sending to his majesty about the fishing upon his majesty’s coasts; what the states desired me to communicate to his majesty concerning their resolution in the assistance of the princes of the union; and what mons. GOGH in private conference did acquaint me with touching the business of the merchant-strangers in England, besides such occurrences as were then of most consideration in this place: in the first of which I attended with much devotion, either to hear that his majesty is content to let that matter yet rest for a while upon the reasons I alleged; or to receive his farther order for pressing their sending; wherein I will not fail of my duty: as on the other side I would not be wanting in representing these considerations, which I then conceived (and so still do) much to import his majesty’s service. Touching the second, there might seem some contradiction betwixt the states resolution to give their succours to the princes of the union, and their message to me, that they would first attend to see what his majesty would do in conformity to that treaty, wherein they were both obliged. But thus the matter was carried. In regard of some difficulty made by some of the provinces not to assent until they might be assured, his majesty taking the same course, they might not be engaged alone, nor their succours by the weakness of them be fruitless, they all agreed in the message unto me; but considering the present necessity of the occasion (as well to keep the princes in heart and union, as to supply their wants) those provinces, which have most power, and can sway the rest, took an absolute resolution; and accordingly, not being yet in terms of agreement to write their public letters, they desired the prince of Orange to take the business upon him, and to assure the princes by his private letters, that the succours should be given in conformity to the treaty; and that for this purpose 43,000 florins (which is 4300*l*. sterl.) should be monthly furnished unto them, and paid from the time of their next summons, and advertisement that they are actually in war; so as in the mean time they might (if they thought good) make a levy answerable to this sum, upon the states account, for the payment, if there were use of the men: otherwise the charge of the levy is to be borne by the princes.

‘ The answer made to the Bohemian agent is after the same manner; that which he hath in writing (according as your honour will see by the translate thereof) being in the point of succours ambiguous with reference to the provinces; but he hath a verbal promise and sufficient assurance from the chieftest here, that the monthly aid of 50,000 florins (which is 5000*l*. sterl.) shall be continued as long as that war doth last, and their affairs here will suffer. To both which payments, as well that to the princes, as this to the king of Bohemia, I find the prince of Orange and the greatest part of the states sufficiently resolved. But as in the beginning some were opposite to both, upon this reason, not to lead the way to his majesty, but to follow (to use their own words) as the cock-boat doth a great ship; so in the continuance of treaty hereupon, as occasions have been presented, they have still persisted in the same counsel, and have been over-swayed by the necessity of a present resolution, which now they seek to change by the fruitlessness and inutility thereof; but hitherto the affairs stand as I now advertise.

‘ Here is a certain merchant of these countries named SIXT, who hath long frequented Prague, and being in much credit with the states of Bohemia is employed by them to procure a loan in their name, and upon their credit, of about 200,000 rix-dollars of the town of Amsterdam, and hath brought hither certain authentical writings and obligations by way of provision for that sum; as likewise for the monthly aid of 50000 florins, which hath been hitherto furnished.

‘ The landgrave of Hesse’s embassador (of whom I formerly advertised your honour) having lain long here private and silent, at length made a proposition in the assembly of the states general about the time of the dispatch of the Bohemian embassador, tending to the advancing the states resolution in assisting the princes of the union in general, and particularly in aiding the landgrave with the horse of this state, in case his countries (which lie most open to danger) should be assailed. Wherein for the princes he hath the like answer as others, that they will be ready, but desire first to know his majesty’s resolution: and concerning the horse of this state, that they shall assist him, in case any troops march from the archdukes side to endamage his countries; which assurance is likewise given to the union in general, besides their promise of money. And therein they judge to do best, in that by their money new troops will be entertained; and these they have here in service be always ready according to occasion.

‘ The presents made these embassadors (for that is the title of all who have commission from German princes) do rather suit with their persons (they being men of mean condition) than their qualifications, the Bohemian having a small chain and a medal of the union of 50*l.* value; the other of Hesse a medal of the synod hung in a few links of gold not worth 20*l.* and one of Colen (whose proposition and answer I sent your honour with my last) 20*l.* in money, which went under the stile of paying the wine at his lodging.

‘ The states having sent this last week an express messenger to Brussels, with a letter, whereof I send your honour the translate, this being a resolution taken after long deliberation, rather to write in this manner for satisfaction of those damages their subjects have suffered since the truce, contrary to the conditions thereof, than to send any person instructed to negotiate the same; their messenger (which is one of the ordinary posts, and hath his badge on his breast of the generality) hath charge, either to bring an answer of his letters, or return without it at eight days end precisely after his arrival at Brussels. And though this course of writing was chiefly taken, whereby to avoid other overtures of treaty, which the states suspected might be made to any they should employ, for renewing of the truce (the very noise whereof, though it went no farther, would much advantage the Spaniard) yet this letter (if the archduke doth desire the renewing of the truce) will *ansam præbere* for that purpose. But at this time we have no other news but of war, for which the states are advertised the Spaniard doth prepare both by sea and land, having a purpose to arm twenty ships at Dunkirk and those ports of Flanders, and to enter this next spring into Juliers and Cleve, whereby to divert the states from their succours of the king of Bohemia and the princes of the union; which is not here otherwise conceived hitherto, than as a



Spanish *bravada*, whereby to induce the neighbour princes to interpose themselves, and so to treat with more reputation.

‘ By the transcript of a letter I have this last week from Venice, your honour will see how busy the pope is in those parts with his *decime*; yet in that senate how he cannot obtain the *decime* of voices in his favour. The emperor’s treaty with BETHLEM GABOR (of which we have here the articles in the common gazetta of Colen) and at the same time the confederation betwixt the Hungarians and Bohemians (which hath been publicly solemnised at Prague) do as much distract men’s judgments here, as, it appears by this letter, they do at Venice.

‘ Here hath been with me some few days since two deputies from the states general, one of Holland, the other of Zealand, to speak with me in the name of that assembly touching the merchant-strangers subjects to these provinces now in trouble in England, and to desire me once more to write to his majesty in their favour; which because the states intend to do about this time, and to send an express messenger, who understands the cause, with their letters, I leave the representation of the reasons they use in favour of their men, to themselves.

‘ That, which they chiefly insisted upon to me, was, that the goods of some merchants here, being in their factors hands in London, were under arrest, and either already sold, or to be sold, for other men’s transgressions, whereby they forbear sending any more merchandise thither, having made stay of certain ships, which are here laden in many ports, and seeking to find trade in other places. This will change the course of commerce betwixt his majesty’s kingdoms and these provinces, and by consequence much damnify his majesty’s customs; whereby it deserves the greater consideration.

‘ The states have published a new penal placart against the Arminian assemblies, and have put a stronger garrison into Tergow, where the people were grown to much insolency, meeting at sermons upon the ice, and answering in mockery, that their assemblies in churches, houses, barns, boats, or fields, were forbid, but not where they were now found: and the officers coming to take knowledge of them, they slid away upon their ice-shoes, the preacher being foremost, which shews what a scorn they make both of religion and government.

‘ VANDER-MYLE went yesterday towards his confinement at Gorée; and before his departure sent unto me (as he had formerly written) desiring to speak with me about a pretended business; which I excused, because of the liberty they take to frame speeches out of other men’s mouths after their own fancies; and likewise conceiving, that his desire to come to me was but to cover the accesses he hath lately had to the French ambassador. Yet I failed not to send him a civil answer.

‘ I will now render your honour my humble thanks for the favour of your letter of the 20th of January, wherein I take no small comfort of his majesty’s remaining satisfied with my answer concerning my private business. And for that which be-



longs to the placart of printing, I will not fail to put the states in mind of their promise. But as yet BREWER doth not appear in these parts. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

‘ Here is arrived this last night monf. BENICKHEUSEN from the princes of the union, who this morning hath audience with the states, and speedily intends to go towards his majesty. As yet I have not seen nor understood any particularities of his negotiation; whereof my next shall give your honour an account.’

Feb. 17. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ Monf. BENICKHEUSEN hath shewed, in this short time of his negotiation with the states, *homo homini quid præstat*: for not content with the diversity of answers given to ROSELLIUS and STOCKINBURGH (of which I advertised your honour in my last dispatches), he, distinguishing the affairs of the princes of the union from those of the king of Bohemia, and pressing a firm resolution in conformity to the treaty of the union, hath obtained an augmentation of the money, which was designed for a levy for the princes service, from 43,000 to 50,000 florins by the month; the payment of which is to begin with the first of this next month of March. And because the condition of the treaty of the union doth not leave it to the states liberty to furnish men or money, but obligeth them to send men when the princes stand in need; and in regard, that in the time, whilst this levy is making, the princes may run some hazard by reason the catholic league is already in arms, he requires a farther promise of the states, that in case of necessity they will send 4000 men to their service: wherein the states have hitherto made difficulty, because if they send men from hence in aid of the princes, it is likely the archduke will send men likewise to assist the catholic league; whereby the princes will be little advantaged. But monf. BENICKHEUSEN accounting this an evasion only (wherein the prince of Orange hath shewed himself most, being unwilling to spare any of his old troops) doth still insist upon the terms and intention of the treaty, which requires, that the princes shall be aided by this state with men, as those whom this state hath in more readines than the princes: and in this regard he tells them plainly the treaty was made: otherwise he (who was employed in the framing of the treaty) knew not much reason, why the princes should enter into confederation with the states. And withal, he saith, there is no mention made therein of the archduke’s marching, or other such exception; but that absolutely men should be sent well armed and paid, when the princes should require them. Hereunto he expects answer this morning; and, because when he hath obtained the same his departure will be sudden, this I write by way of provision before I know what resolution be taken.

‘ Two days since here arrived at this place one of the princes of the dis-electorated house of Saxe, to make a levy of a regiment of 2000 foot for the king of Bohemia: and here are now newly come the two counts of Styren, with three other particular conductors, to raise for that king’s service six or seven hundred horse.

This

‘ This prince of Saxe hath received a letter since his arrival here from the prince of Anhalt from Prague; wherein the news of the truce betwixt the emperor and BETHLEM GABOR is confirmed; but withal it is advertised, that nothing is passed therein without the king of Bohemia’s good liking; and that this truce doth tend to the advantage as well of the king’s affairs, as those of the prince of Hungary and Transylvania (which stile is given in the letter to BETHLEM GABOR): but this is a mystery not here well understood.

‘ The king of Denmark hath lately sent an expresse messenger hither with letters to his agent, to procure liberty for the buying of a fair ship in North-Holland of about 1000 tun; for which he payeth 50,000 florins; but found difficulty in obtaining the same, unless he would give caution to the value of 100,000 florins, that ship should not be employed to the East-Indies: which being represented to the states as an unreasonable condition, and unfit to be proposed to a prince with whom they would hold good correspondency, it is laid aside, and the king hath liberty to serve himself of the ship as he pleases.

‘ The two deputies from the archbishop of Bremen (of whose coming hither I advertised your honour by my letters of the 29th of the last) have particularly complained by a proposition in writing of the count of Oldenburg for sending in October last a cartel of challenge with many injurious terms against their master to the council and states of the country, which were then assembled at Busdulsich: and withal have made appear, that the person, which was seized by the count of Oldenburg passing through his country, was not, as was then given out, a counterfeit embassador, but one of the deputies now employed to the states, who had then letters about him to the count of Embden, and to the prince of Orange; both which were taken from him, and he otherwise (as he saith) injuriously treated. They further complain of certain violences used upon the Weser by the count’s officers against the archbishop’s subjects; and upon the whole matter require the states judgment and advice how their master should proceed for the reparation of his honour; wherein they have made a moderate answer, advising the archbishop, in regard of the present businesses of Germany and Bohemia, not to stir in this cause; which by time and patience might be better accommodated betwixt them; whereas otherwise the common affairs might be much hindered by their particular quarrels, and they no whit advantaged.

‘ The commissioners (of whom I have formerly advertised your honour) designed by the states of Holland to go through this province to make inquisition into such parts thereof as are not sufficiently purged of the corruption of Arminianism, are now busy in their employment; and no scout, bailiff, pensioner, secretary, or other inferior officer of that faction (all which were thrust in by BARNEVELT, as those by whom the towns are much ruled) is suffered to remain in authority; though, living as private men, there is no further search made into them. This is applied as *ultimum remedium*; and when they have gone through with all, we are like to see here a general abolition, whereby to free men from apprehension, who know not how far this inquisition may stretch. Even now mons. BENICKHEUSEN comes to me, and doth let me understand he hath full contentment in all his demands; to whom, by reason of the haste of his departure, I must refer your honour for farther particulars. So I humbly take leave, &c.’

Feb.

Feb. 20. States general to king JAMES, in favour of the Dutch transporters of gold and silver from England, and their correspondents, who had been cast at law.

March 6. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ Finding by your honour’s letter of the 19th of the last (which came to my hands by the way of Antwerp the 2d of this present) his majesty’s very great insatisfaction in the states answer concerning the fishing, I did on Friday last make so much known unto them by an expresse audience, adding unto the message, which I had in commandment from his majesty, a deduction of what hath formerly past in that business, if not *usque ab ovo*, yet since it began to take life; according as his majesty may please to see by the copy of my proposition. To which the answer made unto me for the present was (according to custom) in civil but general terms, with promise to take the matter into deliberation. With those of their assembly to whom I have since spoken in private, I have not failed likewise in the roundest manner to deal, as well by making appear in what degree of scorn his majesty took their answer; as by pressing better satisfaction in the reply. Which notwithstanding I cannot promise will be such, as will give his majesty contentment. For I may not conceal how both by their countenance in public, and speech in private, I observe them to be exceedingly perplexed, in so much, that one of the chief of them, (a man more hot, I must confess, and heady, than the rest, yet one, by whom their temper is usually discovered) spared not to say he put small difference betwixt prosecuting this difference, and denouncing of war.

‘ I acquainted the prince of Orange with the matter (as proper to his place of admiral) and desired his furtherance; wherein he promised his best endeavours to give his majesty satisfaction: but withal shewed much apprehension of the alarm the Hollanders would take, and doubt lest some change might be thereby bred in their resolutions touching Bohemia; which I gather by that which fell from him and some of the states to be grounded upon this reason.

‘ Without freedom of fishing after their wonted manner (which they stand upon to have enjoyed for two hundred years continuance, and thereby fifty thousand souls to be maintained in these provinces) they are not able to pay their accustomed contributions. And for maintenance of this freedom, when they doubt to be molested, their custom is to send out a stronger fleet of ships of war than ordinary; the expence of which fleet will turn the stream of their bounty, which runs now at the charge of ten thousand pounds a month, toward Bohemia and Germany.

‘ There is further consideration out of the several dispositions and interests of the provinces; the maritime provinces, as best able, being most forward in contributing to the Bohemian war, to which the land provinces are unwillingly drawn, yet go on hitherto partly by example of the rest, and partly for satisfaction of the prince of Orange, who doth indeed \* \* by his dextrous conduct of affairs, as well in this cause as many others, they being otherwise since their late distractions *pieces desconsuës*.

Now.



Now in the question of fishing (which they think tends to a contribution) the land-provinces having small interest, would in that regard be so much the more tractable; but they are all more likely to concur in a resolution of sparing both ways, than spending both ways. And as I find them here for the most part of opinion, that if the business be pursued, it cannot pass without blows; so the prince of Orange told me plainly he thought the port-towns would not be brought to yield consent to any innovation, though they were prest *à coup de canon*. I will not fail notwithstanding of my duty in soliciting an answer to my proposition, nor of diligence in advertising his majesty thereof.

‘ Touching the merchant strangers of these provinces in England, my zeal to the retaining of all men’s affections and devotions to his majesty’s person and service makes me heartily wish the answer I have from your honour in their cause could as well stop men’s mouths in these parts, or settle their thoughts, as it is sufficient to rid me from trouble of their clamours. That, which I wrote to your honour in this subject, was only what was communicated unto me privately by one of the states; and since having been desired by express deputies from the body of their assembly, I have written in the merchants favour; which I firmly hope his majesty will graciously interpret. For as I hold it my duty both truly and plainly to advertise what I receive from a public person, and cannot well refuse to intercede when I am both publicly and respectfully desired; so am I careful no ways to engage or prejudice his majesty, but leave all things to the freedom of his princely resolution.

‘ I have a request made unto me by the chancellor of the count of East Friseland in the name of his master for transport of a certain quantity of plate for the service of the count’s table; the particulars whereof your honour may see in the chancellor’s letters, which I send herewith; and thereupon may be pleased to procure a warrant (if it so stand with his majesty’s good liking) and send the same unto me. The other part of the chancellor’s letter is matter only of discourse betwixt us two (without any express design) of means to gain friends to his master, whereby to oversway his opposites; of which he hath many both in these provinces and East Friseland.

‘ What is here worth the advertisement I send your honour in a letter apart; and so I humbly take leave &c.’

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

March 6.

‘ This assembly of the states of Holland is busied partly in setting a reglement in the finances, which have heretofore gone in much disorder, and partly in removing and changing such persons of the Arminian faction, which yet remain in office: and it seems they will spare none, since they look into their courts of justice, having put out this last week one BREDERODE, one of the high council, to which young BREDERODE (who was called into the assembly the same day this matter was in question, in place of his brother, who deceased of the sickness, of which I advertised your honour in my former letters) giving his voice as the first of the nobility, MATINESSE, who is the next, and retains his old passionate spirit, rose, and left the assembly, telling young BREDERODE in his ear, that he already perceived, he would prove as bad as his brother.

‘ There

‘ There was taken this last week, in the house where VANDER-MYLE doth lodge in Gorée, one of the exiled Arminian ministers, who is brought hither, and put in the common prison; and the party, which apprehended him, hath, according to the last placart, a recompense given him of 500 florins; which will make the rest of them to be hunted out in all corners; and one, I know, hath VORSTIUS in chase, who (as I am informed) was seen lately disguised at Utrecht; and his wife remaining still at Tergow, it is suspected he repairs often thither.

‘ The count of Egmont’s body, which lay here in pawn for his debts, was secretly stolen away by night out of this town, and is buried by his friends at Armentiers, according to his will; whereby he hath disposed of himself better now he is dead, than he could do whilst he was alive.

‘ The prince of Orange finds himself much troubled by the prince of Condé in his principality of Orange, who in his sister’s right doth prosecute the codicil of the late prince’s will; touching which this prince having a sentence in his favour at Brussels, the prince of Condé seeks to remove the judgment of the cause to Paris; to which the prince of Orange will no ways yield; and he conceives this proceeding of the prince of Condé to grow out of mons. DE LUYNES’S longing after that principality, out of which he would thrust this prince by molestations, since he cannot gain his consent by other means. But this prince saith, he will have the honour of having war made upon him by a French king; for nothing else in the world shall make him quit his patrimony.

‘ There is a new trouble risen in Germany betwixt the duke of Lunenburg and the town of Hamburg; which are both in arms about a certain dyke called Gammerdyke made by those of Hamburg upon the Elbe, whereby to enforce all navigation to pass by that town; whereas the duke would make the river free. And this hath been an ancient process betwixt them in the chamber of Spire, where the duke having lately had a sentence in his favour, but with a clause of the suspension of the execution, proceeds *de facto* in the demolition of the dyke; and the town puts itself in arms for the defence thereof, having by their syndic, Dr. VINCENT MULLER (who is sent expressly, and had audience in the assembly of the states on Friday last), demanded their succours by virtue of their confederation with the Hans-towns. But they considering the duke’s willingness to enter likewise into league with them (wherein I have made them know, that he hath lately by my means demanded his majesty’s consent, which was readily given by his majesty) do rather favour a course of accommodation; to which effect I think they will speedily give this syndic of Hamburg a dispatch.

‘ To the letter the states wrote to the archdukes at Brussels touching a reparation of the damages they have received by the king of Spain’s ministers in all his dominions since the truce (whereof I sent your honour a copy by my dispatch of the 10th of the last) here is an answer come by a private letter only from the audiercer VERREYKEN to the greffier AERSSENS, which giveth no further satisfaction, but that the archdukes having sent the states letter into Spain, upon the return of the answer, they will send it hither.

M m m

‘ The



‘ The states agent with the Hans towns doth advertise his masters, that there is arrived an embassador from the archduke ALBERT, one BERNARD PUTTS, counsellor to the late duke of Gulick, and now in service of the elector of Colen, and duke of Newburgh, an old and well-experienced man in the affairs of the empire, whose endeavours tend to dispose the Hans-towns either to the assistance of the emperor, or to neutrality at least; using to this purpose, as principal motives, the merits and good turns of the emperors and princes of the house of Austria to those towns, promises of commerce with extraordinary freedom in the king of Spain’s dominions, and threats of the inconveniencies, which will follow, if they should take any contrary course.

‘ What passeth in Germany and Bohemia, from whence of late days we have no good news, your honour understandeth particularly by the embassadors of those parts. Since monf. BENICKHEUSEN’s departure a resolution hath been here taken to permit the Saxon duke of Weymar to make his levy of 2000 men; for which he hath his rendezvous in the land of Marc; and he is furnished by the states with 20,000 florins upon account of the assistance which is given to the king of Bohemia. But withal a resolution is taken, in regard the troops here in service are much weakened by such levies, to suffer no more to be made in these parts; as on the archdukes side they are no less strict in preservation of their old troops.

‘ The states are advertised of a fort intended by the archduke to be built within a musket-shot of Sluce in Flanders; which they except much against, as contrary to the articles of the truce; and the fleet preparing at Ostend and those other parts gives them no small alarm.

‘ The French king arms (as the merchants here have news) diligently at sea in all the ports of Normandy and Bretagne. His embassador hath procured here license to buy six ships of war in the name of the dukes of Guise and Nevers (whereof, as I remember, I wrote formerly to your honour); and they are thus contracted for. For one of 700 tuns is paid 60,000 florins; for the five other (two of 400 tun apiece, two of 300 tun apiece, and one of 250) 145,000 florins; all with double equipage (artillery only excepted), and to be delivered at the price, without further cost, in Normandy.

‘ Here is a small ship of 300 tuns, called the Black Bear, arrived within these two days in the Texel out of the East-Indies: but what news or lading it brings, as yet I hear not. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

‘ I send your honour translates of all the pieces in monf. BENICKHEUSEN’s negotiation with the states.’

*March 28, 1620. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.*

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ After long deliberation, first by the states of Holland (to whom my proposition concerning the fishing, which I sent your honour with my dispatch of the 6th of this present, was referred), and after by the states general; and as serious solicitation made by



by myself, the answer, which I send your honour herewith, was brought unto me yesterday by the two deputies of the states general, one of Holland, another of Zealand, who to other difficulties, in which they are intangled both at home and abroad, which they touch in their answer, add the dispute, into which they are now likely to enter concerning the renewing of the truce, or returning to war, wherein the provinces and towns being diversely affected, according to their several interests, they doubt the Arminian faction, which is rather covered than quenched, will begin to shew itself again; and upon this difference, adhering to one part or the other, seek to put all into new combustion; in which regard they desired me to beseech his majesty in their names to compassionate the tender constitution of their state. And though I told them, I could only make known their humble desire to his majesty, and send their answer, without commission to reply; yet in reading thereof I observed four points, wherein I desired their explication.

‘ The first, was the term they used *de la pescherie des harangs*; of which there was no mention in my proposition; wherein I use these formal words, *la grande pescherie sur les costes des trois royaumes de S. M. Angleterre, Escoffe, & Irlande*: to which they answered, that when their deputies were last in England, there was nothing insisted upon with them, but *la pescherie des harangs*; and therefore they thought needless to make mention of any other.

‘ The second was their *ancienne & immemoriale possession*, which I told them was rather assumed by them than granted by us. But of that they said, that in the treaty they will bring good proofs.

‘ The third was the other points, of which they intended to treat touching commerce and traffic, by which I told them I understood they meant the business of tare, and other novelties brought in here to the prejudice of our trade of cloths: but it seems their intent goeth farther.

‘ The last was the unlimited time they set down for their treaty, *à la premiere opportune commodité, qui leur sera possible*; which I thought would give his majesty small satisfaction: wherein they said they could not declare themselves otherwise, by reason, that the general assemblies being to be held these two next months of April and May, they thought in the beginning of June next they might take a determinate resolution.

‘ About that time the states of Holland, who separated the 11th of this present, are to meet again; and on them chiefly, and in a manner only, doth this business of fishing depend. They ordained immediately upon the reading of my proposition 22,000 florins to put some other ships in readiness, besides their ordinary guard of their fishers, for their safety, in case they should be molested. And accordingly I understand, that in their admiralties there are many men more than ordinary set on work about this preparation.

‘ This notwithstanding, the very day of their rising they resolved to continue their aid to the wars of Bohemia for three months longer, which is April, May, and June; and all good endeavours are used to draw the other provinces to the like consents; for

which purpose count WILLIAM is gone within these few days to his governments of Friseland and Groningen, where in what state he finds these provinces, and what encouragements he doth expect from me, your honour will see by a letter I send herewith.

‘ That, which I have understood by your honour’s letters of the 10th of this present, of his majesty’s intention to join with the French king in doing all good offices for the weal of Christendom, to pacify the present broils which are on foot in Germany, I have communicated to the prince of Orange, and likewise to the states deputies, who were with me yesterday: wherein I may not conceal, that I do not find their expectation any whit satisfied, unless I may be able to assure them likewise, that his majesty’s purpose is as strong to keep the crown on the king of Bohemia’s head, as they suspect the French king to be to pull it off. For their encouragement I have let them know by way of discourse somewhat of my experience; how his majesty, sending to the duke of Savoy during his wars with the governor of Milan, did so well counterbalance by his authority the endeavours, which were used by the marquis DE RAMBOUILLET in the name of the French king for the advantage of the Spaniard, that the duke was thereby held upright. And withal I did put them in mind of an antient caution of the old prince of Orange, and the greatest statesmen have been here since that time, which was, in all revolutions of Europe so to temporise with France, as not to enforce a conjunction betwixt that crown, Spain, and the pope; to which the catholic league of Germany being added will be too powerful a confederacy: of which I find them sufficiently apprehensive; and they cannot but commend his majesty’s accustomed wisdom in this manner of proceeding: only they doubt, that the French embassy being countenanced by the reputation of an army upon the frontiers of Germany will have the advantage of his majesty, if his friends be not comforted and strengthened by his assistance either in men or money. For the defence of the Lower Palatinate, wherein his majesty desires the continuance of their care, they promise to employ themselves to the uttermost of their power.

B E W W I N C K H E U S E N  
 ‘ 14. 21. 61. 60. 30. 40. 16. 34. 28. 11. 56. 52. 22. 41. hath written from  
 London Hague  
 102 to his friends at 181 letters under the date of the 12th of this present, full of  
 his majesty;  
 discomfort in his negotiation with 81; concluding (after the recital of much variable-  
 ness and difficulties he found therein) that unless he might have full satisfaction accord-  
 his majesty the union,  
 ing to the express articles and true intent of the treaty betwixt 81 and 250, he was  
 states general pr. of Orange,  
 resolved to depart *re infectâ*. Which very language he held with 184 and 155, even  
 at such time as he had in effect what he desired: for in place of one assistance, to  
 states general pr. of Orange states  
 which 184 are bound by treaty, 155 shewed him, 184 gave three; that is, a monthly  
 king of Bohemia: princes of the union;  
 aid of 50,000 florins to 241: the like to 250; besides the diversion was given unto  
 the emp. king of Spain, the marq. SPINOLA  
 239 and 288, by keeping the army of 220 in these parts, which otherwise would  
 undoubtedly,

undoubtedly march into 238. But seeing his stiffness, they enlarged themselves so much farther, as the second writing, whereof I sent your honour a translate with my  
 laft. And this I find by what fell from 155 upon the letters he hath now written to  
 Hague, the states a L u t h e-  
 181, to be done upon this reason, 184 knowing him to be 11. 36. 56. 54. 28. 20.  
 r a n  
 50: 10. 40. 70. 73, doubt, that he did *causam querere*, whereby to give his master  
 princes of the union; France  
 subject to draw him out of the number of 250; and that now at his going into 268.  
 king of France  
 he would by that means ingratiate both himself and his master with 269. This, it  
 seems, caused 184 to yield more unto him than their manner is after a resolution  
 states  
 once taken.

‘ He hath written likewise, that 80 was upon sending to 309 to borrow mo-  
 the king king of Denmark  
 princes of the union;  
 ney, wherewith to assist 250; which he saith he cannot attend; and they here be-  
 king of Denmark  
 lieve, that in these general combustions 309 hath other irons of his own in the fire,  
 he being now in hand to make a royal fort upon the Elbe (which he calls Geluckstadt,  
 the town of good fortune) on the other side opposite to Stade; and to pursue his pre-  
 h i s s o n n e  
 tensions for 29. 30. 52, 53. 42. 40. 41. 20. to the archbishopric of Bremen;  
 whereby he will be absolute master of all the chief passages by sea into Germany; the  
 the states  
 apprehension whereof hath caused the 184 to write within these few days exprefs letters  
 to the bishop of Bremen now in possession not to give way during the present  
 troubles in Germany to the nomination of a coadjutor. And I find nothing at this  
 time so fearful in these parts, as the storm, which is threatned by these clouds;  
 king of Denmark  
 for if these designs, which are already in much forwardness, take effect, 309 will  
 have in these parts of Europe a most powerful empire.

‘ The states expect daily here the coming of their agent from the Hans-towns,  
 with report what he hath effected in conformity to a commission they sent him to do  
 all good offices of reconciliation betwixt the duke of Lunenburg and the town of  
 Hamburg; after whose coming they will take a resolution of sending exprefs com-  
 missioners to Lubeck, according as they are required by the Hans-towns by virtue  
 of their confederation, who at this present have a general assembly in that place. And  
 though they pretend the present occasions of Germany, and the particular difference  
 betwixt the duke of Lunenburg and the town of Hamburg; yet the chief intent of  
 king of Denmark.  
 this meeting I conceive to be upon the designs before specified of 309.

‘ Yesterday



‘ Yesterday monf. AERSSENS was sent for to the ftates general, and commanded to put himfelf in readinefs for the extraordinary embaffage to Venice, which hath been thus long deferred by reafon of the oppofition was made in conferring a public employment of fo much honour upon a man fo odious to France; where the ftates have no need to aggravate the ill terms in which they ftand. This day he makes his answer, whether he will accept the employment or not; wherein he makes difficulty, for fear of fome *faux bond* may be played him in his abfence.

‘ The extraordinary embaffy from hence into France will be refolved of at the fame time as that to his majefty.

‘ Here is a refolution taken this laft week in the affembly of the ftates general for the framing of a Weft India company, which hath been many years in deliberation, and is not yet finally concluded, until the affent of the feveral provinces; to which the ftates do now fend copies of their octroy.

‘ What we have by this laft poft out of Germany I fend your honour by the extract of a letter from Nuremberg. The princes of the union have sent hither commiffion for levies of 600 horfe and 1600 foot, which the ftates will not permit to be levied either in their provinces or the frontiers, becaufe of the prejudice, which will be done thereby to their army: but the money for the payment of them they furnifh readily.’

That he had written to captain FRANCIS WOODHOUSE, whom the lords of the council had ordered to be sent with his wife into England, the captain being then at Campen, and had sent him a letter of credit for the money, which the fecretary had directed for the payment of his transportation; and had obtained leave for his abfence of the prince of Orange, ‘ which, fays he, I have fignified unto him, fo as he hath no fubject of excufe: but as yet the time doth not ferve, fince the receipt of your honour’s letter, and the fending of mine, that I may hear from him.’

*April 15.* SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to fecretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ Your honour’s letters of the 23d of the laft came to my hands the 7th of this preſent; which chiefly concerning the bufinefs of fifhing, I leave the fame in terms as it ftands, until I underftand his majefty’s farther pleaſure upon the perufal of the ftates answer to my propoſition in that ſubject; whereof I ſent the original with my diſpatch of the 28th of the laft. Since that time here hath been little of confideration; which hath made me forbear giving your honour the trouble of empty letters: only we have been entertained with diverſity of advertiſements and diſcourſes touching the difference betwixt the duke of Lunenburg and the town of Hamburg: whereupon matter being reported to grow to extremities, an embaffage was here refolved of to be performed by three of the ftates general (one of Guelderland, one of Holland, and the third of Groningen;) but now here being advertiſement, that both the duke and the town have referred the bufinefs to compromise, this embaffage is at a ſtay until farther news.

‘ Here are present letters from many hands of the king of Denmark’s arming very strong both horse and foot; at which, though much alarm be taken in doubt of that prince’s stirring spirit, yet it is thought his intention for the present goeth no farther than the building his fort upon the Elbe, whereof in my last I advertised your honour: and yet labourers being of greater use for that service than soldiers (for resistance he can have none, he building only upon his own ground) and his strength rising (as is advertised) to 12000 foot and 2000 horse, besides artillery and shipping, which he hath ordained to come to the Elbe, no man knoweth firmly what to judge of this preparation.

‘ The extraordinary embassy to Venice from this state for ratification of the late contracted alliance betwixt these two commonwealths, after some *marchandising* about entertainment, was accepted by monf. AERSSENS; and he is now posted away with much haste, this being the day of his setting forward, with a regular train of twenty persons only allowed him by the state, but many commissions and large instructions, referring all to his discretion when he comes upon the places. The first whereof is Germany, where he hath particular letters of credence to the two dukes of Wittenberg and Deux-ponts, and two marquises, Anspach and Dourlach, with whom he is to pass offices severally and jointly (if he find it convenient) touching their correspondence with this state, union amongst themselves and support of the king of Bohemia. With the Swiss he hath letters to the two cantons of Zurich and Berne, which he will visit going or coming. Through the Grisons he is to pass *insalutato hospite*, for fear of offending France; of which how careful this state is grown may appear by their sending an express deputy to this French ambassador, DU MAURIER, to acquaint him with their purpose of employing monf. AERSSENS to Venice, there resting such particular animosity betwixt them two, as could not give way to a visit at his leave-taking. He takes the duke of Savoy in his way back; and at Venice intends three weeks or a month’s stay at most: in all which places he is to govern himself by the rule of his own judgment, as may best tend to the service of the state and the king of Bohemia; in whose preservation they here account their own to consist very much. At Venice he hath a particular instruction to endeavour the obtaining some special freedom in the Gulf for the merchants of these provinces; which notwithstanding he is not to stay to negotiate, if it require time, but is to leave the same to the resident, who shall follow him: which whether it will be an agent or ambassador, is referred to the senate at Venice to determine. But it is likely to be made an embassy, because there are some gentlemen already at Venice in Broglio for the employment.

‘ What monf. BENICHEUSEN hath negotiated in France, and with what contentment he is parted from thence, his majesty, I make no doubt, is sufficiently advertised; yet having met yesterday with a letter of his from Paris to one of his confidants here, containing the whole relation of what passed during his abode in that court, I have rather chosen to send a copy thereof herewith, whereby to give his majesty a clear view of the whole matter, than to minute the same by imperfect abstracts; referring the use thereof to his majesty’s wisdom; lest if here should come knowledge, that I take and send copies of such letters as are communicated unto me (as this was) *sub sigillo*, his majesty’s service may thereby receive prejudice

‘ Contrary



‘ Contrary to the fair language is used by the French to monf. BENICHEUSEN, the opinion is here generally received, that the main scope of that embassage is to bring back the king of Bohemia into his Palatinate; to which effect I have seen these words from a good hand out of the French court: *On tient de deca que l’empereur renvoyera rudement le roy de Bobeme en son electorat, & qu’il lui fera grande grace de la laisser en son ancien patrimoine: de deca l’on desire le conserver en cest estat-la, & en vy en-voye un ambassade celebre.*

‘ What provisions are making in Italy by the king of Spain for the emperor’s succours will appear to your honour by an extract of several letters from those parts; which coming from the ministers of the state of Venice to their resident here may be the more trusted.

‘ I send your honour likewise copies of three letters from BETHLEM GABOR, two to the prince of Anhalt, and the third to the emperor; by which the state of the truce, which hath been so long and so diversely spoken of, betwixt that prince and the emperor is amply expressed. And it seems he is resolved, either to have it general, as well for the king of Bohemia as himself, or to join with the king in prosecution of the war. Mean while there is a general diet held at Prague, with assistance of deputies from all the incorporate provinces, which began the 27th of the last, *stilo novo*. There are likewise embassadors from Hungary, and others were expected at the date of the last letters (the first of this present) from Upper and Lower Alsatia. Mean while the two armies (since the count of Bucquoy’s retreat to Cremb’s, and the prince of Anhalt’s taking in of Reets) remain quiet, attending the issue (which will appear, as is judged, during this assembly of Prague) of the treaty of truce; whether they shall all be comprized therein jointly with BETHLEM GABOR for the space of six months, or break jointly together.

‘ It is advertised hither by the count of Solms from Prague, that a regiment raised in the territories of the bishopric of Colen by one LANTSPERGH for the duke of Bavier, is mutinied in those parts, for lessening their pay; and having cast down their ensigns are gone towards Bohemia.

‘ Here is arrived some few days since from Vienna a Scottish man of good place and reputation in the emperor’s wars (capt. HENRY BRUCE) who hath presented himself unto me, and desired me to make known in his behalf to his majesty, that he hath voluntarily retired himself with good leave of the emperor, because he would not bear arms against his majesty’s son-in-law. He hath served the emperor formerly, when he was duke of Gratz in his wars against the Venetians, when they lay before Gradisca, and was now lately governor of Niclarburg in the confines of Austria and Moravia; whereof the town being taken from him by surprize by the count DE LA TORRE, though he rendered the castle by composition, it is thought his coming away is not altogether voluntary. He was once in service of this state, and well esteemed of; but here he will be no more trusted: for he is a hot papist, and PARSONS the English Jesuit’s books are his chief study. From hence he intends to go directly into Scotland as soon as he can receive certain monies at Amsterdam, which he hath exchanged to a good sum from Vienna, as that, which, he saith, he hath profited in the wars. Now whether he comes, as he pretends, out of the zeal of a good subject, or (as is suspected amongst



amongst his fellow-soldiers) upon disgrace; or (as may be doubted of one who changeth his religion in his old days) employed by Jesuits, whose convert, I hear, he is, I humbly refer to his majesty's judgment. So it is, that I find him a person of that consideration, that deserves his majesty's care what becomes of him.

' Amongst other papers I send your honour a translated extract out of the king of Bohemia's proposition new made at the diet at Prague: of which though I may presume (as of the rest) your honour hath copies, yet I may not fail of my duty upon such a presumption.

' Here have been of late days four several persons apprehended (two at Amsterdam, and two at Delft) upon suspicion of some treasonable practice against the prince of Orange's person: and though by words which have fallen from them, and money found about them (they being otherwise of poor condition), besides certain weapons fit for such a purpose, and their nation considered (they being all Burgugnions or Wallons) some of them have had the torture upon sufficient ground; yet nothing can be proved against them of much moment.

' Here is another of the exiled Arminian ministers brought hither, and put into the common prison for seditious language used at Rees; where being in the territory of the marquis of Brandenburg, he thought himself out of the reach of the authority of this state, having been first at Wesel with recommendation of the chief at Brussels and the duke of Newburgh; but from thence he was thrust by the governor for quietness sake, at the instance of those of the religion; which are in effect the whole body of the inhabitants of that town.

' We have news come yesterday of eighteen pieces of cannon sent to Maestricht; which as yet we know not whether they are to serve for frontier towns, or any attempt.

' The prince of Orange doth intend to go in the beginning of the next month to the assembly of the states of Gueldres, as well to visit those frontiers, as to quicken that province in the payments to the king of Bohemia and princes of the union; wherein not only that province, but Friesland and Groningen likewise, continue very backward. Thus I humbly take leave.'

*May 10.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

' R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

' Long sickness, which hath held me of my wonted gravellous indisposition since my last to your honour of the 15th of April, hath been the cause of my long silence, but now being restored again (I thank God) to better state of health, I would not fail to advertise your honour of the state of these parts.

' The prince of Orange went on Thursday last towards Guelderland, to assist at the assembly of the states of that province, now held at Nimeguen, and to visit those frontiers. There was some question before his departure, who should supply his place here

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in

in his absence; count WILLIAM (who during the late troubles, whilst the prince was abroad, always remained here at the Hague) being still in Friesland; and for this purpose count ERNEST came two days before the prince's departure hither from Utrecht. But the prince, perceiving count HENRY to take unkindness thereat, took a resolution to leave none, so as count ERNEST went immediately back to Utrecht, and count HENRY hath accompanied the prince in his journey, who is otherwise gone with much greater court than ordinary, being to visit his seigneuries in those parts, which he hath not seen since they came to his possession by the death of his brother.

\* In the state we here now remain, without any man of princely quality to command, we are cleared of a doubt, which was bred by the bravados of the Arminian faction, who threatened, that whensoever occasions should draw the prince of Orange and his substitutes from hence, we should see much confusion: but all is in great quietness without any stirring, notwithstanding that here are at the present three of the exiled Arminian ministers in the common prison, PRINCE, GREVIUS, and WEZECHUS; and one GERARDUS ARSENIUS is now bringing hither from Campen; some of which for the opiniatrety and impudency of their answers are in great likelihood to be sent to the *ergasterium* (which they call the tuchthuys) a place of correction, after the nature of Bridewell, at Amsterdam. I have seen certain letters intercepted from UTENBOGARD to these prisoners, whereby he doth encourage them in their stiffness; yet by some of them a discovery is made of a late assembly they, with some others of their faction out of these provinces, held at Antwerp, where a proposition being made amongst them for the better satisfaction of the world, to frame a common confession after their doctrine, it was laid aside upon this reason, that when they came to setting down of articles, they found as many men, so many minds; and therefore thought best to leave all as before, *ad libertatem prophetandi*, lest their disagreement being once manifested, they should lose their friends in these parts: which having written to some of the faction here, as an excuse for not framing a confession, and those letters being intercepted, they will be within few days published in print, whereby to make it appear to the world the endeavours of Arminians tended only to the destruction of religion, without any firm or settled belief of their own.

\* Here is a great volume come out in folio, *Acta Synodi Nationalis, &c. Dordrechtii habitæ*, dedicated by the states general *Orbis Christiani Monarchis ac Regibus, Principibus, Comitibus, &c.* an exemplar whereof will be presented to his majesty within these few days from the states by FESTUS HOMMIUS, one of the scribes of the synod, who, having private businesses in England, hath obtained the commission of the states for his better countenance. Mean time your honour may please to accept one of these books, which was sent me yesterday from the states general. The Arminians at Antwerp have printed as great a volume of their doings at Dort, the publication whereof is forbidden in these provinces.

\* The French ambassador, mons. DU MAURIER, hath made a very sharp complaint by letter to the states general against a pamphlet, which was here lately published in the French language, of the reasons and considerations, why the Grisons will no longer permit any ambassador to reside in their state; wherein GEFFIER and MIRON, the French ambassadors with the Grisons and the Swiss, are particularly decyphered as instruments.



instruments for the Spaniards to put those countries into combustion: and monf. DU MAURIER himself is touched for his correspondence with GEFFIER. The book is called in upon his complaint.

‘ The states understand from their embassador at Paris, and monf. DU MAURIER doth likewise let fall as much unto them, that their extraordinary embassage shall have good welcome in that court, so as fit choice be made of the persons.

‘ The French embassador at Venice, monf. DE LEON, is revoked, and though he hath been long upon his departure from thence, it is thought he is now called away the more willingly (and so it is advertised from monf. LANGERACK at Paris) whereby to avoid the visiting of monf. AERSSSENS at his arrival at Venice; where that state hath chosen signor GIROLAMO TREVISAN, a principal senator, one of the *savii de consiglio*, extraordinary embassador to these provinces.

‘ In my last I advertised your honour of monf. AERSSSENS divers commissions; from whom nothing is yet understood, save only that he arrived well at Heidelberg. In the whole course of his embassage he hath especial charge from his masters to further the affairs of the king of Bohemia and the princes of the union. But this being in general terms, and particularities referred to his discretion, though he be a man of great abilities, he is like to be put to the trial of his best sufficiency in his return by the duke of Savoy, whom he is like to find (as I am advertised out of these parts) in a doubtful deliberation, and a resolution either to marry his daughter (the dowager of Mantua) to the emperor, or himself to the princes of the union. Now it is very likely, according to his wonted artifice in the carriage of affairs, that he will serve himself of monf. AERSSSENS’s coming unto him for his advantage one way or the other, as his affection shall then lead him; and lest by any overtures, which may be made unto him by monf. AERSSSENS, he may seek to value himself to the emperor and the king of Spain, by shewing what he doth refuse in their contemplation, I have advised the states greffier, who hath commandment to hold correspondence with AERSSSENS in cypher, to give him warning not to suffer any thing to pass his hand in writing, and for discourse there will be no great danger.

‘ The king of Swede hath commanded his embassador here, VANDIKE, to make a journey to him, whither he is now going, and the states have earnestly recommended unto him the affairs of the king of Bohemia; in the prosperity of which they make him understand how much the king his master is interested.

‘ The deputation from hence to the Hans-towns, which was suspended upon news of the referring the difference betwixt the duke of Lunenburg and the town of Hamburg to compromise, is now again set forwards, here being come a secretary of the town of Lubeck expressly to the states to desire them to hasten away their deputies, who going several ways are to meet at Groningen on Tuesday next, and from thence do set forward together. Their employment, both in regard of those that require them, and those which send them, hath, for aught I can gather, chiefly aspects to the king of Denmark, who, having sent into the river of Elbe three ships of war, and begun his fort over-against Stade, doth intend to make himself master of that river;



he having divers quarrels to those of Hamburg; but those he now chiefly pretends are two: first, that that town hath fought in the chamber of the empire to free itself from the acknowledgment of his protection, to which it hath always been subject; and next, that there hath been endeavour used, and now very near brought to effect by means of that town, to make certain taglias and sluices betwixt the rivers of the Oder and the Elbe, whereby to conduct the merchandize of Poland, Brandenburg, and those Upper Countries, into the ocean, without passing the Sound; which would lose the king of Denmark very much in the customs, which he doth erect upon that place. His great levies, of which here was much speech, prove only some of his nobility and gentry, which he hath put on horseback, and some few troops of foot, which he draws down to the place, where he intends his new fort.

‘ The levy required here of 600 horse and 1600 foot for the princes of the union is in the end granted, though with many difficulties; and the rendezvous appointed *au pais de la Marque*; where men will not be wanting, because the payment from hence is sure.

‘ The opinion here of the great levies on the archduke’s side (of which his majesty is advertised from Brussels) is, that it is to the catholic league of Germany. Yet here hath been within these two days a man of gravity and judgment from the archduke’s side, who saith with much confidence, that not only the speech of those levies, but the building of certain forts, and likewise the arrest of rents and divers sales of land on the archduke’s side belonging to the inhabitants of these provinces, which amount to a million of florins, do only tend to drive the states from their reservedness in the business of renewing the truce; wherein the Spaniards would enforce an overture from hence. But here is no inclination to be the first movers, for fear of new and hard conditions, which may be proposed; though I find they will be ready enough to give ear, when they may be spoken unto in the same language the truce was first framed.

‘ The last advertisement out of Bohemia of the conclusion of the general diet, wherein the confederation betwixt that kingdom and Hungary with the rest of these United Provinces is solemnly ratified, gives here much comfort of the success of those affairs, which they account here better assured by the election of the young prince, as successor to the king of Bohemia: which shews their affections not to be personal, but tied to the house of the electoral Palatinate; and that now they must endow a perpetual fortune together: wherein I cannot but with much comfort advertise, that this state doth hold on a constant course for that king’s service. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

P. S. In sir DUDLEY CARLETON’S OWN HAND.

‘ The states of Holland’s extraordinary provision for guard of their fishers, I find, doth cease; and they send out no more this season than their wonted number of men of war.

‘ Capt.

‘ Capt. HENRY BRUCE (of whom I advertised your honour in my last) hath changed his purpose of going from hence directly into Scotland, being gone yesterday towards England.

‘ Your honour will receive herewith letters to my lord marquis Buckingham, and mr. secretary CALVERT, in answer of such, as I had lately from them.’

May 14. States general to king JAMES I, in Latin, with a present of a copy of the acts of the synod at Dort, sent by FESTUS HOMMIUS.

May 19. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ The time of the prince of Orange’s return from his journey into Guelderland being uncertain, by reason that he hath taken a resolution to visit Breda, where he will have a very solemn reception, as being his chief feat, and few of the states being here present, all the deputies of four of the provinces being retired to their particular assemblies, I cannot make your honour any direct answer to that point of your honour’s letter of the 5th of this present, which concerns the duke of Savoy. But I have these reasons to believe, that his motion to be allied to this state, if it be really meant, will be readily embraced; first, because in general they do here gladly adhere to those that profess opposition unto Spain, yea though they be of a contrary religion: and of this their new confederation with Venice is a proof, which is chiefly built upon that ground: and next, by reason of the particular assistance this state gave the duke of Savoy in the time of his late wars with the governor of Milan; first, by permitting and furthering a levy of horse for the duke’s service under the command of count JOHN DE NASSAU: and lastly, by giving him a monthly aid of money to the same proportion they do at this present allow the princes of the union; of which, before the conclusion of the peace, and rendering of Vercelli, part was received here by his agent the senator DE MONTOU. These I hold as infallible proofs of the inclination of this state to that prince; the same reasons of state being still in force, and so much more, by how much that prince is amended in his condition; for he, that finds a friend, as he did of this state, *in re incertâ*, need not doubt of the like affections being in prosperity.

‘ Touching the reforming of monies, and reducing their true valuations to his majesty’s, wherein your honour desires to know how far they are gone, I can advertise nothing to give his majesty contentment, here being in that point great disorder and confusion; for the placart, which was published in February 1619 at his majesty’s instance, whereby a double abatement was to be made of most coins both gold and silver, the first presently after the publishing of the said placart, and the second the last of May following, hath been from two months to two months still suspended by the states: and so is now again this present month of May, with toleration of the monies after the rate of the first abatement. For example, a Jacobus piece, which was current before the placart at twelve guilders, was reduced by the said placart by way of provision to eleven guilders ten stivers; and at the end of May following should have had a second abatement to ten guilders sixteen stivers: but by reason of suspending the placart from two months to two months it doth still  
rest



rest at eleven guilders ten stivers; but not so in course of merchandize; for it is ordinarily current at eleven guilders sixteen stivers, and within a few days will come again to the highest rate of twelve guilders. This I know to be against the mind of many of the states, and of their *generaux des monnoyes*, who being called to council heretofore for reformation of this disorder, have advised them to proportion their coins both gold and silver to the use and alloy of his majesty, as those which of all others are least subject to abuse. But they excuse themselves upon their neighbours eastward, chiefly upon Dantzick and Koningsberg, from whom the coins, that come in great quantity to Amsterdam, do disorder that place; and that, as most merchandable, the rest of all these provinces.

‘ Here is newly discovered a notable cabal of coiners, who practised that trade for almost three years space, and sent their monies (which are chiefly Dutch dollars) to all parts of the world; some of which were sent back in vessels from Frankfort to Amsterdam, by which the falsehood was first found out. The chief workman was one BALTHASAR GERARD (a name well known by him who killed the late prince of Orange) who is escaped; but his son and a servant are taken in this town, where their coining instruments are found. They confessed one BARON a bankrupt merchant of Amsterdam; and he being taken and put upon torture hath accused STRICK, resident with this state for the marquis of Brandenburg, who, being apprehended at Amsterdam, and put into the common prison, hath confessed his two brothers, one who was knighted by his majesty, and another a captain lately in the state of Venice, as participants. These two last are fled, and two merchants of Amsterdam suspected to have part therein are likewise gone out of the way. The names of some principal persons are brought upon the stage, as having part in their foul practice; as the burgomaster PAW of Amsterdam, and VANDIKE the king of Sweden’s ambassador. But the first of these is thought to be calumniated by his enemies upon this ground only, that he, being burgomaster, suffered the matter to run so long without discovery. The other doth suffer in his reputation for his friendship with STRICK; and being a man within these few years known to be much indebted, hath within these few days made a purchase to a great value of a seignieury here in Holland: but proofs against either of these two I do not hear of any, nor so much as direct accusations. STRICK doth plead the privilege of a public minister; but it is not like to save his life in a crime of this nature *læsæ majestatis*, especially being a native, and subject to these provinces.

‘ Here is to be an assembly the 3d of this next month *stilo novo* of the judges of BARNEVELT and the rest of his accomplices, to determine the point, whether the crime, upon which they were condemned, was *crimen læsæ majestatis*; for that being not specified in their sentence, until it be declared, there cannot be any proceeding in their confiscation.

‘ We are in danger here to suffer a great loss by the death of count WILLIAM, who sickened of an apoplexy on Saturday last about the evening, and was speechless until Monday morning, when the last news came from Leeuwarden. Only when the states of Friesland came to visit him, he was able to answer *yea* and *no*. The last letter I had from him I send your honour herewith, as that, which is worth his majesty’s perusing for



for the good affection he sheweth therein to the preservation of the Palatinate. I pray God it prove not *cygnea cantio*.

‘ This very day I have letters of the 7th of this present from the king of Denmark and sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER, dated at Cremp in Holfatia, by the hand of the king’s agent with this state, ADRIAN STRICK, now newly returned; by whose report, as likewise by sir ROBERT’s letter, I find that the king doth frame to himself certain jealousies against this state, as if from hence he should be hindered in the building of his new town; and that to this purpose here should be ships of war prepared to send into the Elbe. Whereupon sir ROBERT doth write, that the king doth suspend giving him satisfaction in that which he requires in his majesty’s name for assistance of his friends in Germany, as unwilling to disfurnish himself of means to defend himself, if he should be assailed. Wherein sir ROBERT doth desire of me to clear the king of his doubts by advertising him of the truth of the states preparations: and that can I very well do, and so do intend within these two days, when the king’s agent doth undertake to send my letters, here being to my knowledge not so much as a shallop prepared for any such purpose; only the states commissioners (according as I advertised your honour in my last dispatch) are gone to Lubeck about the difference betwixt the duke of Lunenburg and the town of Hamburg; as likewise to take informations of the king of Denmark’s proceedings, who having two ships of war in the Elbe, they are there so placed and anchored, that no ships or boats can pass but betwixt them, and under their command; and if they do not strike sail as they pass, and give account of their cargason, they shoot at them, and make them pay dear for the powder. This hitherto tends only to an acknowledgement of sovereignty and jurisdiction; but it is thought it will quickly come to a taxation; and therefore the king may by that means draw that offence upon himself from this state and the Hans-towns for the wonted freedom of navigation in that river, which otherwise was not, and I am well assured is not yet intended. The town of Hamburg, which is chiefly interested, hath raised 500 horse and 3000 foot, and hath put in readines six or seven ships of war; but being on the one side molested by the duke of Lunenburg, and on the other by the king of Denmark, knoweth not which way to turn itself. This difference doth fall out very unhappily for the affairs of Germany, but much to the advantage of the catholic league; which, besides their own strength and union, have the help of this division of their opposites in religion.

‘ The states have given order for the levy of 4000 men to supply their garrisons, which were wont to go under the title of wackgilders: but because the Arminians have made that name odious, they now stile them *garnisen-boldiers*, *gens tenants garnison*, they being to serve to that purpose; whilst, according to the moving of the archduke’s troops, they may draw their army into the field. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

‘ All trade is stopt at Hamburg, as the states agent with the Hans-towns doth advertise his masters; and there is great jealousy of the remove of the English merchants, whose deputy hath been lately with the king of Denmark.’

May

May 23. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ The packet, which goeth herewith directed to the baron DHONA, being earnestly recommended unto me from Heidelberg, as that which specially concerns his majesty’s service and the king of Bohemia, I would not fail to dispatch an expresse messenger therewith, and upon that occasion advertise your honour what we have here from all parts since my last of the 19th of this present.

‘ Monf. AERSSENS hath advertised his masters by letters from Stutgard of the 19th of this present, *stilo novo*, that having spoken with the duke of Deux ponts, the marquis of Anspach, and the duke of Wirtemberg, according to his instructions, of strengthening them in their union amongst themselves, and good affection to the king of Bohemia, and received from them all good contentment in their answer, he was to be set forward the day following on his journey through Swisserland. That those princes do expect the French embassador, with a firm belief, that the king their master would not change his father’s maxims in seeking to break the union, the framing of which cost him much money and care; but on the contrary, that he would seek the confirmation thereof for the better safety of his own person and kingdoms. That the marquis of Anspach did then assemble all the troops of the union, with intention speedily to march towards Bavier, to observe the motion of that prince and the catholic league, now they have their greatest strength assembled together. That the passage of Brisack is open, and 1500 horse lodged in the town, the marquis of Baden being too weak to make resistance, and the princes of the union not finding it good to raise any fort in the territory belonging to the house of Austria whereby to hinder the passage; which might give subject of complaint, as if they were the first aggressors. That the 21st of this month, O. S. there should be an assembly of the union held at Heidelberg, there to resolve of the direction of their affairs, of the authorisation of a general, of means for the maintaining of the war, and of the reception of the French embassadors. He concluded, that the strength of the union is small, their means very scant, their towns unused to lodge soldiers, and scarcity enough of every thing before the war begins. He was intreated by the princes to further their affairs with the Venetians, and to endeavour to hinder the passage of the Spanish forces through Swisserland: which is to small purpose, since we hear the duke of Savoy hath given them passage through his country.

‘ I have seen an advertisement from a good hand from Zurich, that the marquis of Baden having prest the protestant cantons for a succour of 2000 Swiss, according to the confederation betwixt them, for the defence of his country, the same was hindered by the joint endeavours of the French and Spanish embassadors, resident with the cantons: which shews what judgment to make of the proceeding of France, contrary to that which monf. AERSSENS doth advertise of the hopes of the princes of the union; since all the ministers of that crown draw their instructions from the same fountain.

‘ Monf. DE BREDERODE doth advertise from Heidelberg, by letters of the 22d of this present, *stilo novo*, that the count of Mansfield is retired from before Budwitz,  
I and



and marched towards Austria with 7000 men, whither the prince of Anhalt and the count of Hollock are both gone to the army, with intention to assail the Imperialists before new forces can be there arrived. That there is advertisement from Leipzig, that the duke of Saxe hath taken advice in that university, whether it be not lawful for the evangelical princes and towns to assist the emperor against the Bohemians; and that negative was there concluded: whereupon the duke was much troubled, doubting some alteration in his state upon his declaration of himself for the emperor. That the chamber of Spire had sent to Heidelberg, the 21st of this present, *stilo novo*, another huissier to make a second insinuation of the emperor's monitorial: but because it is unusual to make such insinuations in the state of any prince before he be heard in his own defence, the huissier was commanded without any communication or publication of his monitorial to go out of the Palatinate; which was accordingly seen effected by one of the messengers of that chancery.

‘ Monf. LANGERACK hath written again out of France to move his masters to send their extraordinary embassy, assuring them, that all former distastes are laid aside; and that whomsoever they shall think fit to employ, will be well accepted, save only monf. AERSSENS and monf. MARQUET.

‘ VAN HAGA, the states ambassador at Constantinople, hath written hither, by letters of the 9th of April, that the king of Poland's ambassador is refused access and audience with the grand signor, notwithstanding that the emperor's ambassador doth use all the best means he can in his favour, and that the ambassadors of the prince of Transylvania are dispatcht from Constantinople with all contentment.

‘ By the extracts of letters out of Italy, which I send herewith, your honour will see the provisions of money and other preparations made for the transport of the Spanish forces, which are to come into Burgundy; as likewise the resolution of the senate of Venice for the extraordinary good treatment of monf. AERSSENS.

‘ I have obtained a sight of his secret instructions, how he is to govern himself with the duke of Savoy; wherein, in few words, he hath order, first to endeavour to quicken his affections towards the king of Bohemia; and then to sound how his intention lies to this state; whether, according to occasions, they may promise themselves any assistance of him, as in his necessity they were ready to succour him by an aid of money, which they let him know they would not have ceased, in case he had continued his wars. By this his majesty may plainly see how this state stands affected to that prince, and how opportunely any encouragement his majesty will be pleased to give him, if it be sent in time, will meet with monf. AERSSENS's negotiation.

‘ Here is a servant from the duke of Feria, governor of Milan, who is a fuitor to the states to transport for his master's use out of these provinces twenty-five horse and mares; in which difficulty is made, but licence will be granted upon caution, that they are for no other purpose but the duke's private service. This messenger seems a man of better observation than would be expected of one of his condition; and being familiar in the two marquis's houses at Bruffels, Spinola, and Bedmar, he hath here related to some of his countrymen, that the intent of the new levies on the archduke's



side is to lodge about Colen, and in those parts, whereby to have commodity towards the end of the summer to cast themselves into the Palatinatè; and in the mean time to bridle this state from sending succours into Germany; as well by lying on their passage, as likewise by the apprehension they will have of the siege of Juliers, for which those forces will lie no less opportunely: which being added to the old troops, and those that are expected now out of Italy, he doth calculate the whole army of the archduke to amount to 40,000 foot and 6000 horse. This notwithstanding, he saith they desire nothing more on that side than to have news of the renewing the truce.

‘ The states of Holland have by promise of impunity gotten back BALTHASAR GERRARD (the coiner, of whom I advertised your honour in my last) from Antwerp, whither he was fled; and here he is secretly in this town. But now here is a question between the states and the town of Amsterdam in the proceeding with the prisoners, whom the states require to have sent from Amsterdam hither: but those of Amsterdam stand upon their privilege to have the trial of the cause in that town; which makes a great rumour, that some of the chief there do it with an intention to suppress the accusations, which were thought will touch in the end some men of quality. Else could not so great a quantity of money be coined and dispersed through all the world for so long time together as is reported. Amongst other coins they have made a great quantity of groffes (a small money bearing the stamp of the elector of Brandenburg, and distributed to the eastern countries; which is imputed to his agent STRICK, as a double falshood; and it is now come to light, that his father (who died not long since after his return from his embassage into Prussia) was the first instrument of bringing VORSTIUS into this country, to coin a new religion, for which God doth now punish him in his posterity.

‘ The count WILLIAM hath recovered his speech, and some sense on that side which was chiefly taken; so as his physicians make good judgment of his life; though they doubt of his being ever restored again to strength. Thus I humbly take leave; &c.’

*June 2.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ I have spoken with the prince of Orange since his return touching the duke of Savoy’s motion to his majesty of entering into alliance with this state and the princes of the union; who hath taken time for answer until he may speak with some of the states, who are yet abroad, but daily expected here at the Hague. Mean time, by what I understood of the prince by way of discourse, I am much confirmed in the reasons I gave your honour of the states inclination touching the subject in my letters of the 19th of the last. But the business is now no secret; for BREDERODE the states embassador at Heidelberg hath advertised his masters by his last letters of the 29th of the duke’s intention, whereof he makes an ill judgment, as if the duke would intermix himself with the protestant princes and states, whereby to undermine their counsels, and ruin their affairs. But he is a man very passionate and wedded to antient jealousies; and therefore his opinion of the duke will little hinder the acceptance of his offer, in case he proceed roundly.

‘ I have

‘ I have written to sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER, and given him sufficient subject to abuse the king of Denmark in the jealousy he conceives against this state: whereupon he excused his furnishing of money to his majesty’s friends, as if he should have need of all his strength for his own defence, here being no imaginable preparations, nor so much as an intention to hinder him in fortifying the town which he hath now in hand upon the Elbe. But hereof at the return of the states, which are now absent, I hope to be able to give the king himself more certain assurance. Mean while I find his agent hath with the prince of Orange under great secrecy made the like overture, as now comes from the duke of Savoy, of entering into alliance with this state; the managing whereof he referreth to the prince, to have it done with the king’s reputation, as being sought first by the states. But the agent speaks yet of no condition; only he expresseth the king’s good inclination to the alliance, and this only to the prince of Orange, and one of the states, with whom this agent useth confidence.

‘ The packet I received from your honour with your letters of the 13th of the last, addressed to the king of Denmark, I sent on Tuesday last by his agent’s means, who undertakes it shall be safely and speedily delivered.

‘ I will not fail to make the truth known of capt. NORTH’s disobedient departure, when I shall have any question made thereof: but yet I do not find, that the matter is otherwise understood amongst these men, than as they find it already published by his majesty’s proclamation.

‘ Though here there have been divers jealousies of the designs of the Spanish army now preparing on the archduke’s side, as one while, that they will attempt Cleves, another while Embden, the most settled opinion is, that these levies tend to the strengthening of the catholic league in Germany. In all event the prince of Orange prepares an army likewise for the field: and the levy of 4000 garrison-holders (as they call them) to keep the country in devotion, is now in hand.

‘ In the assembly of the states of Guelderland, which is fully ended, they have taken a resolution for the continuing of the succours of the king of Bohemia, and the princes of the union, until the end of August next: and, in regard the states of that province assemble but once a year, have authorized certain deputies to proceed farther at the expiration of that time, according as they shall see occasion. For the West-Indian company (which, having past the assent of the states general, is now to have the approbation of their principals), and certain other propositions of sending extraordinary embassages to France and to his majesty, with such like, tending to the settling their affairs abroad, as now they find themselves in some good repose at home, that province hath given a full consent to concur with the rest: and the greatest difficulties having been suspected there, where the charge by reason of their poverty doth lie most heavy, of the rest there is the less doubt. Yet count WILLIAM’s sickness comes very unseasonably for Friesland and Groningen; which provinces he by his authority as governor kept in good disposition, though otherwise they are backward of themselves in any manner of extraordinary contribution. Of that noble count there is small hope of full recovery, either to strength of mind or body, considering his age and other accidents;



accidents; besides his principal sickness, which notwithstanding continueth still to mitigate, as his physicians advertise.

‘ Here is a French gentleman, one BELLEAUJUIN, belonging to the mareschal DESDIGUIERES, sent hither about reconciling difficulties betwixt the prince of Condé and the prince of Orange, touching the testament of the late prince of Orange. He found the prince at Nimeguen, and remains here still without farther business, for any thing I can yet learn; howsoever that mons. LANGERACK hath advertised, that he hath private instructions to sound the states how they stand affected to the renewing of the truce. Only I understand he hath let the prince of Orange and some of the states know from the mareschal DESDIGUIERES, and other chief persons in that court, that the extraordinary embassy from hence shall be well accepted; and therefore he adviseth the sending may not be prolonged. But till the assembly of the states of Holland, which will not be till towards the end of this month, nothing can be resolved, either concerning that embassy, or the other intended to his majesty.

‘ The crime of the coiners (of which I advertised your honour) is much lessened by those who had the matter in examination at Amsterdam, who say, that the two brothers, the STRICKS, were but newly entered into the trade, having only furnished unto BALTHASAR GERRARD and another companion of his, who is escaped, money, wherewith to buy the instruments, and to make certain petty coins of half value, whereof they had already coined some quantity. But GERRARD confesseth their intent was to have coined Jacobus pieces; and that for that purpose he was framing the stamps. STRICK the knight is taken at Cleves, and demanded to be sent hither; but the elector of Brandenburg’s council excuse themselves until they know their master’s pleasure. The states hereupon have sent a second time, desiring to have him sent, only to be confronted, in that by a letter to the states he denieth all upon great execrations, and offering himself to punishment: and his brother in his examination confesses all, accusing the knight for the chief instrument.

‘ On Saturday last the sentence against BARNEVELT was explained by his judges, according to the translate I send your honour; wherein, *rotundis verbis* and with the full number of voices, they declare him to have committed *crimen læsæ majestatis*.

‘ I send your honour the translate of another sentence against one of the Arminian ministers, who is condemned for his life-time to the ergasterium, which they call here the *tucht-buys* at Amsterdam, where (as a special grace, because he confessed willingly) he shall be exempt from labour, and have the liberty of his books in a small cell. To the same house a Jesuit was lately condemned by the magistrates of that town, for debauching a woman, and separating her from her husband as unlawfully married, because she was a papist and he a protestant. Thus do the Jesuits and Arminians meet at Amsterdam, as UTENBOGARD and his companions have their chief conversation with the Jesuits at Antwerp: but their emissaries will have small comfort and encouragement in their employments now they see how roundly they are dealt with; for one more (WESEKUS one of the *citati* at Dort) is sent to the like house at Harlem, there to be subject to the same labour and correction as others, unless he answer



to interrogatories, wherein he hath been very obstinate and perverse: but, seeing whither and to what work he was going, he begins to yield, and commission is sent to Harlem to take his examination.

‘ Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

‘ P. S. At the closing hereof understand, that BELLEAUJVIN is departed this afternoon with this project of a composition betwixt the prince of Orange and the prince of Condé, for the satisfaction of all that belongs to the late prince’s testament and codicil; that the prince of Orange is to pay the prince of Condé 100,000 florins presently; 100,000 florins within the space of a year following; and to give him one of the richest suits of hangings belonging to the late prince, and the curiosities of a certain cabinet, which were collected by the princefs.

‘ Here is a copy of a letter sent out of France, as written by mons. AERSSENS to a correspondent of his at Paris before his departure from the Hague; wherein are many *trais de plume*, some flouting the Venetians, as pantalons; others the states as unworthy persons, and as if no man were of consideration in this state, but the prince of Orange and himself. Whether this letter be true or counterfeit, hangs in suspense, until it be known what he says: but mean time it goeth from hand to hand much to his disgrace.

‘ Thus I rest, &c.

‘ This I send your honour, to the end you may perceive, that howsoever the messenger did unfortunately miscarry, I failed not of my duty, who ever rest your honour’s, &c.’

June 12. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ Most of the states being returned from their several provinces, and the prince of Orange having spoken with the chief of them touching the overture made by the duke of Savoy, and the jealousy conceived by the king of Denmark, he lets me understand his opinion of the first, that if the duke hath a mind to proceed therein, it will be here willingly embraced; and his knowledge of the latter, that it is without any cause or ground, in that the states are so far from preparation, that they never had it so much as in discourse to molest the king in his building upon the Elbe: whereupon he hath desired me to beseech his majesty to quicken the duke of Savoy in his good intention, as that which doth much import the common good; and to free the king of Denmark from any such suspicion, as may divert him from concurring with his majesty in protection of both their majesties friends and allies in Germany: which accordingly I have done yesterday by letters both to the king himself and to sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER, and by his agent have farther let him know what I find of the inclination of this state, that it is so far from using hostility with his majesty, that they will readily lend an ear to some strict terms of amity; concerning which I do call to mind the seeds, which were first sown by his majesty some while since, of which

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I do conceive the mutual inclination, which now appears both in that king and this state, to be fruits, which by good handling may be brought before long to better maturity.

‘ Being in discourse with his excellency upon these matters, your honour’s letters of the 29th of the last came to my hands; and his excellency having received dispatches at the same time, we had both leisure to read our letters, and I fit commodity to acquaint him more at length with all circumstances of the judgment his majesty makes so particularly and exactly of the differences betwixt that king and this state; wherein he endeavoured to excuse the proceedings of this state with the gentle word of misunderstandings, and shewed a very great affection to give his majesty contentment, not only in removing all subject of complaint on that king’s side, but farther in advancing the alliance now in speech betwixt them, hoping that king will conform himself thereunto, by removing the impediment which is given by his ships of war upon the Elbe, which breed great distaste in this state and the Hans-towns, by reason of molestation of trade, on which this state and those towns do chiefly consist.

‘ Amongst other advices his excellency had then newly received, this was one, that the Hans-towns, upon the alarm they took at those ships, and other preparations of the king, had recalled the count of Solmes, their general, and other commanders in their pay, which were now in the service of the union, whereby those princes are very much prejudiced.

‘ I acquainted his excellency at that time likewise with the outrages of the Hollanders upon his majesty’s subjects in the East-Indies, the men they had slain, the ships and goods taken by open hostility, and their shameful speeches and actions in contempt of his majesty: of all which he was very sensible, but made doubt whether it were possible that they could have news of the accord betwixt the two companies. Howsoever he concluded, that restitution must be duly made of goods to the merchants, and reparation of honour to his majesty: wherein I hope to find the states no less well inclined, intending this next week, when mons. GOGH is to be president (who best understands this matter), to demand audience of them in their assembly.

‘ I thought fit to let his excellency know likewise his majesty’s care of the preservation of the Palatinate by the express embassy he intends to send to those princes, which seem to threaten the same with their extraordinary levies: whereof he approved very much, and doubted not of good effect, so they may be countenanced with the reputation of his majesty’s royal assistance to the princes of the union; to which purpose three express deputies of the states general have been newly with me, to let me know the great preparations of the Spaniard (of which his majesty is particularly advertised from Brussels) and the judgment that is universally made, that he will assail the Palatinate; beseeching his majesty in his wisdom to consider the danger of his son-in-law’s patrimonial estate, and with his power to prevent it.

‘ That motion they made to me I did let them know I had express order from his majesty within these few days by your honour’s letters to make to them; so as I found both



both his majesty and themselves did concur in the same affection; and they having an army here always in readiness, might best upon all occasions put their good intentions in execution: wherein I find them sufficiently forward as far as can concur with the safety of their own country: but all the force they can possibly make to draw into the field, by reason of their necessity to leave garrison, not only in their frontiers, but their inland Arminian towns, is 120 companies of foot, which will be betwixt seven and eight thousand men: and the whole body of their horse, which are about 2400. These will be choice men, but of themselves not able to do much, considering the great strength of the Spaniards, who (as they are here advertised) intend to have two armies, one commanded by the marquis Spinola, which is to march into Germany; the other by don LEWIS de Velasco, which is to keep the states army *en bride*.

‘ Upon large discourse I have had with his excellency this morning, first of the design of the enemy, and next of the effectual means to assist our friends, I find him very unsettled in his judgment of the one, and his resolution of the other: but his conceit is of the first (wherein he concurs with the opinion of some others of the chief here), that because the Spaniards will not suddenly irritate his majesty in assailing the Palatinate, they will first possess themselves of Francfort, and such other Imperial towns which are thereabouts, under the title of execution of the Imperial ban; and being once settled in those parts, they will cut the sinews of all correspondence betwixt the princes of the union and the Imperial towns, and make themselves masters of the states of the one and freedoms of the other at pleasure.

‘ In the point of assistance he doth what he can by counsel, having written this last night to the princes to draw three or four thousand horse from the king of Bohemia, and to the king to supply himself of as many from the prince of Transylvania; which he conceives may be done, being advertised from Prague, that the king hath sent back 6000 of the Transylvanian horse, as having no need of them in the Bohemian army against the Imperialists. To these may be added from hence the horse of this state and a certain number of musketeers in waggons, according as was designed the last summer. But the meeting of these troops is a matter of great uncertainty; and though it should succeed as is proposed, will be no other than a *camp volant*, rather fit to molest the enemy, than to protect our friends.

‘ Upon speech of a levy of 4000 men intended to be made by his majesty for defence of the Palatinate, I have heard a discourse made by a judicious person of a more solid way of proceeding; he conceiving, that his majesty might be induced upon consideration of the importance of the cause, in that *summa rerum* is now in question, to augment these 4000 to 6000, and joining these to the states army, to make stay likewise of those 600 horse and 1600 foot, which are now raising in Markland with the states money for the princes. These joined together will make an army of 16,000 foot and 3000 horse, sufficient to wait upon the marquis Spinola’s army, and make head to him in all parts; and thereby hinder his attempting any of the free towns, or invading any of the princes countries; whilst the princes army in the mean time will be sufficient to entertain the duke of Bavier and his associates; so as the king of Bohemia will be left upon more even terms (having his patrimonial country preserved).



to try the fortune of what God hath sent him by election. This is but discourse, yet upon so good appearance of reason, that I thought it not unworthy the advertisement.

‘ The prince of Orange did insist much, if he could attain to a royal army, upon the point of diversion; which must be either in the archduke’s countries, or upon the churchmen’s estate in Germany. But the first of these he doth despair of, in regard he conceives his majesty will be careful of preservation of his peace with Spain, as the states will be of their truce. The latter he accounteth more feasible, esteeming Colen and Leige as little defensible as Francfort: but this is rather a common speech than a just defence.

‘ There is much doubt the French troops in this service will have commandment out of France not to stir, in case the states army should march towards Germany; for the disaffection of that crown to the princes is manifested by what was practised by the French ambassadors now gone into Germany in their passage through Strasburg, where they endeavoured (as the states ambassador doth advertise his masters from Heidelberg) by all means of persuasions to make that town relinquish their confederation with the princes, as a thing very prejudicial unto them both for cost and danger.’

IN SIR DUDLEY CARLETON’S OWN HAND.

‘ Being gone thus far on Saturday night late, I have held my messenger until this Monday morning, in expectation of our letters out of Germany; by which we understand from Prague, that the two armies in Austria sit still looking one upon another, both in little better estate than mutiny for want of pay: and from Colen, that the passage of Brisac (which was again disputed by the marquis Dourlach) is finally set open, and part of the Leopold’s army already past without molestation.

‘ By an extract of letters from Zurich and Milan your honour will perceive here the French and Spaniards draw in one line still amongst the Grisons; by which judgment may be made of their doings elsewhere; and how preparations being chiefly made by Spain for these parts, this (whatsoever it prove) which is conducted by the marquis Spinola, is a Spanish business, howsoever it be covered with the name of the emperor.

‘ The letter I mentioned in the postscript of my last being since come to my hands, I find it was dated at Heidelberg, not (as was then related unto me) at the Hague: and because it doth stir no small envy and hatred against a man of so much consideration in this state, I send your honour a copy thereof. *Nemo leditur nisi à seipso*: and though there is small doubt of his disavowing it, yet the stile, contexture, and conceits thereof are too much his to be put upon any other man.

‘ Count WILLIAM died the 19th day of his sickness, when those about him promised most of his recovery. His letter to me, which I sent your honour with my former dispatch, was the last he wrote; so as, being *sermo morientis*, and of a man of so great wisdom and experience, it merits so much the more regard. There is much doubt  
who

who shall succeed him in his government of Friesland and Groningen, betwixt the prince of Orange (who, if he have those, will be absolute governor of all the United Provinces.) But that will raise jealousy, besides the inconvenience of having those parts governed by deputies. Count HENRY and Count ERNEST are both pretenders, and many of those states seek to keep the government in their own hands; which cannot be without much confusion amongst themselves and disservice to the state.

‘ Touching myself and the German employment, it is sufficient both for my honour and contentment to be had in consideration amongst the rest of his majesty’s well deserving servants, for a business of such weight and consequence. And here I shall remain with no less willingness than I should have embraced that commission, esteeming myself always best employed where his majesty is best pleased with my service. So I humbly take leave, &c.

‘ I take the boldness to inclose in your honour’s packet one to my lord marquis of Buckingham.’

*June 14.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON’s to the KING.

‘ May it please your majesty.

‘ As long as the great levies made jointly by the emperor, the king of Spain, the pope, and the catholic league of Germany (which have for some months past given a fearful alarm to all your majesty’s friends and allies in these parts) were only in preparation, I have advertised your majesty by other hands what from time to time hath come to my knowledge, without giving your majesty the trouble of my usual dispatches. But now they are ready to enter into action, I take the boldness to present to your majesty’s own view what hath passed these three days past in this subject betwixt those of the states deputies and myself.

‘ On Monday night late, having been the whole day in council and in communication with the prince of Orange, they came unto me in the name of their assembly, to put a question unto me what I could inform them of your majesty’s intention in succouring your majesty’s allies and theirs in Germany, particularly the Palatinate, now most in danger; to the end they might govern themselves accordingly. I had not much to answer, save only what I had understood of your majesty’s former intention to send ambassadors into Germany to join with the French in pacification of those troubles; and now newly of your majesty’s purpose of sending first to those princes, which seem to threaten the Palatinate with their extraordinary levies. This they approved, so as the embassy might be countenanced with an army: otherwise they doubted of the effect; and thereupon desired me to advertise your majesty of the strength of the two Spanish armies, one of about 20,000 foot and 4,000 horse, which is to be at the rendezvous in Luxemburg at the end of this month, and so march towards Germany under the conduct of the marquis SPINOLA before the midst of the next: the other under the command of Don LEWIS DE VELASCO (the strength whereof is not known, but by conjecture of the number of the old troops) which is to wait upon the states army, in case it should draw to a head upon SPINOLA’s marching. Their intention, they said, was good, and their resolution ready to assist the princes, and

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particularly the Palatinate, according as in your majesty's name I had formerly desired them, for the preservation of your majesty's son-in-law in his patrimonial inheritance and countries; to the end your majesty might the more easily procure the pacification you intend. But the princes in Germany being too weak of themselves to make resistance, and their strength here too little to be hazarded betwixt two armies, one of which would cut betwixt them and home, while they followed the other, and, upon any disaster which might befall their men, would follow their victory even into the heart of these countries, which are yet much unsettled by reason of their late distractions, and much of the strength thereby diverted, they know not what satisfaction to give your majesty in defence of the Palatinate, unless your majesty's more powerful hand should concur therein; and therefore they doubted a fearful event of this summer's work; that the Spaniards would not only make themselves, without much resistance, masters of the Palatinate, but bring all the united princes and the free towns to their subjection; of which danger they likewise desired me to advertise your majesty; and withal to beseech you, as the chief protector under God of the common cause of religion, and a prince particularly interested in your son-in-law's fortune, to contribute some part of your great power to the safety of both; wherein your majesty should find them ready to employ the uttermost of their abilities.

' The day following, which was yesterday, I desired to speak with the same deputies, to put the like question to them, as they had done the day before to me, what they in all event pretended to do, to the end your majesty, without sending to and fro (which the necessity of affairs and straitness of time would not suffer) might do as might seem best to your wisdom. This I thought necessary for the common service, and your majesty's, to move unto them; finding by their former discourse, and what I had understood otherwise, that now they come to the issue, having held the world for a long space in expectation of their drawing into the field, they stick at the point of charge and expence for necessary preparations, and prepare an excuse of the strength of the enemy, and the failing of friends.

' Their answer unto me was, that they were ready for any thing, which is feasible for their small strength: but how of themselves to stop or divert the progress of the enemy, they saw no possibility; and therefore gave me plainly to understand, that unless they find your majesty actually to embrace the cause, their intent was not to rise with their troops out of garrison, conceiving, that they might sit still with more reputation, than draw to the frontiers with a small army, and effect nothing of consequence.

' I prayed them thereupon better to bethink themselves before I wrote to your majesty, to the end their own example might not be a hinderance to their own desires. For if they, having disciplined troops both of horse and foot, and who are nearer the danger of the progress which the enemy might make after his conquest in Germany, should think fit to sit still, what should they then expect of your majesty, not so well provided for the present, nor so subject as they to the future danger? I wished them withal to call to mind the encouragements they gave the Bohemians from time to time in the resolution they took of the election of a new king, of which the trouble of Germany is a consequence; and the promise they have given in writing to the princes at

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MONS. BENICKHEUSEN's being last here, that if the enemy marched that way, to assist them with troops. Now though your majesty had no part in the first motives of those troubles, nor were engaged (as they are) by promise; yet seeing the enemy lay hold upon those occasions for greater designs, and thereupon taking that princely resolution, which the present necessity of affairs doth require, I thought, the matter being well weighed, they might find it of great use to follow their former intention of drawing into the field with their army, and as near towards Germany as they could in safety: whereby the enemy would be amused at least, if not diverted, the princes encouraged, they themselves have commodity to send troops with expedition into Germany, in case they found it expedient, and your majesty's aid be more useful, if you should think fit to send any.

‘ To this purpose I put them in mind of the effect of their last year's small preparation of a few waggons only for such foot, as should have accompanied their horse; which caused the enemy to change his design (which was judged then to be upon the Palatinate) to an exploit upon Bruffels. So in proportion of a greater strength they are now prepared to draw into the field, though the enemy be now much stronger, they might happily work the like effect. These things I desired them to consider as proceeding from myself; and thereupon to let me know as this day, when I was to have audience upon another occasion, what I should advertise your majesty of their full and final intention.

‘ This morning having been in their assembly, and ended what I had in commandment from your majesty (of which your majesty will have an account in my dispatch to mr. secretary NAUNTON) they did let me know by their president, mons. GOGH, that having well weighed what I had said to their deputies, they thought fit to make me this answer; that the assistance they already gave into Bohemia and the princes, might be estimated 8000 men, and those payments they still continue: that they have now levied 4000 foot to hold garrison in their country, whereby to give commodity to their army to march: that they have written into Friesland and other remote parts, to draw their troops out of their garrisons nearer the frontiers: that they have provided their pioneers, and written to their admiralities to put mariners in readiness for their ships and boats, which they shall use upon the Rhine: and that they have made agreement to be furnished with waggons sufficient for the army, and horses for their artillery upon ten days warning, in which time they can always have their whole army at their rendezvous: but this hiring of waggons and horses being a matter of much expence, they forbore the same, until they might know what your majesty would do, and how their charge might produce some fruit for the help of the prince and the Palatinate, both which without your majesty's speedy and powerful aid they accounted as lost. I replied unto them, that I could be a witness both of their assistance past, and present preparations, and hoped, that they would not now *in extrema actu deficere*; but I was not to press or move them farther, it being the duty of my place of ambassador (where I then sat) only to advertise; and the liberty I took before to advise, I prayed them to understand was of myself, and as a counsellor of their state.

‘ Having thus related to your majesty at length what hath passed in this subject,

I will now add, with your majesty's good leave, what I have farther observed. Some chief of the states, by the advice of the prince of Orange, have sent yesterday (with much diligence, and such secrecy, that they have not so much as communicated the same to their own assembly) mons. RANDWICK, a gentleman of Guelderland, one of the council of state, of best sufficiency amongst them, and particularly practised in the affairs of Germany, to the princes of the union, to take information of their resolution, of their strength, of what is there judged of the enemy's proceedings, of what they promise themselves of your majesty's assistance (hearing, that an express messenger of the princes is lately returned with good hopes from your majesty), and finally whatsoever also concerns the service. Withal he is particularly to inform them (as concurrents in a common cause) of the state of these provinces, the preparations of the enemy, and the full strength of this army; and to advise with them what use may be made of their army abroad, without endangering their ruin at home. Their uttermost strength, which (leaving sufficient garrison in their Arminian and frontier towns) they can draw into the field is 120 companies of foot, which (the best choice being made, and about that his excellency is now busied) will make betwixt nine and ten thousand men. The horse exceed not 2400. For cannon and all other necessaries, they will be plentifully provided. RANDWICK is to remain with the princes, and to advertise from time to time what shall concern the service: and though, I believe, upon those reasons I alledged unto them, howsoever they persisted in their former opinion of sitting still, yet when they shall see the enemy rise, they will draw into the field; yet there is no appearance, they will march out of their own strength, and hazard themselves betwixt the enemy's two armies; but the fruit thereof will be, that if Spinola cannot be stayed thereby (as there is no likelihood he will, unless they be stronger), yet he will be forced to leave a greater part of his troops in these quarters, and march so much the weaker into Germany. But what resolution the princes have, or in what state of defence they can put themselves by the inhabitants of their countries, besides the army they have in the field, is not here particularly known: only some officers of this army newly come from thence relate, that they have 5000 good horse; which is a great strength, in that the service will chiefly consist in horse.

‘ All men's bloods do here boil upon this occasion. What be the effects, and like to be the consequence elsewhere, I leave to your majesty's judgment. The well-affected persons, your majesty's friends and servants, which have now without opposition the whole sway of the states, fail not in preparation, howsoever they begin to faint in resolution, to support the good cause. The papists take much heart and encouragement, hoping that SPINOLA's good success in Germany will bring him back with a victorious army by the expiration of this truce, and either by war break into this state, or by new conditions of treaty (in which he may then, as they persuade themselves, set the law) give them free exercise of their religion.

‘ The Arminians, as well the *fuor-usciti*, as those which do remain deported of all office and place in government here at home, fasten their last hopes upon the same success, promising themselves by a new treaty to be restored by the entremise of France; or if war proceed, there will be a necessity of making use of the chief of them for council, and their whole party for contributions; which is still great, though



though much diminished; and to what height of boldness they are already come upon this occasion your majesty will perceive by a familiar example of one of BARNEVELT's sons, who was lately thrust out of his government of Bergen-op-zoom with his command of a troop of horse; and having but one good horse remaining, hath sold the same upon an adventure, and at no high rate, that before Christmas-day your majesty's son-in-law and only daughter shall not be only thrust out of Bohemia, but deprived of the Palatinate: which his excellency hearing offered his best horse upon a like adventure, when this ill-ominous companion shall be hanged upon a gallows; and for a correction of his insolency, his father had within a very few days after a second sentence of declaration to have committed *crimen læsæ majestatis*; whereupon followeth a confiscation of all his lands and goods.

' Amongst the rest, which promise to themselves some fruit of the mutations now threatened, VORSTIUS (who had left his wife and children to keep possession still at Tergow, and hold intelligence with those he had infected with his contagion thereabouts, which were very many) finding no place where to set his foot, was now practising with some of the Hans-towns to be restored here by their means, or to be admitted amongst them, when he was suddenly stricken with sickness, of which he is dead near Lubeck.

' I beseech Almighty God to preserve your majesty's sacred person, your royal family, your kingdoms and friends, and confound your enemies. So in all humility I take leave.

' Your majesty's most humble and most obedient subject and servant,

Hague this 14th of June, 1620.

' DUDLEY CARLETON.'

June 15. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

' R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

' In conformity to his majesty's commandment, received by your honour's letters of the 29th of the last, I took the first fit opportunity of the states assembling in competent number, with a president proper for my business (a circumstance always considerable in negotiating with this state) to make complaint in his majesty's name of the late outrage committed upon his subjects in the East-Indies by those of these provinces, and to demand restitution of loss sustained by our merchants, with due reparation of honour to his majesty, according to the copy here inclosed of my proposition, which I presented unto them in writing, with the informations I received from your honour; which I caused to be translated into the Dutch language, to the end they might be the better understood by the whole assembly.

' The president, upon small consultation with the rest, made me answer, that they were greatly sorry for the accident, but could not conceive the time did suffer the knowledge of the accord betwixt the two companies could be in the East-Indies before this fell out: wherein I told him, by the way, he might soon be satisfied, when he considered, that the Bear, which was one of the ships taken by their men, was the bearer of sir THOMAS ROE's and the Dutch admiral's letters:  
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These (said he) might carry the news of the entrance into the treaty, but not possibly of the conclusion. Howsoever foreseeing some such accidents might follow sir THOMAS DALE's first attempt upon their men in those peaceable parts by Bantam (of which he much complained, and I excused as much as I could, upon former hostilities begun by their men) the commissioners on both sides having made agreement by an express article of mutual restitution, they would see on their parts it should be faithfully performed; and those who had so much forgot themselves towards his majesty by their insolent words and demeanor, severely punished; hoping his majesty would cause the like to be done by our men, as well for what is past, as what may follow before the settling of the accord upon the arrival of the two pinnaces of advice; the first of which parted not from the coast of England till the end of August last, and the second from hence about the beginning of October.

‘ Their answer I could not but admit, letting them know, that, for preventing of farther inconvenience, the sooner they put their good intention into practice, would be the more agreeable to his majesty, and satisfactory to his subjects, whose honour is generally interested as well as the company in their commodity. And hereupon I took occasion to put them in mind how slowly their good answers were followed by the effects, by the example of a proposition I made in their assembly by express order from his majesty, touching the treaty about fishing upon his majesty's coasts, the beginning of March last. And though their answer was such, that his majesty rested thereupon without farther instance, they promising to send express deputies as soon as they could with convenience, and letting me know, that in two months time they might be in some readiness; those two months were now extended to four; and for aught I could see, they were now in no greater forwardness, than the day when they made this promise.

‘ The president excused their delay herein upon the great importance of the affairs of their several provinces, which had caused most of the body of their assembly to be absent; and of this (he said) I could not be ignorant: which I confessed; but withal, I told him, I was not such a stranger to their government, as not to foresee a new subject of excuse, unless they would provide against it in time; which is the assembly of the states of Holland (whom this business of fishing chiefly concerns) now towards; and their manner being (when they have no will to proceed in a business) to say they are not authorised sufficiently by their towns. I desired them (and particularly those of Holland, which were then present) to take notice of what I said; which though it was not by commandment at this time from his majesty, yet I held it my duty either to procure them to the fulfilling of their promise, or to advertise what I judged of their farther delay, that they had no purpose to proceed. Hereupon I prayed them to call to mind the wonted carriage of affairs in this state, which was in that sort, that it much blemished the sincerity of their proceedings with his majesty, and lost the love of his subjects to this state by the wrongs and injuries they suffered at sea continually: and though the hand were taken from the wheel, which turned with so much violence; yet we might find by what is now happened in the East-Indies (and this, I said, was a consequence of a resolution taken at time to enter into hostility with our men in the Moluccas) it had the same motion still. Now if his majesty should find by effects, not answerable to their word and promise, that they continued their  
wonted

wonted artifice in delay, and gaining of time in matter of treaty, and their violence in affailing his subjects, and spoiling them of their goods and substance without due and ready reparation, he would have cause to think they had rather *alios homines* than *alios mores*; and advise himself of other manner of proceeding than by way of treaty.

‘ They seemed by the thanks the president gave me, after consultation with the rest of the assembly, to take my remembrance unto them in no ill part: and for the business of fishing, they desired, in my presence, the deputies of Holland so to provide, that at the meeting of the states of that province (which will be this next week) they might take a full and final resolution.

‘ What farther passed at this audience, as likewise in private conferences betwixt certain of the states deputies and myself, these three days past, I do advertise his majesty in a letter apart; whereby I give his majesty a particular account of the Spanish army and the states; and what is feared of the one, and may be promised of the other. To which I can add nothing save what I even now understand from his excellency, that he hath news the troops on the other side begin to march, and that the marquis SPINOLA hath taken up 200 mariners: of which he knoweth not what judgment to make, unless it be for boats, wherewith to make a bridge over the Rhine.

‘ Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

June 25. States general to king JAMES I.

Concerning the great preparations made by the archduke.

That the rendezvous of the enemy was to be on the last of that month, N. S.

That themselves were putting their country into a posture of defence; but as they were not sufficient to make a stand against the enemy, they desire his majesty ‘ prendre une prompte et vigoureuse resolution telle comme il trouvera convenir, et la necessité le requerir, à fin de pouvoir prevenir temps aux les inconveniens, qui aultrement sont inevitables à nostre jugement, et de si dangereuse conséquence pour l’estat du Palatinat et les affaires d’Allemagne, qu’aucune chose, qui pourroit arriver.’

July 10. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ Having received a packet from the princes of the union directed to baron DHONA, which is earnestly recommended unto me both for speed and safety in conveyance, as that which contains letters to his majesty, with a relation of what hath passed in the diet at Ulme, I would not fail to send an express messenger therewith: and though his majesty will have thereby sufficient information of all particulars, yet I have caused a translation to be made of the accord betwixt the catholic league and the princes of the union, and send the same to your honour, as that which doth cause no small alteration in the state of those affairs. For whereas before the king of Bo-

hemia



hemia had only to do with the army of the count of BUCQUOY, and the princes were busied with that of the catholic league; whereby SPINOLA might have marched into Germany without opposition; now upon this accord (whereby the catholic league doth condition to go to the assistance of the emperor, and those of the union do likewise agree not to molest their countries, but to defend their own) the king of Bohemia will bear thereby the greater burden; but SPINOLA, if he go into the Palatinate, will have an army, whereas before he had nothing but boors, to encounter: and this (considering the weakness of the princes both in strength and resolution) is thought the less evil, in regard of the hope, which is conceived of BETHLEM GABOR, that, by way of diversion, or otherwise, he will assist the king of Bohemia in those parts; and the princes do undertake the defence of the Palatinate, as if it were (as indeed it is) their own cause: for which purpose they have drawn down their army from Ulme through the dutchy of Wirtemberg, and lodged the same about Francfort; having an intention to make a bridge over the Rhine at Oppenheim; and to this effect they have sent hither for fit men to undertake that work.

\* The states begin to apprehend, that now SPINOLA may change his design, and fall upon Juliers; which hath caused them to draw the companies, which were quartered in villages somewhat remote, and might have been cut off by the enemy's horse, near unto the town; which is otherwise well fortified and provided, but will be defective in men to maintain a long siege, if the enemy should set down before it: which, if it should succeed, will be a new resolution; for besides all other advertisements concurring to the same purpose, we are now assured by one CHARPENTIER, *commissaire des vivres*, who had the charge of the provision of SPINOLA's army, and is newly come from him upon some breach betwixt them, that he had charge to furnish 22,000 foot, and had the list of the places assigned him where the army should march the direct way into Germany: this commissaire hath sent his brother, who came with him, to his excellency this very day, remaining himself at Dort till he have a safe conduct to come and remain here with security, which is sent unto him; and by him more of SPINOLA's secrets are discovered, as his marching must needs be hindered for eight or ten days by reason of the disorder will be in his provisions by the flight of this his chief officer.

\* The army of the union under the conduct of the marquis d'Anspach doth consist of 7000 foot and 2600 horse, all choice men; to which will be now added 2000 foot and 500 horse, which are held in pay in the Palatinate; besides 5000 foot and 700 horse of the natives of the country, men well disciplined and practised in arms; and at the arrival of MEGEN and STOCKENBURGH with the assistance of the states they will have an addition of as many, as will furnish an army of 20,000: so as there appears now a better face of the business; and there is much more life in my lord general VERE's employment, if he were well there with his troops; and the difficulty will be only in the passage; for which he will not want all the help the states can give, in case DON LEWIS DE VELASCO should remain near their frontiers with any great strength (as it is said he shall have an army on foot about Wesel, where he makes a bridge over the Rhine), they will not think it safe for their country to venture their horse far abroad.

\* Here



‘ Here is no conceit that SPINOLA with his army will go into Bohemia, by reason of the competition, which would be for command betwixt him and the count of Bucquoy; of the discontent of his soldiers, who, having the Palatinate proposed to them as a prey so near at hand, will not like of so long a march; of the charge of conducting the Italian troops by Savoy and Burgundy, which, if they were to go for Bohemia, might have taken a shorter way, as the troops did the last summer, through Swisserland and Tyrol; and of the season of the year, which will be expired before so great an army can well arrive in those parts. Yet I have seen an advertisement out of Germany agreeable to the judgment his majesty makes of SPINOLA’s design, that he will march with his army through Wetterwalt and the duke of Saxe’s country, and by the help of that prince assail Bohemia on Egra side, whereby the king, being assailed on so many parts at once, would be reduced to a very hard estate. But as yet all is full of uncertainty.

‘ Some doubt an enterprize upon the town of Embden, to which SPINOLA may be invited by the discontentment of the count of East-Friesland, who hath his brother, the count of Embden, in principal place of command in the archduke’s service. But the situation of the town is such, that the states can put in succours at pleasure, so as there is no likelihood of that attempt, howsoever the count be at this present more than ever incensed against the town, and distasted with the states proceedings, whose commissioners (who have lain there many months to arbitrate differences betwixt him and his subjects) are returned, with a resolution more in favour of some of his subjects than of himself in a question of possession of certain places, against which he hath since sent hither a solemn protestation, with appeal to the Imperial chamber.

‘ Here is one of the states commissioners come back from the Hans-towns to make relation of the affairs of those parts, where they find the duke of Lunenburg and the town of Hamburg inclinable to accord: but they are much troubled how to deal with the king of Denmark, whose language is very fair, and his letters pleasing, but his proceedings such, as makes them judge he is resolved to make himself master of the two rivers, the Elbe and the Wefer, and to put new impositions upon both.

‘ The king of Swede in a disguised habit hath made a progress through the chief towns of Germany, as Heidelberg, Nuremberg, Brunswick, and others; and is now gone to Berlin, to see the young lady, the princess of Brandenburg, whom, it is said, he shall marry.

‘ Here arrived on Saturday night late, monf. DE LUC in post out of France; and yesterday being Sunday in the morning, the French ambassador conducted him to the prince of Orange; and because the ambassador gave him precedence both going and coming out of the prince’s lodgings, as he hath done again this day in a second visit, here is a general belief, that he is come qualified as an extraordinary ambassador, and that he hath some matter of importance to treat, either concerning the truce, or demanding the French troops for that king’s service, now his kingdom is entering into new combustion. But I cannot find, that he hath more to do, than that he plainly giveth out himself, that, being governor of Broüage for the king, he knew not how to pass with safety, through those who declare themselves for the queen mother, into his

government; and therefore hath taken this way to go thither by sea, desiring a ship of war of the states for that purpose; which will not be denied him.

‘ Monf. AERSSENS, the states-embassador at Venice, should now be on his way hitherwards, having taken his leave of that senate the 3d of this present, and forbearing to go to the duke of Savoy, partly in regard of the difficulty of passage through the state of Milan, and partly in doubt of his good reception by the duke, whose embassador at Venice did not afford him a visit. In all which belongs to the ratification of the alliance betwixt that commonwealth and this state, he hath had good contentment; but to his suit in favour of the king of Bohemia for assistance in money, he hath been answered with an excuse, upon fear, that state hath of war with the grand signor, who speaks now of going in person to Adrianople this winter, and there prepare for the field against the next summer, and hath already given order to the embassadors in his porta to accompany him, as the states embassador hath advertised his masters, desiring therein to receive their order. But the Turk’s design is rather thought to be upon the Polac than the Venetian, though your honour will see by a translate of a letter from the states embassador in what ill terms that commonwealth doth stand with the Turk at this present: yet betwixt this and the time of his stirring many things are like to happen to change his resolution in a court so much subject (as that is of late days) to revolution.

‘ My last to your honour were by capt. BURROWES of the 2d of this present, and two days since I sent your honour a copy of my former of the 2d of the last, whereof the messenger miscarried about Ostend, near which place we have unfortunately lost an honest gentleman, Sir WILLIAM ZOUCH, a servant to his majesty, and serjeant major to my lord Lisle’s regiment, who was cast away in a ship of Flushing, and in sight of another ship of the same town, on Monday last was sevensnight.

‘ One of the East-Indian ships called the Devil of Delft, belonging to this company, was set upon, being now going that way, with seven pirates of Algier, of which it sunk two, and beat off the rest: but, having lost 100 men in the fight, is not sufficiently manned for the voyage; therefore doth return.

‘ Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*July 18.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ The states having called the company of these East-Indian merchants to an account of their doings upon the complaint I made by his majesty’s commandment the 14th of the last month; whereof I sent your honour a copy with my dispatch of the 15th; and they having within these few days appeared in their assembly, an answer to my proposition is finally framed betwixt the states and the merchants, which consists partly, as was to be expected, of recriminations; partly of a desire and promise, on their part, of mutual restitution; and concludes with detestation of those insolencies, which are said to be used by their men in words and actions to his majesty’s dishonour: upon all which points three of the states deputies, which brought me the writing your honour will receive herewith, did insist in their discourse: to all which  
I had



I had nothing to reply concerning the two first, which concern our merchants; and to them it belongs to dispute their own cause: but for that which concerns his majesty, I desired them to make their dislike of their men's barbarous behaviour appear by exemplary punishment, wherein they were as ready to offer, as I to ask this kind of satisfaction.

‘ I must recall what I wrote in my former concerning a ship of Delft, which was said to be fought with by pirates passing towards the East-Indies, in that the news, though it came hither by letters of the admiralty of Rotterdam, is not confirmed all this while, and therefore not believed.

‘ For the affairs of Germany, I refer your honour to such writings as go herewith, part of which I had of the states by three of their deputies, which came unto me yesterday expressly, and part of his excellency. . . Of all I have caused translates to be made, to the end, without your honour's farther trouble, his majesty may be satisfied in the design of marquis SPINOLA to march with his army into Germany: which appears by the emperor's intercepted commission, whereof I send the original as well as the translate. At the same time, and by the same courier, divers letters were likewise intercepted and sent hither, all written in cypher; which the states, having no man skilful in decyphering, desired me to send to England; and his excellency shewing me the letters, which I observed to be written by the emperor's and the king of Spain's chief ministers, I wished rather they would send them to their own ambassador, Sir NOEL CARON: which accordingly is done at this time by this messenger. And though herein I was scrupulous to touch these writings, considering the good terms of amity, in which his majesty doth hitherto stand with those princes, yet it is a respect I least owe to any of his majesty's ministers, in that I am well assured my dispatch of the 2d of the last, directed to your honour, and superscribed for his majesty's special service, sent by JOHNSON, the ordinary of the Hague, who was drowned in his passage near Ostend, was found about him, when he was cast upon the strand, and sent to Brussels; of which I have this proof, that his wife having been at Ostend within few days to recover what was found about her husband, had all his ordinary letters delivered unto her, and was plainly told, that the rest were sent to Brussels, whither they might soon see that to his majesty was directed; and if it be not from thence sent unopened to your honour, the wrong is such, as his majesty will, I doubt not, be sensible of. These letters now sent to sir NOEL CARON your honour may please to hearken after, there being in one of them some particularities concerning persons of quality, subjects to his majesty, in Scotland and Ireland; and in the rest the secrets of this summer's service are in all likelihood contained.

‘ The *commissaire general des vivres*, which came hither from the archduke's side, of whom I wrote in my last, hath suffered himself to be persuaded by the lieutenant of the archduke's guard (who was employed hither expressly by the marquis SPINOLA) to return and resume his charge. At least is so believed here, he being gone secretly yesterday from hence towards Dort with his brother in company, and the said lieutenant, at four o'clock in the morning. All, which was here learned of him, was the way of SPINOLA's march, which, he said, will be directly to Coblentz, there to pass the Rhine; and this he confirmed to his excellency by an argument of his own



doctrine, in that whereas heretofore there was wont to be allowance made of 500 wag-gons for the *vivres*, there is now only half of the number; which SPINOLA told him might serve the turn, because they should aid themselves by the commodity of the river of the Rhine, from which they should have no occasion to march far.

‘ I advertised your honour the second of this present of courteous letters from the king of Denmark to this state, and of others to myself, to do good offices of friendship betwixt them, by removing such jealousies as might be entertained upon the king’s building near the Elbe: to which they have made an answer full of respect, mentioning only the king’s ships (which lie upon the Elbe, and, by visiting and searching such as pass to and fro, do much incommode the freedom of commerce) as a grievance; and yet imputing the same rather to the captains, as exceeding their commission, than to the king himself; and desiring in full terms of civility to have order taken therein. I have likewise written unto the king in answer of his letters, and made known unto him how agreeable it will be to the king my master, not only to have good amity entertained betwixt him and this state, but likewise to have the fire, now kindled betwixt the Hans-towns and the adjoining princes, extinguished at such a time as this, wherein a general combustion is to be feared; and to learn of our opposites in religion, to combine and unite all of our profession straitly by their example; they having at this present 100,000 men in arms, under four great commanders, BUCQUOY, BAVIER, SPINOLA, and VELASCO; and without good understanding betwixt other princes and states, all being necessarily subject to their obedience.

– Sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER wrote unto me to procure, that one VOGH, burgomaster of Arnheim (who is one of the states commissioners with the Hans-towns, and is now come back hither to report in what state they found those affairs) should in his return back to his colleagues (whither he goeth within eight days) visit the king of Denmark: which I have moved to his excellency and some of the states: but it will not take place; not that any can judge it unfit; but private emulation doth often hinder public service, and they have here their imperfection in that kind, being subject to many piques and jealousies amongst themselves.

‘ The states of Holland are separated for the space of fourteen days, having remitted their deliberation about the embassages to France and to his majesty until they do now meet again; and for this purpose have carried order from their assembly to return authorized from their towns. At this last meeting they have deported four of their chief bailifs, whereof this of the Hague was one, as being of the Arminian faction; and when they meet next together, the rest are like to go the same way.’ Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

Aug. 8. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I was yesterday visited by the president of the states general (one of this province of Holland) accompanied with a deputy of Zealand, who came unto me in the name of the assembly, to acquaint me with a resolution they have taken (after long communication with their several admiralities, which have had their deputies here at the Hague) to  
put

put a new fleet to sea against the pirates of Algier, which shall be twenty-one sail of good ships of war commanded by mons. HAULOIN, admiral of Zealand, with order to be in readiness all of them by the beginning of October next, with victuals for ten months. Of this they desired me to give his majesty an account, taking knowledge of a purpose his majesty hath to put a fleet likewise to sea to the same effect, to which their desire is their fleet may join, and with united strength assail the pirates, who have now a fleet of a hundred sail. When they may know his majesty's resolution herein, they will frame their instruction for their admiral and other commanders of their fleet accordingly; to which purpose they have desired me to write; and your honour may please to procure me order from his majesty for the answer I shall return them.

‘ Upon the first news of the marquis SPINOLA's departure from Brussels towards Maestricht, the prince of Orange left the Hague, and went by Utrecht to Arnheim, where he yet remains, having with him seven of the states general, of every province one, with one supernumerary for Holland, who have authority to resolve *pro re nata*, and put in execution what is best for the service, without losing such good opportunities as may be offered by sending back to the Hague.

‘ The new English troops commanded by my lord general VERE begin to rise this day out of their several garrisons, where they have lain thus long for want of good arms, those which were provided them by such as were put in trust being unserviceable; and now I have procured them to be well and sufficiently furnished out of the states magazines, with all other helps fit for their journey; which as yet we cannot here conceive with what safety or expedition they can make into the Palatinate, the marquis SPINOLA being before them with one army, and Don LEWIS DE VELASCO in the way with another.

‘ The princes army lies still about Oppenheim with much impatience (as mons. AERSSENS relates, who is newly returned that way from Venice) at SPINOLA's long stay, whom they seem resolved to encounter wheresoever he shall make his passage into Germany: but their troops not exceeding (as mons. AERSSENS doth likewise relate) 12,000 foot and 4000 horse, and SPINOLA marching with 30,000\* (according as his list now bears) this will be *impar congressus*, and their yielding to the passage of the archduke LEOPOLD's troops at Brisac makes their resolution mistrusted, when it shall come to the trial;

‘ Our last letters from Colen say, that the reputation of SPINOLA's army, and the progress the duke of Bavaria makes in Austria in favour of the emperor, hath made the duke of Saxa declare himself against the king of Bohemia, against whom comes likewise an army of 8000 Poles, as your honour will see by the copy of a letter I have newly received from a noble and judicious Italian gentleman out of the Bohemian camp, the state whereof is therein likewise particularly set down.

‘ By the copy of another letter from the foot of the mountains towards Italy your honour will have the particularities of the invasion of the Valtelina by the banditti.

\* [Note of secretary NAUNTON.] Mr. TRUMBALL esteems them but 18,000 in all.

of the Grisons assisted by those of Milan, and of the massacre committed upon many poor protestants to the number of 1000 by computation of 200 *capi di casa*; amongst which was one, who was lately professor of Geneva, with four ministers, who all lost their lives: and by this example may be seen what is to be hoped for in other parts where religion is planted: the extirpation whereof, with the blood of such as professed the same, can only satisfy *catholici Romani*.

‘ The Venetian resident hath made his complaint to the states of this accident, desiring them to write letters of encouragement to the protestant cantons of the Swiss and Grisons for recovery of that country; which they have accordingly done; and now we hear from Basil, that the banditti are chased out again from some places they had possessed; and from Venice, that charge is given by that senate to colonel ROCCALAURE to go immediately with such strangers, as were heretofore under his command, and are retained in several companies, though the captains be licensed, to the assistance of the Grisons; they having sent 10,000 ducats with a secretary to Zurich for the levy of a regiment of Swiss for the same service.

‘ It was mons. AERSSENS’ hap to pass through the Valtelina, when the banditti were then entering the country; and if he had not made the more haste, it is likely small respect would have been borne his quality. To the duke of Savoy he went not; which he excuseth to his masters, partly upon the difficulty of the ways, and danger of going through the state of Milan; partly upon the disrespect was shewed him at Venice by the ambassador of Savoy, who did not visit him until the night before his departure; but chiefly upon the news, which was then hot in Venice, that the duke of Savoy was soliciting the charge of the conduct of the king of Spain’s army now gone to the assistance of the emperor under the marquis of SPINOLA; to which he offered to add his own forces. And though these answers are received, yet all remain not satisfied, in that for the way, it had not been more than a fortnight’s journey to have gone about through Swisserland; which he might have done with safety. The ambassador’s visit, though long deferred, being at last performed by express order of his master, was a greater assurance of the duke’s good will, than if it had been done at first *par maniere d’acquit*. The other point of the duke’s suit to the emperor was uncertain; and howsoever though the duke had been that way inclined, all possible endeavours should the rather have been used to divert him. The true cause of his hasty return was a fear of supplanting in his absence upon the letter of Heidelberg your honour can call to mind; which he disclaims with great execrations, and he is no farther charged therewith, though *in liberâ republicâ* it be free for any man to believe as he pleaseth. He had some aspersion cast upon him in his absence for a certain present of plate brought unto his house from the elector of Brandenburg, at the very instant that the agent STRICK (who with BURON the merchant lost their heads the 29th of the last at Amsterdam for coining) was apprehended; and his with other principal persons names being brought upon the stage did hasten STRICK’s execution, whereby to shew they were neither partners in the crime, nor favourers of the person: otherwise more respect might have been borne to a public minister.

‘ In place of BARNEVELT’s eldest son, deported from his office of *premier veneur* of Holland, is chosen the lord of Duvenvoord, who of the noblesse was the first who declared



declared himself against that faction, and is now here of the committee-council a man of chief authority.

‘ The states of Holland are now again assembled, with express order from their towns to resolve of their embassages to France and to his majesty : but their first business is a reglement of their finances, in which the present use they have of money for the furnishing of the camp makes them sensible of the confusion, wherein they have long rested.

‘ Our English troops having been for a long space in three months arrearage, for which the officers continually bear the burden of the interest, have full satisfaction given them upon the presentation of a complaint signed by sir HORACE VERE, sir EDWARD CECIL, and sir JOHN OGLE ; who, after long difference being reconciled now at their going into the field, find more respect than formerly at home by their good agreement ; and will be able to perform better service abroad, for the reputation of our nation. Thus I humbly take leave, &c.

*August 23.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ Upon the marquis SPINOLA’s advancing towards Germany the prince of Orange left Arnheim (where he was when I wrote last to your honour the 8th of this present) and encamped before Wesel about an English mile remote from the town ; which took no small alarm at his coming ; yet was it not sufficient to make SPINOLA turn back, he being gone forward with a settled design, past the Rhine near Coblenz, and advanced, as our last news bear, as far as Limburg, having taken Ditz by force (a feignery belonging to the house of Nassau) and going farther the strait way towards Bohemia, the princes of the union with their army lodging near Francfort, and hitherto suffering him to pass without molestation ; notwithstanding that they are stronger than he is in horse, but inferior in foot ; yet his troops, having been told in their marching, come far short of the list he gave out for his reputation, they exceeding not 16,000 foot and 3000 horse.

‘ DON LEWIS DE VELASCO hath no formal camp assembled, as was threatened, but remains about Venlo with some few troops ; which yields better commodity than was expected for general VERE’s passage with his men into the Palatinate, who, by reason of the contrariety of winds, which hindered their passage up the Rhine, came late to his excellency’s camp, but according to appointment (when two of the states deputies came from thence hither, and are now here for supplies of money for the camp) they were to march forward towards the Palatinate by the way of Gulick on Saturday or Monday last, being convoyed with the whole body of the states horse commanded by count HENRY and about 2000 musketeers, in the same manner as count HENRY made his journey to Brunswick ; so as they are strong enough, being joined by the English, to make their way in going, and in their return well fitted by means of their waggons to take what way they like best ; which, as I understand, they purpose shall be on the other side of the Rhine through the bishopric of Paderborn and Munster, but will first offer their service, as directed, to the princes, and, if need be,  
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for the defence of their countries ; or, if their hearts will serve them, for waiting upon SPINOLA's army, and providing (as they may well do with such a strength, if they can arrive in time) that the king of Bohemia shall receive no hurt on that side. Mean time the prince of Orange, the more to amuse the Spaniard, remains still encamped where he first sat down, with a bridge over the Rhine, and so will do for a few days, and then govern himself as he shall have occasion.

‘ In SPINOLA's marching by Gulick, he was very careful not to give any offence, nor to touch any of the villages which belong to the states, more than he was forced by necessity of passage. The prince of Orange, on the other side, at his first sitting down where he now is, made proclamation, that no man, upon pain of death, should approach nearer than the limits of the camp to the town of Wesel ; so as howsoever they are willing and forward to aid their friends abroad on each side, yet they are very sparing in these parts to hurt one another.

‘ Here are certain secret instruments, which come upon borrowed occasion from the other side, to sound men's affections, and prepare the way for renewing the truce after the same manner as it was first set on foot by the frier, NEYEN ; and amongst others here hath been within these few days one TEMPLE, serjeant major of Louvain, brother to a known Jesuit of that name, who hath long lived at Leyden. His chief business hath been to procure a mutual release of reprisals, which for these two years past have been made betwixt the archduke and these provinces upon all the rents and revenues on both sides ; but now restitution is to be made reciprocally, a small sum only excepted of about 3500 l. sterl. on each side, which is to remain, as it were, *in deposito*, until the right of the first differences, which grew about a certain convent at Ghent, be adjudged. And for this purpose certain commissioners are appointed to meet in Flanders near to Sluce, which this TEMPLE would have had men of quality, and of the body of the states general, or of the council of state, who might be authorized to treat of other matters concerning the common good of these Low Countries. But no ear would be given thereunto ; and therefore men of mean condition are chosen for this purpose out of Zealand, with order only to attend the business for which they are employed.

‘ To advertise any thing of the Upper Countries were *immittere falcem in alienam messem* ; and now there is indeed *messis maxima*, and the labourers his majesty hath in those parts, are not few. Yet understanding of a private conference, which past at a day of hunting, whilst the prince's army lay at Oppenheim, betwixt the marquis of Anspach and the landgrave LODOVIC of Darmstat, I have thought it worthy his majesty's knowledge. The landgrave demanded of the marquis, whether no way were to be found out for the accommodating the business of Bohemia, and thereby re-establishing the affairs of the empire : to which the marquis answered, he thought it not impossible ; but as yet no overture was made for the king of Bohemia to lay hold of. Whereupon the landgrave demanded, whether it might not be brought to pass, that the king of Bohemia with his son should stand assured of the succession of the crown of Bohemia, and BETHLEM GABOR of the crown of Hungary ; and that the emperor might possess for his life-time both those kingdoms ; and for securing thereof, the states should be sworn and continued in the present government. This project the landgrave under-

undertook to communicate to the elector of Mentz ; but what farther progress it hath, I do not hear.

‘ Concerning the new fire, which is kindled at the foot of the mountains towards Italy, here are letters of the 12th of the last from Milan, and of the 14th from Venice, how the banditti, amongst the Grisons, are openly protected and assisted with men, money, artillery, and munition, by the governor of Milan; and the Grisons favoured, but faintly aided, by the Venetians, for fear of drawing a war upon themselves; which the Spaniards perceiving have drawn their troops both horse and foot back again towards Crema, from whence they were lately retired, and send that way provisions for war only to intimidate the Venetians; who, notwithstanding, have chosen a provisor of the house of Basadona upon that occasion, and sent him away upon three days warning, with all such troops as they can well make upon such a sudden; and they were in speech of raising new men. Mean time Clavenna (as is advertised from la Piatza by letters of the 11th of the last) holds good for the Grisons, and all other places in the Valtolina as far as Ponte del Ganda, which is the farthest place they have that way. At Sondrio, which they have recovered from the banditti, they are strong, and have fortified themselves, and have let the inhabitants, which were retired in Albrosagia, understand, that they may come safely to their homes, the heads of the rebellion only excepted. They on the other side stand upon these conditions; that their pardon must be ratified by all the commonalties of the Grisons: that in the Valtolina no inhabitant nor minister of the reformed religion shall be permitted: that all decrees prejudicial to the popish religion shall be annulled: and that pardon be general, as well for the heads of the rebellion, as the rest. I write to your honour these particularities, though of a place far remote, because the consequence of those bloody beginnings, though amongst poor people, may prove very great: and if the Spaniards engage themselves far in those parts, either their success must be very sudden and prosperous elsewhere, or they may repent their parting from their ancient maxim, which is, never to have war at one time in more places of Europe than one.

‘ The states of Holland are separated for the space of ten days, in which time they are to go to their several towns about setting order in their finances, which still remain in great confusion; and it is now the chief defect of the government; for the quietness of the country, in his excellency’s absence with the army, shews, that no intestine trouble is farther to be feared; and this is no small benefit, for their reputation, of their drawing into the field; because, on the other side, it was presumed their affairs continued still in so desperate an estate at home, that they durst not look abroad with their army.

‘ They have fully resolved at this last meeting of their extraordinary embassages to his majesty and to the French king, but as yet have not named the persons which shall be employed; neither will, for aught I see, until the return of his excellency.

‘ The small satisfaction his majesty doth receive in the states answer concerning the late accidents in the East-Indies (which I understand by your honour’s letters received by this bearer of the 10th of this present) is answerable unto his accustomed wisdom, until it be seen what reparation they make in effect. Mean time they have straitly

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commanded the advocate of the East-India company to take information upon oath of the insolent and injurious speeches and actions used against his majesty, with purpose (as they say, and I have reason to believe by the manner of their proceeding) to punish the offenders exemplarily.

‘ I humbly thank your honour for your favour in procuring me some part of my arrearages in the exchequer, which is some help unto me, though I continue, as I have long done, in very great straits for want of my due. So I rest, &c.’

*Aug. 26.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I dispatched DIESTON to your honour on Wednesday the 23d of this present with such news as I understood from the camp near Wesel by the states deputies, who came hither for money, and are sufficiently provided. Since I understand, that upon advertisement of some change in SPINOLA’s proceeding there is a change followed in the prince of Orange’s resolution, or a delay at least in sending the new English troops into the Palatinate; which on Wednesday last were not parted from his excellency’s camp, upon news, that SPINOLA, in place of marching directly forward, as he made appearance, towards Bohemia, being gone as high into Germany as Limpurg, is turned towards Mentz, making demonstration, as if he would repass the Rhine with his whole army that way into the Palatinate, the princes being hereupon repassed the Maine with theirs near Francfort, where they continue their bridge, whereby to return with commodity to the place where they were lodged before, in case SPINOLA should again change his course, and turn back upon that town: but if he go over the Rhine at Mentz (for which purpose he makes a bridge with boats he carries with him, and such commodity he finds there) the princes will then be much disadvantaged for want of a bridge over the Rhine, of which they are unprovided; and all that part of the Palatinate betwixt the Rhine and the Moselle will be without difficulty possessed by him, in that there are no places of strength, nor no army to resist him: and whereas the resolution was to send the new troops that way over the Moselle, they must now change their course, unless SPINOLA change his (as he well may) a second time.

‘ Don LEWIS DE VELASCO draweth some troops together at Berck upon the Rhine, where he doth intend to make a bridge, being now there in person: but whether he will make any formal camp or not, is yet uncertain.

‘ Thus is all uncertain I advertise, being in place where, though we have the body of the states, the soul may be said to be absent; because all power upon the present occurrences is in the hands of the prince of Orange, and such of the states as are with him, who do not so much as give an account to these here at the Hague either of their deliberations or resolutions.

‘ Here is arrived a gentleman from the king of Denmark expressly employed to the states to require their forbearance at least to meddle, if they will give no furtherance to his pretension of making his son coadjutor to the archbishop of Bremen; wherein  
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having heretofore by commandment from his majesty spoken to the states in favour of the king of Denmark, and having received at that time a good answer, the apprehension they have of that greatness, to which he doth aspire by having the absolute authority in the two rivers of the Elbe and Wesel, as he hath of the passage of the Sound, and thereby making himself master of all passages by sea into Germany, hath made them run another course by way of persuading the chapter of Bremen to suspend their resolution of the coadjutory, whereby in this troublesome time not to discontent such princes as are pretenders : and how to make these here change this course, now his excellency with the chief of the states is absent, I do not see : but what his majesty shall be pleased to command herein upon Sir ROBERT ANSTRUTHER's acquainting his majesty particularly with the state of the business, I will be ready to perform, having received letters from the king of Denmark by the gentleman now sent hither, whom for the present I can assist no farther, than with my best advice ; wherein I do not fail him.

‘ What I wrote in my last I will hereupon renew again to your honour, that any service his majesty may please to command during his excellency's absence, which for better dispatch thereof may require my going to the camp, I shall be glad herein to receive order how to govern myself. For howsoever as long as he lodgeth within the limits of the United Provinces, I may well go thither without exceeding the compass of my charge (and so did my predecessors according to occasions) yet wherein his majesty's pleasure may be understood, I had rather go by instruction than example. So I humbly take leave, &c.’

Sept. 6. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ Immediately upon the receipt of your honour's letters of the 27th of the last by Mr. KILLIGREW, I did let the states know I had answer from his majesty to the message they sent through my hands touching their desire of conjunction of his majesty's fleet and their's against the pirates ; which I was ready to communicate unto them, either in their assembly, or by their deputies, as they liked best. Whereupon they sent two deputies unto me (one of those who had been with me before, and another in place of the other, who was absent) ; to whom I said, that whereas they taking knowledge of his majesty's preparation by sea against the pirates, had advertised his majesty of their purpose to do the like, with a desire to have the two fleets join in the service, whereby to perform the same more effectually with an united strength ; his majesty had commanded me to let them know, that, presuming they have the same ends with his majesty, to extirpate that wicked generation, and secure the common trade, his majesty was in that respect very willing to take them into the association, there being hope of better success in the enterprize by such an increase of strength : whereupon his majesty did heretofore invite them to assist in this expedition ; when their answer was such, as betrayed an averfeness. Now his majesty having proceeded in his princely purpose, and undertaken the enterprize upon capitulation accorded on betwixt his majesty and the king of Spain, it was not *res integra* with his majesty to join with them as before. Besides, if they would impartially consider what usage his majesty's subjects have found of late from their's in the East-Indies and elsewhere,

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they might easily imagine his majesty had reason sooner to join with any than with them. Nevertheless (howsoever his majesty did call to mind their coldness, when this matter was formerly in speech, and the heat of their prosecution of his majesty's subjects in the Indies and elsewhere was fresh in memory) his majesty had commanded me to let them know, that if their fleet came thither, his majesty for his part would not refuse their help in so good a cause. They told me for answer, they would report to their assembly what I had delivered unto them in his majesty's name: mean while of themselves they would say thus much, that they very well remembered, when their commissioners were last in England, there was some speech held with them by some of his majesty's commissioners touching a joint attempt upon the town of Algier betwixt his majesty's forces, the king of Spain's and their's, with purpose, the town being taken, to put the same into the king of Spain's possession: against which they had many important considerations for their particular not to engage themselves, nor to wish that town in the hands of the Spaniards. And for what has happened in the Indies, it was the fortune of the war, which might have lighted as well on their's as the English merchants; and they are sorry it so happened, because it proves a common loss, in that both of them are weakened thereby, their merchants being by contract to make restitution, as they expect the like from the English company: and the hope is, that the incommmodity of their losses will make them on both sides more sensible of the benefit of their conjunction; which they acknowledged as a work only wrought by his majesty: and if his majesty had not effected the same, the Spaniard in all appearance had soon suppressed as well *viçtores* as *viçtos*, and chased both the companies out of the Indies. Now this, that they have presented to his majesty, which was a conjunction of the fleets against those common enemies, as their intention was full of respect to his majesty, so they did hope other occasions, which had no reference thereunto, should not be a hindrance to so good a work: rendering his majesty many humble thanks for his favour in not refusing the help they are ready to contribute thereunto, and purposing to send their admiral instructed to govern himself accordingly. I replied unto them, that in the first business touching Algier, I could say the less, because it did not pass my hands; but I could well call to mind, when about four years since I had commandment from his majesty to sound their affections touching the taking of the town, at which two worthy gentlemen had been employed thither expressly by his majesty to take a view thereof; but there was then no speech of delivering the same to Spain; and yet I found, with those with whom I treated, rather a study to move and object difficulties, than any forwardness or inclination to so good a work. Concerning the proceeding of their men in the East-Indies, which they termed accidents of war, that is it (I said) his majesty complained of, that they would prosecute a war against his subjects, especially at a time when a treaty of accommodation was on foot; and now that restitution was demanded (which I had done by an express proposition in their assembly in his majesty's name) by their answer they shewed, that they did justify their merchants doings, and thereby espouse their quarrel, rather than disavow the same: in which regard, as well as many others, his majesty did remain very ill satisfied.

‘ There passed more discourse betwixt us upon this subject and dispute, where the first breach began, and how it was prosecuted; which they concluded with a desire and promise on their part of mutual restitution; and for conclusion in the business of  
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prosecuting the pirates, they desired me to recommend to his majesty a prohibition for any of his subjects to trade with the pirates, and particularly to furnish them with powder and munition: which remembrance of their's, I told them, did carry with it a kind of tacit accusation, which did more properly belong to those of these provinces, and particularly to their town of Amsterdam, from whence the pirates have been perpetually furnished; and I have heretofore complained thereof to them in his majesty's name; which they could not deny, but desired, that now hereafter a better course might be taken both by his majesty's subjects and their's, by express prohibition of all trade to Algier; whereby not only might be assured no munition could be carried thither, but likewise the pirates would be deprived of vent of their prizes; which would reduce them to that necessity and poverty, that it would be impossible for them to maintain themselves in so great numbers.

' This is the effect of all that passed in this conference worth the advertising. For that conceit of a particular person amongst them touching the employment of the two fleets, with which his majesty, according to his wonted sincerity, is so much displeased, it being his only, and not proceeding from the state, *cadat in authorem*: and when I see him (he being now absent at the camp) I will let him know his majesty's dislike and detestation thereof; to which I was far from giving way, when we spake together, howsoever I held it my duty to advertise what I receive either in private or public with the same freedom and fidelity, as I always deliver his majesty's mind and pleasure. So I humbly take leave, &c.'

Sept. 13. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

' That, which I advertised your honour on Monday last, the 11th of this present, of hostility begun betwixt the marquis SPINOLA and the princes of the union, by the marquis's taking of Creutzenach, and burning certain villages in the Palatinate; is since confirmed: and we hear farther, that the 11th of the present, *filo novo*, he took in Altzey, the principal granary and magazine for wines of all the Palatinate, from whence making appearance as if he would go to Worms, three leagues distant from Altzey, the princes sent thither first 1000 men; and after rose with their whole camp the 12th of this present, marching to Worms, and leaving in Oppenheim 1200 only of the trained bands of the country; of which the marquis having knowledge, he turned towards Oppenheim, and the 14th of this present took the town without any resistance, and immediately upon his entry used the same course as he did at Creutzenach and Altzey, by making the inhabitants take an oath of obedience to the emperor. In all these places he found great quantities of corn, wine, and other provisions, to refresh his army; from which if the princes had kept him, either by making good the places, or by carrying away their store, or wasting the same, he would have been forced to have retired; whereas now being in a plentiful country, and fully furnished, it is like he will winter where he is: and thus it always falls out betwixt those, who proceed one part with a resolution, and the other with formalities.

' The princes have hereupon declared the marquis for enemy; but that they second their declarations with any action of importance, we do not hear, more than the  
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beating of certain horse, where the news still holds, that the prince of Espenoy was taken prisoner.

‘ They do hitherto excuse their forbearance in expectation of the English foot with the convoy of the states horse now on the way towards them; which, by reason of those places which the marquis hath taken will be forced either to pass the Moselle above Triers, or to find some way over the Rhine. The last news we have of them is, that the 17th of this present, *scilicet* *novum*, they were at a place called Frisum, from whence the opinion was they would pass the Rhine at Brissick. But the marquis being now master of that river, as likewise of the Maine, they will find in that way much difficulty; the other above Triers being esteemed more sure, though farther about. The two last towns taken by the marquis, Alzey and Oppenheim, are said to be part of the queen of Bohemia’s jointure, which your honour will know better than I can affirm.

‘ Whilst I am now writing, two of the states deputies, one of Guelderland, another of Holland, are come unto me to acquaint me with this ill news, which I had understood before by letters from the camp; and withal to desire me to give his majesty an account thereof, as a thing, which (as they say) puts the marquis SPINOLA’S intention out of all doubt, he having in effect by the taking of Oppenheim made himself master of the whole Palatinate, in that there he doth now make a bridge: and if he goes towards Francfort (as it is supposed he will) the princes have not commodity to cross the Rhine, whereby to succour the town; that, which they had, being taken at Oppenheim: and though Worms be a greater town, to the defence whereof they now went with their camp, these men do judge, that Oppenheim did much more import them; and that if they had there remained, the marquis would never have passed by them, leaving such an army as their’s is behind him.

‘ Having gone thus far in the relation, they shewed me their deputies letters from the camp, wherein was this passage; that a diversion on his majesty’s part in Flanders would yet remedy all affairs, howsoever reduced to somewhat a desperate estate; which they did likewise recommend. But howsoever I could give them herein no comfort, yet I promised to advertise both their relation and desire: and howsoever, though his majesty’s mind and all things else were so disposed, this is no season of the year to begin such a business; yet I must humbly refer it to his majesty’s wisdom, whether he will not think it fit to give both the princes and the states some good encouragement, by such favourable letters and messages as he shall judge fit for the present occasions; who otherwise may soon lose heart, and not only leave the Palatinate exposed to ruin, but suffer the marquis afterwards to go peaceably to Bohemia, and there finish his conquest; which will light heavy on those which are nearest his majesty in blood, and on all who make profession of the religion, of which his majesty under God hath not only the title, but the power of protection.

‘ The extraordinary embassy to his majesty is thus far advanced, that the states of Holland (where the difficulty did chiefly rest) have named three to the employment; the lord of Bennehusen of the house of WINGARDS, one of the antient nobility of Holland, CAMERLENG, the pensioner of Delft, and ZUNK, burgomaster of Horn,  
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who was one of the deputies for the merchants at the last treaty touching the East-Indies; to which will be added one of Zealand, who is not yet named: and this, I think, will be their full number, though some of the other provinces will seek to have part in the embassy; and some time will be asked to agree the provinces about the choice. Mean while order is given to sir NOEL CARON, to beseech his majesty to suspend such displeasure, as they take knowledge he conceiveth against them, until the coming of their ambassadors.

‘ For France, are chosen ambassadors for this province the lord of Buckhurst, one of the nobility, and PAW, the younger, who is pensioner of Amsterdam. The rest are to be had out of other provinces, who have not yet named any.

‘ Of these, which are employed to his majesty, I will give your honour the characters, when they are resolved of by the states general; as likewise what I can learn of their instructions. Mean while I cannot blame the choice, they being all moderate men, but little practised in foreign affairs.

‘ The Venetian ambassador is so well entertained in all towns, where he passeth, with long sitting at feasts (a solemnity of this republic far different from his) that whereas he was expected in this town yesterday, he arriveth not till to-morrow; and all possible preparation is made for his welcome.

‘ Thus I humbly take leave, &c.’

*Sept. 24.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ This gentleman, Mr. KILLEGREW, being the last messenger by whom I heard from your honour, I may not venture to return him empty-handed, though to the letters he brought me of the 27th of the last I made answer by an express messenger of the 6th, and have since written the 11th, 13th, 18th, and 19th of this present. To my last, which went by lieutenant HEYMAN, I added a translate of a letter from BREDE-RODE, the states ambassador at Heidelberg, which contained at large the fearful condition of the remainder of that court and whole country. At Prague and in that kingdom they are in some better estate; yet by such letters I have received yesterday from the king himself (of which I send your honour the copy) I find all is not well assured, since both the king and queen do send from them their most precious treasure, of which they make these provinces the guardians. We had it here a fortnight since by the gazetta of Colen, that the prince should be sent away, and through the elector of Brandenburg’s and the king of Denmark’s countries conveyed into England. But since choice is made of these parts for his abode, I am to beseech your honour to know his majesty’s pleasure how I am to govern myself in this occasion, and wherein and how far I shall make use of his name with the states; who howsoever I am sure they will not be defective in all due respects, which shall concern his safety, health, and accommodation; yet they will look to be spoken unto expressly, and in his majesty’s name, in a business of this nature; wherein *ex officio* I will not fail of what belongs to me, if the prince (whom I conceive to be now far advanced on his way) should arrive in these provinces before I receive your honour’s answer.

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‘ I do not well comprehend now at first, how the prince can remain with count ERNEST, since he is chosen governor of Friesland, where he is to make his residence; and the rudeness and retiredness of that province doth ill suit with the education of a prince of such consideration. It may be upon this occasion the countess will continue her abode for the most part at Utrecht, which is a place of good air, but a tumultuous town: and I think this province of Holland, which is the most secure, will be likewise the most ambitious to have the honour of such a guest; in which case the countess may be moved to take a house as well here as at Utrecht; but this town of the Hague being open without ports or walls is, in that respect, not so proper. Delft is the best air of Holland next to this town, save only that it is somewhat offended by the brew-houses; yet thereby made (as appears in all times of sickness) no whit the less wholesome. The people are sober, loving, and faithful; and there is a spacious house now empty, wherein the late prince of Orange kept his court. Besides, it is so near this place, that it is always in the eye of the state. These considerations, which fall into my conceit, without communication as yet with any here in this business, I have thus at large represented to your honour, whereby to give you subject so much the more in particular to receive upon the whole matter his majesty’s commandments, which I shall expect with much devotion.

‘ Our last news of marquis SPINOLA is, that he doth fortify and make a bridge at Oppenheim. The letters of Colen of the 19th of this present say, that count HENRY and general VERE passed the Rhine near Coblentz the 15th, which is a day sooner than was expected, having understood, that the 15th was the day appointed for the drawing down their boats and pontons for their passage from Karden upon the Moselle (where they were assembled) to Coblentz: and that they were to pass the 16th.

‘ The fort in an island upon the Rhine betwixt Bon and Colen, of which in my two last I advertised your honour, we here esteem is by this time in work; for which his excellency did not employ so many men as were spoken of at first, because he would not weaken his camp; but by the strength thereof keep Don LEWIS DE VELASCO in awe from following his men; which the 17th of this present parted from the camp, being six companies only (two Frisons, one Swiss, one High Dutch, and two Wal-lons (who take the way of Juliers, from whence go nine companies more; and have with them five pieces of artillery, besides store of munition in waggons; and all sorts of instruments fit for labour. LAMBERT CHARLES, governor of Nimeguen, an old experienced soldier, hath the charge of this enterprize; which when he hath effected by putting the place into defence, and that certainty shall come of count HENRY’s and general VERE’s joining with the princes, I understand his excellency doth intend to break up his camp and retire his troops to garrison.

‘ The king of Denmark hath been lately sick, and in some danger: but here is news of his good recovery. He is much offended at a confederation in treaty betwixt the king of Swede and the Hans-towns, wherein those towns intend to take advice of the states before they proceed farther: but as yet I do not find, that here the matter hath been in consultation.

‘ There hath been lately at the camp Monsr. KETTELER, governor of Cleves for the  
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marquis of Brandenburg, and one STEYNGEN, a counsellor of the marquis, who have acquainted the states deputies with the difficulties the marquis doth find with the king of Poland in the investiture of Prusse, who grows upon three causes the king doth alledge against the marquis: the first, for that the marquis, immediately upon the death of his father, came into Prusseland, without advertising the king thereof. The second, that he is of the reformed religion. The third, that he intends to match his sister with the king of Swede. Whereupon the marquis doth purpose to beseech his majesty, the king of France, and the states, to favour his affairs by embassadors at Warsaw at the assembly of the states of that province in November next. Mean time he doth desire the states to write unto the king of Swede to hold the consummation of his marriage for some time in suspense, until these difficulties shall be past over; which they do willingly consent unto.

‘ To the Venetian embassador’s earnest instance, which he made by an express audience on Wednesday, for aid to the Grisons, the states have yesterday made answer, excusing themselves (as they very well may) upon the many engagements they have elsewhere.

‘ On Tuesday next the embassador sets forward a progress to Amsterdam and into North Holland; from whence at his return he intends to take his way home through France.

‘ So I humbly take leave, &c.’

Octob. 2. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>.

‘ The new fort upon the Rhine, of which I advertised your honour by my last, and which is all they have here in hand, goeth well forward, but will ask yet some time to make it defensible, though there be no danger of removing those which are now there seated, until the work be finished; which at first is intended to be a square only, whereof the flanks shall be hereafter made in convenient time; and according to the project and situation thereof, it will be impregnable. The island is seated near the place where the Swick falls into the Rhine, and was heretofore called Mondorf; which being no known place, the vulgar have now baptised it *Papenbrille*, which is in our language *Priests Spectacles*. And if it can serve to make those ecclesiastical princes see the fervitude, into which they do precipitate themselves on all sides, it will be no improper name, though somewhat ridiculous.

‘ Our last news of count HENRY and general VERE by letters of the first of this present, *stilo novo*, from Obermeerlein by Friedberch, say, that they were then within few days march of the princes, but with an army of 9000 foot and about 3000 horse betwixt them; so as our men have reason to be cautious how they pass the Maine, unless the princes march with their army towards them, who, for aught we yet hear, lie close at Worms; and therefore their meeting may yet ask some time. God send it well at last, and that may produce some good fruit; for hitherto the princes have done nothing: and it is now written from the states camp, that the Paltz, a strong tower in the midst of the Rhine, hath followed the example of Bachragh and Cab,

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in rendering itself upon the first summons; so as SPINOLA hath now cleared all behind him in the Palatinate without blood.

‘ One of the two deputies of the elector of Brandenburg, whom I advertised your honour by letters of the 24th of the last to have been with his excellency and those states who are at the camp, is come hither qualified embassador to this state, as he is to his majesty, and hath here the same errand as with his majesty, to procure an assistance to his master by the countenance of an embassy, at the assembly of the states of Poland, which shall be held at Warsaw this next month of November, for obtaining his investiture of Prusse, which is denied him by the king of Poland, as I then advertised your honour, upon these three reasons: 1. That he went into that province immediately after the late elector’s death without the king’s license. 2. That he intends to match his sister with the king of Swedeland. 3. That he is a protestant in religion. The states, by reason of the shortness of the time, excuse their embassy, but write a letter with these answers in the elector’s favour: 1. That though he went into the province, he did exercise no jurisdiction, nor doth at this day. 2. That the match of his sister is not his work, but his mother’s, the electrix dowager, in whose government she is. 3. That his religion is the same it was in his father’s time, and not changed since his death, as the king of Poland is induced to believe. This embassador hath moved them to write likewise to the king of Swede to suspend his proceedings in the marriage till the elector’s business of Prusse should be better settled: to which effect a letter was promised him by the states at the camp, whilst these here had newly at the instance of the king of Swede written to the elector to hasten the match.

In fir DUDLEY CARLETON’S OWN hand.

‘ The Venetian embassador is in his progress to North-Holland, whilst we have here news, that the Valtolina (which he gave out to be recovered) is in effect quite lost to the Spaniards, who are now avowed by that king in their undertaking the quarrel, as a cause of religion, and the duke of Savoy moved in that king’s name to do the like. Thus do and so are their affairs like to prosper in all parts, unless God shew a miracle, or that his majesty next under God use his power for protection of religion, and the professors thereof, with the same readiness and assurance as the common enemies use in attempting upon both. Here have I seen within the space of a few years, how God hath blest his majesty’s care for preservation of religion against subtle practices: of which this is an event, that the whole power of this state is employed for the defence of his majesty’s friends and allies.

‘ What with the succours are given in money to the king of Bohemia and the princes of the union, and what with the extraordinary expence of the states convoy of horse sent towards the Palatinate, and in such things as belong to the camp, where their forces now are near Wesel, they spend about 30,000 l. sterl. a month. On the other side, millions are employed to the ruin of his majesty’s nearest friends, and extirpation of religion; by which rule the affection of those, who at this present (in the most perilous conjuncture, that our age hath known) make court to his majesty for his favour, may be easily measured.

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‘ The objections against this state for what is happened in the East-Indies receive this answer; that they are fruits of the seeds sown in the corrupt and confused time of this state; for which the distance of place hath been an impediment to all other remedy than that, which is expected and promised, of restitution. This I can say, that whereas heretofore here came daily complaints of wrongs done by sea, as well near as far off, here is now no one plaintiff of either nation England nor Scotland, nor hath not been for a good time. But this I must leave to Sir NOEL CARON to represent to his majesty, whose office it more properly is to make apologies for his masters. Howsoever I account it my part likewise to breed, as much as lies in me, a right understanding betwixt his majesty and the state where I have the honour to reside.

‘ Sir NOEL CARON hath written unto the states here, that his majesty, having found by the intercepted letters sent not long since from hence into England to be decyphered, as likewise by the events in the Palatinate contrary to promise and expectation, how he is abused by the Imperialists and Spaniards, doth resolve to shew his power for protection of his friends, when the time serves for action. Mean while that his purpose is to make a *fond des finances* for that purpose; which is here received with much joy. Mean while their prayers to God, with all good men’s, are, that affairs being at the present in so desperate and dangerous a crisis, may be preserved in state to attend that *unicum remedium*. The decyphered letters are sent to the camp to his excellency, without communication of them to the states.

‘ It falls out opportunely, that the sudden departure of the ambassador of Brandenburg makes him a fit messenger of this dispatch. He gives me his titles, *Adolph Steyngen jurisconsulte, & conseiller d’etat au conseil privé, & chef des finances, de S. A. elettorale en ses pays de Cleves, &c. & de sa dite A. ambassadeur auprès S. M. de la Grande Bretagne*. And withal hath made known unto me a private desire he hath to return with the honour of knighthood, of which I doubt not but his majesty will judge him worthy, having known him in a former embassy; and he is a man well affected and of good abilities.

‘ I am advertised that the countess of Nassau being now great with child doth intend to go from Utrecht about the end of this week into Friesland, there to be delivered; which will fall out ill in the absence of the count ERNEST at the camp, in case the young prince FREDERICK HENRY should come shortly into these parts. Whereupon I take occasion to visit the countess to-morrow at Utrecht, to the end I may advertise both his majesty and the king and queen of Bohemia what is resolved about the prince’s abode. So I humbly take leave, &c.’

OF. 18. SIR DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

‘ R<sup>t</sup>. hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ All our extraordinaries of late out of Germany have come like Job’s messengers, every week with worse news than other; and now this last in conformity to the rest, which brought advertisements of loss of towns, doth shew how the prince’s army hath lost a fair opportunity of fighting with the marquis of SPINOLA upon little or no disadvantage, he being by casualty rather than design drawn out of his trenches at Oppen-

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heim; which place he recovered again without blows, though the princes were nearer unto it with their army than he with his. And this happening since the joining of count HENRY unto them is a great discouragement, as your honour may perceive by a particular letter written the day following out of their camp; which is well worth his majesty's view; and that for some respects concerning as well the writer as the receiver (and by consequence his majesty's service) is all the use I design may be made of it. There is a saying, *al medico & l'advocato non tener il mal celato*; and his majesty, being the only physician to remedy the weak and almost desperate estate of those affairs, may be content to be informed of all particularities. My hope is, the princely declaration he hath made of his royal intention, seconded (as we are here informed from Sir NOEL CARON) with ready preparation, will put life into them again. From hence no more is to be expected this season than is already performed, here being three of the states deputies come already from the camp: the rest will be here the beginning and the prince of Orange himself the end of next week, when certain waggons convoyed with two troops of horse, which carried munition to the new fort, shall be returned; his camp broken up, and his troops for the most part garrisoned in these frontiers. So many only shall return into these parts, as may serve to keep the towns in devotion, when the new garrison-holders (as they call them) are licensed; which will be done out of hand, whereby to save expence; and that is usual with these men, even in time of war, to be entertained in summer, and cashiered against winter.

‘ The Venetian embassador departed from hence towards Zealand on Monday last, where he will take shipping for Dieppe in Normandy, if he have the winds favourable, or otherwise pass through Flanders into France, so through Savoy home; but without commission in any of these places, for aught I can learn. His entertainment here cost a month's contribution to the wars, according to the article of the confederation betwixt these two commonwealths, which is 50,000 florins; with which he was fully satisfied; but his present came short of his expectation, which exceeded not 3000 florins; wherein this state imitated the Venetians towards their embassador. But that serves not for excuse, in that they say they are tied by ancient laws. The resident SORIAN hath a chain of 1500 florins; the secretary 800 florins in silver, with a medal of gold of 60 florins value, which had the sheaf of arrows on the one side, and the words *foedus initum*; of which medals eleven were distributed amongst the chief of his followers. Of his liberalities here is no great speech.

‘ The embassages to his majesty and the French king expect his excellency's coming for their dispatch. So I humbly take leave, &c.

P. S. ‘ My last to your honour were by DIESTON of the 12th of this present, in answer of your honour's of the 30th of September.’

Nov. 8. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I have been this morning in audience to present his majesty's letters to the states, which I received with your honour's of the 29th of the last in furtherance of the king of Denmark's pretensions for his son to be admitted coadjutor to the archbishop of Bremen;

Bremen; and being made acquainted with an answer given by the states this week past in the same business to a gentleman that was sent hither expressly from the king of Denmark to solicit the same (which was, that, in regard of the present troubles of Germany, and the dissension that may arise by the divers pretenders, they desired the king not to press the matter any farther at this time; in which respect they being desired by other princes, which are likewise pretenders, have forbore to intermeddle, and so will do whereby to give discontent to none) I took knowledge of this their answer, and wished them, after the hearing of his majesty's letter (which was publicly read) to take into consideration how the best and most expedite means to prevent the contention of pretenders were to further the admission of the king of Denmark's son, whereby all pretension would cease, and they would oblige two kings their neighbours: withal they would prevent such inconvenience, as may follow by the bishop of Colen's stepping into that business, who may possess himself upon any accident of vacancy of Bremen, as he did of Paderborn: and besides that all such danger would be prevented by the admission of the king of Denmark's son, they would have that young prince as it were in their protection, who would serve as a *nodus amicitiae* betwixt them and that king, and he would thereby be engaged to run a course with them in the present affairs of Germany.

' The answer they gave me was in officious but general terms, promising to take the matter into deliberation, and to give his majesty contentment: which, by way of reply, I desired them to do in more effectual sort than when I formerly spoke unto them about this business; their proceedings having since that time (according as the king of Denmark doth complain) little answered their professions.

' It is here understood, that the archbishop of Bremen doth disavow all these offers and promises, whereby the king of Denmark was first engaged in his pretensions for his son: and I find a rooted jealousy in this state of that prince's greatness, of which they are very much apprehensive, if his designs take effect of being master of the two rivers, the Elbe and Weser; upon the one of which he hath already seated himself by his new fort Geluckstadt over against Stade. His seating his son at Bremen would give him no less power over the other; and the example of the Sound makes them doubtful, that heavy impositions would be set in time upon all merchandize transported by sea to and fro to Germany; which, the Rhine being incommodated (as it now is), hath no other passage but by the Sound, and those two other rivers.

' Having had divers advertisements, that the extraordinary embassy now in preparation to be sent unto his majesty should be dispatched with more limited instructions than I conceive will be agreeable unto his majesty's mind, I took occasion of some discourse we fell into at this audience (they inquiring of me after news out of England) to let them know, that the greatest news I had from thence was, that their embassy was there diligently expected; and withal to advise them not to fall upon the same rock, as they did the last time, of errors in their commission, as well in form as in substance. To this purpose I remembered unto them the points, which were then in treaty; of which some were provisionally concluded, others remitted to their better commodity. Some (I told them) have lain asleep ever since: others I have remembered them of by express order from his majesty.

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‘ That of clothing and tar, though I had only news thereof from our merchants at Middleburg, that the inconvenience still remains, yet I wished them not to send their embassadors without instruction in that point, because it was very likely our merchants might move his majesty for redress of that grievance.

‘ In the matter of monies (an equal valuation of which was demanded by his majesty, and by them promised) I did let them know, that his majesty had some time past (as he did by your honour’s letters) commanded me to certify in what state it stood; which, according to the truth, I said, I advertised to be here well resolved, but ill executed, in regard the second abatement, according to the rates of their placart, was suspended (as it still is) from two months to two months. In this regard I advised them to remember to give his majesty satisfaction in this point; and to the end his majesty may be the better informed of the full state of this business, I have underhand procured one of their most expert *generaux des monnoyes* to set down his judgment, as well of the inconvenience of these different valuations, and the true cause thereof, as the remedy; which your honour shall receive herewith in two copies, not unworthy your perusal.

‘ The insolencies of their men in the East-Indies and Greenland, and the spoils committed upon his majesty’s subjects in both places, having been so lately remonstrated unto them, and their promise past to make due reparation; I told them, his majesty had suspended all farther proceedings therein until the coming of their embassy.

‘ There rested only the business of the fishing upon his majesty’s coasts, about which howsoever they have engaged themselves by three several writings to enter into treaty, yet I said I found here by discourse of some men, that they were willing to blanch it, as a matter unquestionable: wherein I put this question unto them, whether that, which was acknowledged as his majesty’s right by France, Spain, and other princes and states, were not to be questioned with them? And, whether that, which was challenged as a right by other princes and states, in the Ocean, Baltic, Mediterranean, Adriatic, and all other seas joining to their dominions, might not be challenged by his majesty upon his coast? If they had any pretensions of treaties or particular grants, I wished them to produce them; assuring them they should find his majesty a religious observer of treaties and promises, as I told them it was fit they should be: and thereupon I produced certain copies, which I had in readiness, of their declaration their deputies made to my lords of the council the 29th of Decemb. 1618; of their answers made to three of my several propositions, the first of the 13th of February 1619; the second of the first of April, and the last of the 23d of July, 1620; which, because many of the body of their assembly are changed since these matters were in question, I told them, I thought fit to present unto them, and leave them to their perusal.

‘ Their answer was no other than I expected, declaring a good acceptance of this remembrance: but I find they could have been as well content to have had it forgotten, chiefly this last point of the fishing, which they do most unwillingly hear, as that which will raise much discontent amongst their people. Yet their regard must  
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not make me to forget my duty to his majesty, to whom it is fit they should have their obligation, and acknowledge the same for any favour they find, and not advantage themselves by the facility and connivance of his ministers.

‘ They have not yet named all their ambassadors either for France or England (yet I hear Zealand hath named MANMAKER for France, and the burgomaster Scot for England); neither are those, which are chosen for Holland and Zealand, authorized as yet by the states general: some of the Hollanders, which were deputed at the camp, seeking to renverse the first election, which was made in their absence, or to be added to their number. So it is in this, as in all things else, wherein there is question of honour or profit by way of employment, their private interests and emulations do retard all public resolutions: and were it not that they have recourse unto the prince of Orange for appeasing such controversies, nothing of this kind could be concluded amongst them; whereby they lay open their weakness, and he daily grows in strength and authority; but that not without envy.

‘ This day I have seen a pernicious pamphlet against the prince of Orange, and by name mons. AERSENS, DUVENVORD, BREDERODE, and BUCKHURST, all of the noblesse of Holland, as his instruments of tyranny (as is there said in plain terms), inciting the people to commotion for liberty, by which (saith the libel) they shall bring themselves in credit with France, where they are grown into contempt; and England (which favours these men) will soon be made to creep into the shell. It is printed in the Dutch language, all the copies seized on and suppressed, and the author diligently inquired into.

‘ We have here TEMPLE, the serjeant-major of Louvain, once again in treaty about the reprisals, of which he hath obtained a consent of *main-levée*, on both sides: and for the original question, it is referred to be treated by certain commissioners, who are to meet at Waterfleet near Sluce, those which were first elected being excepted against by the archduke for an unrespective letter, styling him barely their *loving friend*: and in their places will be chosen three counsellors, two out of the petty council of this state of Brabant and Flanders, and one out of their high councils. TEMPLE hath much insisted to have the deputies chosen out of the body of the states, and the place of meeting to be Antwerp; which is not here thought to be fit, because they would not en jealousy their friends by such circumstances.

‘ The king of Bohemia and princes of the union have desired the states not hastily to entertain a treaty of the renewing of the truce, the reputation whereof in this present conjuncture would much advantage the affairs of the Spaniards; and in that respect the states conceive, that the place of meeting, and the persons of these deputies, is so much stood upon by this major of Louvain; and they are loth to commit an error in shadow, not being as yet well assured, whether they shall enjoy the substance; which when they may have in terms as the truce was first made, I find it will not be refused; though hitherto it is not made a matter of deliberation in any of their councils: and these deputies, though much speech rise of their employment, will have (as I have reason to believe) no commission to make or entertain any such overture.

‘ The states of the severall provinces do all assemble this month and the beginning of the next, to resolve *de agendis* against the next spring; and I believe the monthly aid of money to the king of Bohemia and the princes of the union will be continued; and their old troops both of horse and foot reinforced: which will be of good use in all event.

‘ Our letters from Prague have failed these two weeks; but by other ways we understand, that the count de Bucquoy, having an enterprize upon Rakonick within three leagues of Prague, hath been prevented by the king. In like manner in the Palatinate the marquis SPINOLA hath been put by an enterprize upon Keyfarlauter; but he took Landšperg, a castle of some consideration not far from that place.

‘ Don LEWIS DE VELASCO lies still in his intrenchments near Berck, expecting order for his rising from Brussels. Mean while his men sicken apace; and so we say of SPINOLA’s camp.

‘ Here is arrived the count LOBOVICK, brother to the king of Bohemia (a prince of much expectation), who, having committed his young nephew to the hands of count ERNEST at Zwoll, went no farther, by reason of the difficulty of the ways in returning. And it fell out, that the very next day after he left the young prince, his coach overturned in a very steep place, wherewith he received a hurt in one of his arms, but without breach of any bone. It was a great happiness, that the tender young prince was parted from him before that mischance. Here he stayeth defrayed by his excellency, in whose house both he and his train do daily take their diet, and lodged in a house provided by the states for ambassadors.

‘ The French ambassador hath buried his lady this last week in child-bed; and we hear his best friend, the princess of Orange, is dangerously sick in France\*.

‘ Her son, prince HENRY, remains still with the princes, and so shall do until the princes can well spare his horse, or the necessary service of this state requires them; his excellency at his rising from the camp having written unto him to govern himself, either in his return or longer stay, as may be most agreeable to the princes.

‘ We have advertisements out of Italy of levies already in hand in Sicily, Naples, and Milan; which proves a matter of ordinary course with the Spaniards to prepare in the beginning of winter against the first entry of the spring; wherein it were to be wished their example were followed in these extraordinary occasions. But others begin commonly to consult, when the Spaniards have resolved; to levy, when they march; to move, when they are in possession; and then commonly they amuse the world with treaties. This course have I observed in the wars of Savoy and other places of my experience; only in this state practice hath brought them to more providence.

‘ It was one question the states put to me this day, how his majesty goeth on with

\* [She is dead, as Sir EDWARD HERBERT last advertised.] Note of the secretary.



his preparation : wherein I shall be glad to give them some account for their farther encouragement. So I humbly take leave, &c.'

*Nov. 21.* Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>.

' Having received your honour's letters of the 10th of this present by DIESTON on Saturday last, and others from his majesty by sir DUDLEY DIGGES and Mr. ABBOT yesterday, touching the business about which they are employed ; this day I demanded audience in the assembly of the states general, whither I conducted them to present his majesty's letters (having yesterday in the afternoon recommended their affairs to his excellency) and both from the states and his excellency they shall have express letters to the directors of this East-India company, in conformity to what his majesty hath written to the states in their behalf, with special recommendation of expedition ; to which I moved them in regard of the preparations now making in Portugal both of men and shipping to set forward towards the East-Indies in January next ; of which they are here well advertised : and I told them it would be behoveful for the business, for these deputies to be back with the company, by which they are employed, by the beginning of that month, to the end, as they are here in good readiness, so our preparations may go on accordingly.

' Their business being ended, and I left alone in the assembly, I told the states I had commandment from his majesty to move them in the behalf of the elector of Brandenburg and the state of Venice, in several affairs, at the instance of their several embassadors.

' Touching the elector of Brandenburg, having acquainted them first with the course taken by his majesty for his investiture into Prusse, I told them, that his majesty did especially recommend unto them, now the truce of these provinces with Spain doth draw to expiration, a care of the countries of Juliers and Cleves : that in case the truce should be prolonged, those countries should be comprehended with their neighbours in the treaty, to the end that, remaining as they now do, they should not be (as in likelihood they will) a subject of new breach. In case war should succeed, that they should advise in time with the elector and his deputies for defence of those parts, which are like to be the first seat of the war.

' Concerning the Venetians, I acquainted them first with what was advertised of the design of the Spaniards in their disposing of the Valtolina, by giving the pope the shadow, and keeping the substance in their own hands ; of which representing unto them the inconvenience, as likewise the willingness of the Venetians to recover that vanquished country for the Grisons, I desired them in his majesty's name to give them therein all possible encouragement : and to this end, knowing what is intended by the states, and desired by the Venetians, which is, that the mutual resident embassages resolved of betwixt these two commonwealths should receive a beginning from hence, I wished them to do that seasonably now the time requires all possible diligence and industry, to quicken that state in their good inclination, rather than suffer

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them to grow cold, as it may easily fall out with those which go usually with the stream of the prosperity of other princes.

‘ In the first of these busineses touching Juliers and Cleves, the states answered unto me, that they would have his majesty’s recommendation in special regard, as far as the constitution of their state would permit. But I found by his excellency they have no mind to mingle their affairs with the elector’s, in regard of the authority the emperor doth assume to himself over his estates more than they will allow him over their’s. That, which I moved unto them concerning the Venetians, they seemed well to approve, and promised to take the same into speedy consultation.

‘ I concluded my audience with that, which doth properly concern his majesty’s service; having understood by Mr. FORBES (the minister of the English merchants at Middleburg) his majesty’s pleasure touching the states renewing and enlarging their placart concerning printers and publishers of unprivileged books and pamphlets, which may concern the quiet of his majesty’s kingdoms, either in church or commonwealth, or the honour of his person; which they having promised me heretofore to do, but deferred until some new occasion, I desired them to bethink themselves, whether occasion were not now sufficiently offered by such libels, as at this present are printed and published against the chief in government in their own state: and though that were not, yet that, which I demanded of them in his majesty’s name, being just and equitable, it would be no argument of good affection to hold his majesty’s satisfaction herein in any longer suspense. The answer, which was given me, was fully to my contentment; and so I hope the course they will speedily take, will be to his majesty; which I will not fail to solicit with diligence.

‘ The ill news we have here on Thursday last by the ordinary of Colen, touching the affairs of Bohemia, which I dispatched the same day to your honour, are since confirmed for the main matter of the battle and the defeat, but with difference in the circumstances, as your honour will see by the copy of such letters as are going herewith; which are all the particularities are yet here understood.

‘ The princes of the union do recommend the affairs of the Palatinate to his majesty by a dispatch grounded upon this accident in Bohemia, which they doubt will blow up the Spaniards and Imperials with much pride and fury to follow their conquests in those parts, and their designs elsewhere: which suspicion having likewise taken hold of the states, they have sent unto me two deputies, one of Guelderland, another of Holland, to desire me to write to the same effect to his majesty, as they do now to their embassador, by persuading him to hasten his princely succours, according to the diligence is used in all parts by the Spaniards and Imperials for increase of their forces against the next spring.

‘ His majesty’s wisdom can best comprehend the necessity hereof; and I hope the parliament (of which God bless the proceedings) will sufficiently furnish him with means.

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‘ The leave, which his majesty hath been pleased to grant me for a journey into England for the settling of my private affairs, I do forbear to make use of at this present, because neither in the substance of the report of what his majesty may expect of me, nor in the precinct of time appointed for my return, I cannot promise myself to give his majesty satisfaction; and I may not commit such an error, as to make his majesty’s service any way suffer in my consideration; whereof I could not but advertise your honour with the soonest, lest your doubt of my coming over might be a stay to any of his majesty’s commandments, which I shall here attend with my wonted devotion, and ever remain your honour’s, &c.

‘ The states understanding of my dispatch of this messenger have desired me to send this packet to his majesty, whereof I make mention in my letter, and which was brought this morning by an express.’

Dec. 1. States general to king JAMES I.

Answer to the king’s letter of the 18th of October, presented to them by Sir DUDLEY CARLETON on the 18th of November, in favour of the king of Denmark’s son to be coadjutor to the archbishop of Bremen.

Dec. 2. States general to the KING.

That the inclosed letters from the princes of the union to his majesty would inform him of the defeat of the king of Bohemia’s army, which had given them extreme concern. And as those princes had recourse to his majesty for his assistance, and had desired their recommendation, they request him to consider and ‘ peser meurement leur tres importante requeste en sa consequence pour toute la Christienté;’ and that they would not fail to second his majesty in so good and necessary a resolution, *pour le bien de toute la Christienté, selon que nostre estat & affaires le pourront aucunement permettre.*

Dec. 6. Sir DUDLEY CARLETON to secretary NAUNTON.

R<sup>t</sup>. Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

‘ I have advertised your honour by former dispatches what I have done in conformity to his majesty’s last commandments. This shall render his majesty an account of the effect of my endeavours.

‘ To the letter I presented to the states general in favour of the king of Denmark, and the persuasion I used, that either they would furnish that king in his pretensions for his son to be admitted to the coadjutory of Bremen, or at least do nothing which might turn to his prejudice, they have made an answer of civil excuse in the first point, and sufficient satisfaction in the latter, according as his majesty will find in their own letters, which I send herewith. Since an opportunity is happened, which may turn to the king’s farther advantage; the princes of the union having sent hither a gentleman (who is marshal of the field to the landgrave of Hesse) to acquaint the prince of Orange with a desire they have, in the present desperate estate of the affairs of

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Germany,



Germany, to engage the king of Denmark in the cause, by presenting unto him part of such acquisition as may be made by any good success in the wars in the territories of the churchmen, as Padderborn, and such other places as neighbour upon that king's dominions, and have been lately gained by the bishop of Colen; and to procure of the states a seconding of this their intention, either by letters or message, as they shall like best. The states yielding willingly and readily a consent hereunto, for greater service and expedition, referred the managing hereof absolutely to his excellency, who advised this gentleman, who came from the princes, to go immediately forward towards Denmark; and soon after dispatched one VOSBERGHEN (a counsellor of one of these high courts of justice, and the most able man I know in this state for the conduct of a weighty business) with letters of credence to the king from the states general, and an offer from his excellency, in case the king would like of this overture, to aid him with such troops of horse from hence, as he should require. His excellency acquainting me in confidence with this business, (which is yet a secret to all others), desired me to accompany Monsr. VOSBERGHEN with my letters: which I failed not to do, giving the king of Denmark upon this occasion an account as well of his majesty's commandments, as of the states answer touching Bremen, shewing how his pretensions for the coadjutory of that bishopric for his son may come in consequence of his conjunction with the princes, the states being obliged to further his affairs by his concurrence in the common cause, since they have been induced to add their recommendation. I cannot conceive how this should take effect until that king may directly know his majesty's mind herein, howsoever that he may well call to remembrance such assurances as have been formerly given him, how agreeable his conjunction with the princes of the union and this state would be to his majesty; and according to the urgent necessity of the time, and his majesty's late declaration, he may the better conclude of his majesty's good liking.

‘ We have been here subject to much uncertainty concerning count HENRY and the cavalry of this state, whether they should remain still with the princes, or return into these provinces; for which he having order from hence to govern himself as might best agree with the liking of the princes, and they writing hither, as they were moved by present occasions, rather desiring his stay than otherwise, a consent was willingly sent from hence according to their minds, lest by his departure they might be discouraged; but withal certain reasons were alledged for their coming away, and particularly a necessity of reinforcing those troops against the next spring, which may be more conveniently done in these provinces than in Germany, where they have been consumed already, and by the next spring (when they are to be of use either here or there) they would be altogether unserviceable. In this regard, as likewise because the armies being now in garrison, they may be the better spared, they are come away with the consent of the princes; and we hear they passed the Maine safely the 2d of this present, *stilo novo*, and were well marched as far as Padderborn out of all danger of the enemy, from whence they go on by leisure; and count HENRY (who comes before them) is here expected daily.

‘ The states of Holland now assembled have taken a resolution, which will be followed by the other provinces, of reinforcing their army both horse and foot from companies of seventies to hundreds; which will be an augmentation of 9000 foot and about 1500 horse.

‘ They

‘ They have with much contestation amongst themselves, and no less dispute amongst the states general, resolved finally of their embassadors into France and to his majesty; four into France, BUCKHURST of the nobility of Holland; PAW, pensioner of Amsterdam; MANMAKER, his excellency’s deputy in Zealand; and FLOIS, deputy in the assembly of the states general for Utrecht. Six to his majesty, BENTHUSEN of the nobility of Holland; CAMERLONG, secretary of Delft; BEUNINGS, secretary of Enchuyfen; ZONCK, burgomaster of Horn; SCOT, burgomaster of Middleburg; and VERVOU, deputy in the assembly of the states general for Friesland. The increase of number to his majesty proceeds of the multitude and variety of affairs, and the addition of BEUNINGS and VERVOU for the choice of the persons not to be blamed, they being both discreet and well-affected men; but SCOT of Zealand is the soul of this great body of embassy, being a man of most quickness and ability, and of good reputation for sincerity. Their instructions are not yet framed; but they make account to be dispatched by the end of their Christmas, and to be in France and England, about the beginning of ours.

‘ The serjeant-major of Louvain hath been here once more from the archduke to make known his acceptance of the deputies appointed here for the treaty about reprisals, and his resolution to suit them with men of like quality; one of the council of Malines, another of Brabant, and a third of Flanders. The day for their meeting is appointed the 6th of the next month, *fiilo novo*; and the place, as before, Waterfleet near Sluce.

‘ Sir DUDLEY DIGGES and Mr. MAURICE ABBOT went from hence to Amsterdam accompanied with letters from the states general, of which I send your honour the translate; and as I hear from them, they entered into their business; but in regard the several chambers of the East-Indian merchants are not as yet assembled, they grow not to any conclusion.

‘ The states have taken a resolution to renew their placart against private printings, and publishing of unprivileged books and pamphlets, which in his majesty’s contemplation shall have force as well concerning the friends and allies of this state, as the provinces themselves.

‘ We are here in great ignorance of all that is happened in Bohemia and those parts since the king and queen’s flight from Prague, the states having no public minister thereabout; and all private persons and officers in the army, from whom they were wont to receive their informations, are either miscarried in the battle, or dispersed in that sort, that here is no news from thence of any moment: only we hear of some of their houses sacked, and their persons robbed and spoiled in their flight after the king to Breslau in Silesia.’

In Sir DUDLEY CARLETON’S own hand.

‘ Whilst I am now writing here is a letter arrived from Breslau, written by a merchant who was employed often betwixt Prague and this place about the monies, which were contributed from hence to those wars, of which I send your honour a translate.

‘ I fend your honour a letter likewise written unto me out of Zealand from a noble knight [Sir THOMAS WYNNE] an officer in these troops, who is now in England, and may give your honour more particular information of his advertisement, which doth concern his majesty’s service.

‘ My wife, after a long and tempestuous passage, is here arrived so full of joy and contentment in his majesty’s gracious usage of her, and so much comforted by your honour’s favour, which you were pleased to shew her during the whole time of her abode in England, that I cannot but acknowledge my humble thankfulness in her behalf, who shall ever remain,

‘ Your honour’s most faithfully to love and serve you,

‘ Hague this 6th of Dec. 1620.

‘ DUDLEY CARLETON.’

Received by DIESTON 14 December.



# I N D E X.



# I N D E X.

## A.

**ABBOT (MAURICE)**: sent to Holland, 505. 509.

**Acadie**: taken from the French by *David* and *Lewis Kirk*, pref. xxviii. Restored to France, *ibid.*

**Aerssens**: Secretary to the states general, sent to Sir *Dudley Carleton*, 104.

**Aerssens (Francis)**: the Dutch ambassador in France, much decried in the letters of the French ambassadors in Holland, 108. Closely pursues *Vander Myle*, 277. Required by the French king to be punished, 285, 286. Accused by *Vander Myle*, 292. His professed enemy, 307. Naturalised by the states of Holland, *ibid.* Likely to be sent ambassador extraordinary to Venice, 436. 440. A mortal enemy to *Monf. Vander Myle*, 436. Appointed to go to Venice, 454. Sets out on that embassy, 455. 459. 464. His secret instructions, 465. An imprudent letter imputed to him, 469. 472. Takes leave of the senate of Venice, 482. Returns to Holland, 486. Reason of his sudden return, *ibid.*

**Alkmaer**: an Arminian preacher there abandoned by his audience, 140. Tumult of the Arminians there, 345. 349. An assembly of Arminians near that city, 372, 377. 380.

**Algerines**: send a courteous letter to the states general, 336.

**Algier**: a treaty negotiating between the pirates there and the states general, 385, 386. 387. 391. 393. 394. 395. Proposal of a joint attempt upon it, 492.

**Ambassadors (French)**: ordered to proceed moderately in their negotiations touching the prisoners, 341.

**Amboyna**: a massacre of the English there, pref. vii. Judges: an extraordinary commission of the states for trying them, pref. xvii.

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